Class No. BR 145 Book No. M72
c.1
LIBRARY OF THE v.1
MEADVILLE
THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL
ROBERT COLLYER FUND
7956

HEHN & ROTH, INC.
LIBRARY
BOOKBINDERS
3826 N. SACRAMENTO AVE.

270
N 72.A.D.1-600

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

A.D. 1—600

BY

THE LATE DR. WILHELM MOELLER

Professor Ordinarius of Church-History in the University of Kiel

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

ANDREW RUTHERFURD, B.D.

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

2156 92

LONDON
SWAN SONNENSCHEIN & CO.
NEW YORK: MACMILLAN & CO.
1892

7956

Butler & Tanner,
The Selwood Printing Works,
Frome, and London.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

In preparing the Text-Book, the first part of which is now offered to the public, it was my wish so far as possible to exhibit the course of the historical movement as a whole in a continuous representation. In a study which necessarily involves a mass of material of the most different kinds, there is imminent danger that the view of the whole should be lost in the storing up and arrangement of this mass of material in different departments of study. I trust that I may have succeeded to some extent in combating this danger. In the second place it was my desire to facilitate to some extent access to the sources. However little an all-sided and uniform familiarity with the sources lies within the limits of mere possibility for students, it is indubitable that it is only in touch with the sources that a living historical perception can be gained and nourished. The practice of drawing from them, even though only on individual points which may have aroused interest, is indispensable for instruction in Church History, and at the same time the proper way to animate delight in that study.

Finally, questions which at the present time are still unsettled, and which occupy research, required to be stated, but it appeared to me to be the duty of a text-book to exercise reserve in relation to hypotheses which are as yet uncertain and to adhere strictly to the already assured ground of what is generally recognised.

W. MOELLER.

Kiel, *Easter*, 1891.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN REFERENCES TO AUTHORITIES.

ABrl A. or APr A. = Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften.
AK DM. = Abhandlungen für Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ASGW. = Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
BL = Schenkel's Bibellexikon.
Cod. or C. = Codex.
G G A. = Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.
HZ. = Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift.
H.E. = Historia Ecclesiastica.
Jd Th. = Jahrbücher der deutschen Theologie.
Jpr Th. = „ für protestantische Theologie.
MG. = Monumenta Germaniæ.
Ml. = Migne, Patrologiæ cursus completus series latina.
Mgr. = „ „ „ „ „ græca.
NA and NADG. = Neues Archiv für die ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.
RE. = Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie (Herzog & Plitt).
RM. = Rheinisches Museum.
RQH. = Revue des Questions Historiques.
St Kr. = Theologische Studien und Kritiken.
ThLB. = „ Literaturblatt.
ThLZ. = „ Literaturzeitung.
ThT. = Theologisch Tijdschrift.
ThQ. = Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift.
ZhTh. = Zeitschrift für historische Theologie.
ZlK. = „ „ lutherische Kirche.
ZKG. = „ „ Kirchengeschichte.
ZKTh. = „ „ Katholische Theologie.
ZPK. = „ „ Protestantismus und Kirche.
ZprTh. = „ „ praktische Theologie.
ZWL. = „ „ Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Kirchl. Leben.
ZwTh. = „ „ wissenschaftliche Theologie.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Author's Preface v
List of Abbreviations vii
Prefatory Remarks 1–26
1. Conception, Arrangement, and Division of Church History . . 1
2. History of Church History 6
3. Introduction to the Knowledge of the Literature and Sources of Church History 16

HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

First Period—Down to Constantine.

Introduction 26–48
1. The Græco-Roman World 26
2. The Jews 32
3. The Samaritans. 47
First Division. Primitive Christianity 49
1. The Rise of the Community of Jewish Believers in the Messiah . 49
2. The First Conflicts 53
3. Paul's Preaching to the Gentiles. 57
4. Circumstances of the Gentile Communities 62
5. Palestinian Judæo-Christianity from the time of the Apostolic Council down to the Destruction of Jerusalem 72
6. The Community at Rome and the Neronic Persecutions of the Christians; the Destruction of Jerusalem 74
7. Christianity in the Roman World under the Flavians . . . 82
8. The Apostle John and the Church of Asia Minor 91
Second Division. The Post-Apostolic Age down to the Emergence of the Fixed Forms of the Ancient Catholic Church . 94–184
1. Unbelieving Judaism 94
2. Specific Judæo-Christianity 97
The Elkesaites 100
3. The Geographical Expansion of Christianity in the Empire and beyond its frontiers, and the manner of its spreading . . . 103
4. The Literary Memorials of the Age, from which its picture is to be drawn 107
5. Condition and Prospects of the Christian Communities in the Gentile World down to the middle of the Second Century . . 118
6. Gnosticism 129
A. General 129
B. The Systems 131
C. The Distinctive Fundamental Conceptions of Gnostic Philosophy 152
D. General Remarks on the Significance of Gnosticism for the Church 153

PAGE

7. Montanism as it first appeared 156
8. The Position of the Christians under the Roman Government . 159
   A. General 159
   B. The Procedure of the Individual Emperors 161
9. Heathen Religious Feeling and Culture in their relation to Christianity 167
10. The Defence of Christianity by the scientifically-educated Apologists of the Second Century, and the changed conception of Christianity resulting therefrom 172

Third Division. History of the Ancient Catholic Church from its Consolidation down to Constantine 184
1. Transition 184
2. The Extension of the Field 185
3. Pagan Religious Feeling and Culture in their Relation to Christianity 188
4. The Persecution of the Christians by the Pagan Executive Power 190
5. The Chief Representatives of the Apostolic-Catholic Church . . 199
   I. Irenæus and the Asiatic-Roman School 199
   II. The Representatives of the Latin School 202
      1. Tertullian 202
      2. Cyprian, Commodian, etc. 205
   III. The Alexandrian School 206
6. The Development of the Substance of the Faith 217
7. The Development of the Constitution 234
   I. The Clergy 234
   II. The Organisation of the Episcopal Church (Diocese) within its own limits, the grouping of Episcopal Churches in greater unities, and the Unity of the Church in general . . . 246
8. Admission into and Discipline within the Church 253
   I. The Preparation (Catechumenate) 254
   II. Baptism 256
   III. Excommunication and the Discipline of Penance . . . 258
   IV. The Controversy on the Baptism of Heretics 266
9. Divine Service and Religious Customs 268
   I. Divine Service on Sunday 268
   II. The Circle of Feasts 275
   III. Consecrated Places and Sacred Art 279
10. The Fundamental Features of the Christian Life 283
11. Manicheism 289

Second Period—From Constantine I. down to the end of the Sixth Century.

Survey 294

First Chapter. The Fall of Paganism in the Roman Empire . 296–314
1. Constantine and his Sons 296
2. The Reaction of Paganism. Julian 302
3. Decline and Fall of Paganism 307
4. Pagan Secular Culture on the Defensive and Christian Apologetics 310

PAGE

SECOND CHAPTER. THE LEGAL POSITION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HIERARCHICAL FORM OF THE CHURCH 315–354

1. The Legal Position of the Church of the Roman Empire after Constantine 315
2. The Clergy 320
3. The Metropolitan Constitution 328
4. The Great Synods 331
5. The Patriarchate 337
6. The Roman Primacy 340

THIRD CHAPTER. MONASTICISM AS THE RELIGIOUS-MORAL IDEAL FOR THE WORLD-CHURCH 355–377

1. The Anchorites of the East 355
2. The Monasteries of the East 357
3. Unecclesiastical Extremes of Oriental Monasticism 361
4. The Beginnings of Monasticism in the West 364
5. The Further Development of Monasticism in the West. Benedict of Nursia and Cassiodorius 373
6. The Legal Position of Monasticism in Reference to Church and State 376

FOURTH CHAPTER. THE THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE DOGMA OF THE CHURCH 378–470

SURVEY 378

1. The State of Theology in the Beginning of the Period . . . 379
2. The Arian Controversy 382
3. The Representatives of the Theology which had matured in the Arian Controversy 393
4. The setting aside of Arianism in the Church of the Empire . . 399
5. The Origenist Controversies 403
6. Greek Theology from the close of the Arian Controversy to the end of the Period 406
7. The Christological Agitations 413
   I. Down to the close of the Nestorian Controversy . . . 413
   II. The Eutychian Controversy and the Synod of Chalcedon . 419
8. The Monophysite Controversies 422
9. Western Theology and Christian Literature in the Age of Augustine 433
10. Priscillianism 440
11. The Donatist Controversy 445
12. The Pelagian Controversy 448
13. The Post-Augustinian Theology of the Fifth Century . . . 459
14. The Semi-Pelagian Controversy and the Final Preponderance of Augustine 462
15. Survey of the Theological and Christian Literature of the West from the close of the Fifth and in the Sixth Century . . . 467

FIFTH CHAPTER. LIFE UNDER THE LAW OF THE CHURCH . . 471–494

1. Entrance into the Christian Society. Catechumenate and Baptism 471
2. The Good Works of the Church 478
3. Ecclesiastical Discipline 486
4. Influence of the Church on the Morality and Customs of Roman Society 492

PAGE

SIXTH CHAPTER. THE CHRISTIAN CULTUS 495–531
1. Art in the Service of the Sanctuary 495
2. The Significance of Images for the Cultus 501
3. The Adoration of Saints and Relics 504
4. The Celebration of the Feasts of the Church 512
5. The Order of Divine Worship and its Essential Elements . . 520
6. Sacrifice and Sacrament 529
7. Preaching 531

SEVENTH CHAPTER. MISSIONS AND CHRISTIANITY ON THE EASTERN FRONTIERS OF THE EMPIRE 535–541
1. Christianity in the Persian Empire 535
2. Christianity in Armenia 537
3. The Ethiopian Church. 540

INDEX 542

CORRECTIONS AND AMPLIFICATIONS 545

CHURCH HISTORY.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

1. Conception, Arrangement, and Division of Church History.

The Christian church is the community of believers in Jesus Christ, which participates in the benefits of the kingdom of God announced and brought in by Him. That which produces it is the gospel, that which internally holds it together the Holy Spirit, its invisible form is the body of Christ, the organic connection of all living believers with Christ the Head, for the restoration of which the means are given in word and sacrament. According to its outward historical appearance, however, it is first of all the religious fellowship of those who acknowledge Jesus, which for the purposes of its legal existence in the world, as well as for its religious self-attestation, expression, self-assertion, and the achievement of its end in the same, develops forms of constitution and government, clearly defined forms of the religious life, and forms for the confirmation of morality, and for the regulation of doctrine and education, and thus produces institutions, assumes the character of the institutional. It can only develop in and for the natural ethical forms of life and society, partly presupposing these and making them instruments, partly influencing them and penetrating them with its spirit; and so there arises a rich and many-sided action and reaction between the church and the rest of the moral ordinances of life, and the church enters as a powerful factor into human history. Christian belief, Christian morality, the Christian view of the world, of which the church as a religious society and institution is the focus, as fluid spiritual elements permeate humanity as it becomes Christian, far beyond the sphere of the church proper; while conversely the church is not assured against the possibility that spiritual elements originally alien to her may dominate and influence her in their turn. It thus appears that for the historical treatment of the total operations and fortunes of Christianity in the life of the nations, the title History of Christianity or of the Christian religion has more to recommend it than that of Church History; for, in seeking a living view of history, we cannot stop at making clear (and at the same time making

lifeless) the Christian element in the ecclesiastical, much less at the fortunes of the Christian religious society as such, or be willing to give up the historical knowledge of the spiritual and moral influences on the condition of spirituality and culture of the different ages. But the maintenance of the title **Church History** is justified by the fact that the church as the special form of representation of the Christian religion stands at the centre of all historical operations of Christianity; and without constant reference to the definite expression of the Christian in the ecclesiastical we should run the danger of losing ourselves amid indefinite and disproportionate general phenomena of the history of civilization.

As the name of church occurs historically only in the Christian religion, it cannot well be applied to extra-Christian phenomena of the history of religion. Elder scholars have indeed often spoken of a church of the Old Testament; VENEMA, *e.g.*, has combined in a unity the church history of the Old Testament with that of the New. In the same way the conception might be transferred to the sphere of heathen religion. Of course the antique heathenism of the classic nations, in the domain of which Christianity began its mission, also gave to the religious life a visible historical stamp in definite institutions, acts of worship, manners and customs, to which the regulations of the Christian church are analogous, and these religious regulations have exercised a deeply pervasive influence. But the religious fellowship which generates from itself religious institutions essentially coincides in the unspoiled antique life with the national and political society. The religious consciousness is blended with and dominated by the natural consciousness; religion is determined and dominated by the kind and nationality of the people, and in its existence sustained and contained thereby. It is regarded as perfectly natural that each nation should have its own gods. But in that very fact is involved the consequence that the decay of heathen religion should keep in line with that of the national life and its independence. The religious consciousness which is loosed from its natural basis loses its hold. It is only in the ancient mysteries that there can be discovered a tendency to the emancipation of religion and its sanctions from national presuppositions, and in the communities of the initiated an anticipation of a society specifically religious, and, by this very fact, universally human in its significance, a premonition of a church. Hence their power of attraction as esoteric societies just at the time of the increasing decay of the ancient religions. On the other hand the Roman world-empire, with its mingling of different cults and their propaganda, had

an influence preparatory to the restoration of specific religious communities, which free themselves from the natural basis.

It is nevertheless essentially different in the sphere of Old Testament revealed religion. Here in virtue of its revealed character the religious principle emerges in greater freedom and independence—not as a mere natural modification of the national character. Religion as Law and Prophecy here lays claim to place a people, in its entire inner life and in its civic relationships under exclusive divine guidance, of such a kind that the nation represents the people of God, and the national, is at the same time the expression of the religious society. The thought of the Theocracy makes itself felt, though at first it is necessarily a particularistic Theocracy. The consciousness of a universal destiny does indeed most decidedly live in the people of God, and finds in the prophets its most animated expression; but the prevailing view is partly that those who accept the belief of Israel are also added to the people of God, partly that the heathen peoples acknowledge the God of Israel and His law. Here also there is no room for the occurrence of the specific phenomena of the Church. It is only the belief in the perfect revelation of God in Christ and the restoration of perfect communion with God in Him which leads, in Christianity, casting itself loose from the Old Testament notion, to a specifically religious society which is linked, not to definite national or popular circumstances (not necessarily to these or those), but only to the constituent religious-moral elements of the faith; but it is by that very fact one of quite universal concern, which lays claim to absolute acceptance. As such, the church, in the consciousness of the absolute power of its religious principle, now enters into the life of the nations and into vital interaction with the entire life of the world in its various characteristics and moral and social forms.

In this living interaction the peculiar life of the church is unfolded, in accordance with its internal principles of formation, into an extraordinarily manifold and complicated object of historical examination. The different elements of which it is composed, the different forms in which it expresses itself, the different characteristics in which it works itself out, the different results of a spiritual and moral sort which it deposits, the different influences on which it has to react—all these ought to be distinguished from one another, and at the same time related to and linked with one another. For this purpose it is necessary to elucidate the general historical movement of the church by the relative separation of certain of its aspects, without loosening the bond of unity. (1) From small begin-

nings the church spreads itself abroad over countries and peoples, partly by the involuntary impetus of its members, partly by organized activity with a conscious aim, partly by public measures in the interest of Christian politics and civilization—**History of the Spread of the Church,** *i.e.*, History of Missions.—(2) From mobile beginnings the church grows into fixed constitutional forms, organizing itself, creating for itself definite members and instruments for leadership and self-preservation, and for the regulation of its functions. It at the same time comes into living relationship and interaction with the political and civil forms of national life—**Constitutional History.** —(3) The church produces from itself the means of its own setting forth of its peculiar **religious** life in **divine worship,** which, on the one hand, as the fixed institution of worship, is closely connected with the constitution; on the other hand, in the means necessary for exhibiting it, it takes art into its service—History of the **Cultus,** of usages of worship, and of Christian art.—(4) It engenders on the basis of its religious belief a peculiar form of Christian life—**History of Christian custom and morality**—and exercises through its regular organs an educational activity tending to their purification and restoration—History of **Christian Discipline.**—(5) It develops the confession of its faith, under the influence of the general culture of the age, into a Christian view of the world—**History of doctrine** as the history of **Dogma,** and of the Christian science of **ethics,** and develops in general, in connection therewith, ecclesiastical science —History of the **theological sciences.**

Each of these essential aspects may be treated separately for the whole chronological extent of the history of the church, and thus affords partial studies in Church History, which are advantageous for the advancement of particular research, but unsatisfactory for the general picture which is to be gathered from them. This demands a connected view of the different aspects in surveyable chronological periods. Hence, the division of the material according to its nature has to be subordinated to a chronological division into periods, within which the natural divisions may appear, and yet be held together by frequent references. For this division into periods it suffices to fix firmly such points of time as appear as notes of development in the historical life of the church, in which, on occasion of the coincidence of altered internal and external relationships, the life of the church takes a decisive turn, **Epochs,** which gave their special impress to the **periods** of time dominated by them. Between two such epochs, the historical movement will proceed in such a way that the new historical influences which have

made their appearance in the first, work themselves out in it, and simultaneously therewith an onward tendency towards the new note of development makes itself perceptible. Amid the great difference and variety of the points of view which may be taken in the rich multiform life of the church, and its manifold intertwining with the entire historical development of the world, the attempt to divide up this constantly changing stream of history into periods will indeed lead to very various results, and no such attempt will be able to raise a claim to absolute validity. A pretty widely accepted understanding does, indeed, hold as to the most general divisions—namely, the distinction between the Church History of Christian antiquity, that of the Middle Ages, and that of the modern time of the Reformation; but not only the chronological delimitation between Christian antiquity and mediæval Christianity may be variously determined—and even the delimitation between the Middle Ages and ecclesiastical modern times has, from the Roman side, for the sake of opposition to the Protestant estimate of the Reformation, been otherwise defined (Kraus)—but (1) and (2), starting from the determining idea of the church, have been grouped under the higher unity of the Catholic period, with a view to contrasting to them the Protestant period (Rothe). On the other hand, from the point of view of the relation between the church and the world, it has been sought to limit the ancient church (Hasse) to the time down to Constantine, and the division has been made on the following scheme: (1) Independent development of the church for itself; (2) Renunciation of the church to the world (from Constantine till the Reformation); (3) Return of the church into itself,—a scheme which, however, leaves us in difficulties. Naturally, indeed, it is usual to regard the conversion of Constantine as an adequate landmark, but only as sufficient to divide ancient Church History into its two chief periods, and to allow the standard for distinguishing the ancient church from the mediæval to consist in the essential difference of the position which the church has on the soil of the ancient Græco-Roman world, and of the Roman Empire, and under the influences of its culture, from that which is formed in the Germano-Roman world of the Middle Ages. From this point of view, in the centuries-long process of the transformation, and partially of the dissolution of the Roman Empire, and the development therefrom of the Germano-Roman world, and corresponding therewith in the temporal confusion of the progressive impression upon the church of the spirit of the ancient church of the Empire, and the rising new ecclesiastical forms, it is possible to bring down the limit of Ancient

Church History (with HASE and WEINGARTEN) to the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation in 800 A.D., or according to the points of view made of prominent consideration, to make the mark of division earlier (GIESELER down to the beginning of the Image controversies [722], KURTZ down to the close of the development of doctrine in the ancient church [680], and the occurrence of the alienation between the Eastern and the Western churches [692], BAUR and others down to the end of the sixth century—Gregory the Great). We assign the first six centuries to Ancient Church History, and designate the time from Gregory the Great to Charlemagne as the transition period to the Middle Age proper. On the delimitation of individual periods see below.

2. History of Church History.

C. F. STÄUDLIN, *Geschichte und Literatur der Kirchengeschichte*, Hamburg, 1827; F. C. BAUR, *Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichts-schreibung*, Tübingen, 1852.

1. We find that there is no Church History of the more comprehensive sort until after the church has victoriously surmounted the struggle with the heathen state power and received recognition and favour through Constantine. Then EUSEBIUS PAMPHILI, Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine († 340) turned the eye of the church back from the stage to which it had attained to its beginnings, in his ten books of Church History, which cover the period from the beginning down to 324, *i.e.*, shortly before the Synod of Nicæa. (Edition with notes by H. Valesius, Paris, 1659, and frequently; F. G. Heinichen, 3 vols., Leipsic, 1827; handy editions by ZIMMERMAN, SCHWEGLER, H. LAMMER, critical edition by DINDORF, 1871).[1] His very panegyrical four books on the *Life of Constantine* form an essential amplification, as also the Panegyric on the Emperor. His value consists principally in his industrious investigation of ecclesiastical traditions, and in the communication and utilisation of older sources; his defect, in the arbitrary order and uncriticalness of his treatment, in which, however, he is but the child of his age, finally in his adulatory treatment of Constantine.

In the first half of the following century, there attach themselves to him as continuators, SOCRATES and SOZOMEN, advocates at Constantinople, Bishop THEODORET of Cyros († 457, but his Church History only reaches down to 428), and the Church History of the Arian PHILOSTORGIUS, which has only been preserved in excerpts. In the subsequent period they are joined by others, such as THEODORUS

[1] [English translation in Bohn's Series: London, 1879.]

Lector, Evagrius, Theophanes, down to Nicephorus Callisti (in the fourteenth century), who seeks not merely to be a continuator, but to set forth Church History in its entirety. His work has been preserved complete down to 610, in lists of contents to 911. For long, however, the work of the church historians had been paralleled by that of the Byzantine, Imperial, and Court historiographers, who included the church in their view. John of Ephesus, in the sixth century, produced a Church History in Syriac (all that is important for the history of his time, published by Cureton, Oxon., 1853; in German by Schönfelder, Munich, 1861. On him R. Land, Leyden, 1857).

In the Latin West the Presbyter Rufinus (of Aquileia † 410) first translated the Church History of Eusebius, and then added a continuation down to the death of Theodosius the Great (Cacciari, Rome, 1740, the editions of the work of Rufinus by Vallarsi, 1775 sq., and Migne, *tome* 21, only contain Rufinus' own two books).

Sulpicius Severus, a Gaulish presbyter († c. 420) in his *Cronica* (ed. Halm, 1866; in the older editions usually designated *Historia Sacra*) linked the history of the Christians immediately on to the biblical history of the people of God (which occupies the greater space). His contemporary Paulus Orosius incited by Augustine's Christian philosophy of history (*De Civitate Dei*) and to some extent invited to amplify it by Augustine himself, wrote the *Historiarum Libri VII.* (ed. Zangemeister, Vienna, 1882), a first attempt at a Christian history of the world, with the apologetic purpose of exhibiting Christianity as innocent of the miseries which people liked to associate with the falling away from the ancient gods. The Roman statesman in the service of the Ostro-Goth Theoderic, Cassiodorus, for the completion and continuation of Eusebius had the three Greek church historians (Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret) translated into Latin by his friend Epiphanius, and therefrom he restored in a somewhat rough fashion a work with his own continuation down to 518: the *Historia Tripartita* much made use of in the Middle Ages. To the *Chronicle* of Eusebius (*παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία*), an abstract of the history of the world, with chronological tables appended—of which the latter have been preserved in Jerome's translation and with his continuation down to 378 (Eus. Chron., ed. Alfr. Schöne, 2 vols., Berlin, 1866 and 1875)—there were added in imitation and continuation the dry chronological inventories of Jerome (Prosper's and many other edd.). Alongside, however, there appear valuable histories of particular nations, such as Jordanis' *De Rebus Geticis* (in the middle of the sixth century on the basis of Cassio-

dorus), partly with definite ecclesiastical contents, such as that of Gregory of Tours († 593), the *Historia (eccl.) Francorum*, a history of the Franks, which goes back to the creation of the world, and in a spirit of ecclesiastical pragmatism. The learned Bede's († 735) *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, starting from Cæsar's conquest of Britain, draws on living tradition and his own experiences, in a homely narrative of the highest historical value.

2. In the Middle Ages the aim of general church historians is limited to bare adherence to the ancients. Even the Church History of Haymo of Halberstadt only draws on Rufinus and Cassiodorus, while Anastasius Bibliothecarius († end of ninth century), translates his *Historia Ecclesiastica s. Chronographia Tripartita* from Theophanes and other Greek sources. What is most valuable for the Middle Ages both in Church History and history in general, consists in narratives having a narrower national and chronological horizon (*e.g.* the *Gesta Pontificum Hammaburgensium* of Adam of Bremen [second half of eleventh century], an ecclesiastical history of the North of the highest value), the biographies, imperial and cloistral annals and chronicles, a large number of living narrative presentations of special facts of high historical value. The *Angligenæ Uticensis monachi Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ libri XIII.* of Ordericus Vitalis (ed. A. le Prévost, Paris, 1838–1855, 5 vols.), begins with the birth of Christ, and appends to the chronological abstract of the History of the Emperors (vol. i.), and of the Popes (vol. ii.), drawn from sources known to the church, the History of the Normans and the Crusades, continuing in a broad chronicle down to the lifetime of the author (time of Innocent II.). Mediæval scholasticism, in accordance with its general tendency to an encyclopædic storing up of all attainable material for knowledge, made attempts in that sort of history too (no separation of ecclesiastical and secular history). Thus, in the colossal compilation of Vincent of Beauvais (*Bellovacensis* † 1264), the *Speculum Universale*, there is also contained a *Speculum Historiale*, which begins with the creation of the world, and coming down to the lifetime of the author, ends with a forward glance at the end of all things. At the close of the Middle Ages Antonius of Florence († 1459) furnished the much used and often printed *Summa Historialis*, in which, however, ecclesiastical matter is wrapped up in a general secular chronicle. With the Humanism of the fifteenth century the critico-historical sense—which was but little the property of the genuine Middle Age—begins to stir (Laurentius Valla and the *Donation of Constantine*).

The Reformation watchword of return to the pure church of the

gospel, also necessitated a historical criticism of the aberrations of the Papacy, and impelled the zealous Lutherans, Matthæus Flacius Illyricus, Wigand, Judex, and many others to write the so-called **Magdeburg Centuries** (*Eccles. Historia, integram ecclesiæ ideam complectens, congesta per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeb.*, Bâle, 1559–1574). From this polemical stand-point, they described the history of the church, the increasing impurity of of the papal church in customs, constitution and doctrine, but also pointed out the *testes veritatis*, who were never lacking in any century. This work of solid industry, which under rather unfavourable circumstances brought many hidden sources to light, comprehends thirteen centuries of the church's history. To it the learned Oratorian Cæsar Baronius, who however sat at the sources of the documentary treasures of the Vatican, opposed his *Annales Ecclesiastici* with the object of defending the Roman church against the attacks of the Centuriators by bringing forward the facts, in the conviction that the historical documents did not attest the falling away of the church from the primitive gospel, but only the persistent identity throughout history of the divinely designed position of the chair of St. Peter. On the twelve centuries which were worked up by Baronius (Rome, 1588) follow the continuations of Bzovius, Spondanus, and especially Raynaldus (Rome, 1646, down to 1566), then Laderchi (to 1571), finally Augustus Theiner (to 1585). The great and meritorious work of Baronius offered many weak points to criticism, even from the Catholic standpoint. Such criticism was exercised with great results, especially in matters of chronology, by A. Pagi, whose *Critica Historico-chronologica* is included in the principal edition of Baronius by Mansi (Lucca, 1738, 38 vols. fol.; New ed. by A. Theiner, Bois le Duc, 1864 sqq., 4to). From the Reformed side, the great work has been subjected to criticism by the great scholars, Isaac Casaubon, Samuel Basnage, and also Spanheim. The tide of scholarship in the Roman church of the seventeenth century was mainly fruitful of great historical delineations in the domain of the French church, under the influence of Gallicanism, and promoted by the great patristic and literary historical works of the Maurinians, Oratorians, and Jesuits. Of such were the *Selecta hist. eccl. capita et in loca eiusdem insignia dissertationes hist.*, etc. (Paris, 1677), by the Gallican Dominican Natalis Alexander (Noël), comprising twenty-four volumes, and reaching down to the Council of Trent. The earlier volumes were received with great acceptance at Rome, but the later gave such offence by independent criticism on mediæval popes, that they were

condemned to the *Index Expurgatorius*, and were only freed from the stigma by Benedict XIII., after Roncagli had prepared an edition with corrections and dissertations in disproof (Lucca, 1734). The Jansenist Sebastian le Nain de Tillemont, whose meritorious History of the Roman Emperors was already intended to serve as the foundation for researches in ecclesiastical history, carefully collected and provided with annotations of the matter of the sources in biographical form, the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, Paris, 1693 sq. and frequently. Claude Fleury wrote his copious *Histoire ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1691 sqq., 20 vols., 1722–1737, 36 vols. and frequently) without critical rigour, in a charitable spirit, for purposes of teaching and edification, and not without preference for the ancient church of the Apostles and Fathers, and a distaste for the stiff and starched methods of the Curia. The famous Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle depuis le commencement du monde jusqu'à l'empire de Charles Magne*, Paris, 1681, 4to, may be mentioned as a philosophic treatment of the history of the world from the point of view of the Catholic church.

Members of the Reformed churches, especially of the French and French-Swiss (but also the Dutch and German-Swiss) in a spirit of polemic against Catholicism and its scholarly representatives, particularly the Jesuits, developed great learning in historico-critical investigations of ecclesiastical antiquity; *viz.* Dallæus, David Blondel, Salmasius, Samuel and Jacob Basnage. In like manner, partly in the interest of Anglicanism, the English theologians Ussher, Pearson, Dodwell, Bingham, Grabe (a German by birth), and others. The Swiss J. H. Hottinger supplied a comprehensive and most learned universal Church History, also bringing in, however, Paganism, Judaism, and Mohammedanism (*Historia Ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti*, 9 vols., 1651–1667), from a similar standpoint to that occupied by the Magdeburg Centuriators in the Lutheran domain; Friedrich Spanheim the Younger also produced rich historical matter (in his *Summa histor. eccl.*, Leyden, 1689, reaching down to the Reformation). He was the same who, in his *Introductio*, in opposition to Baronius, performed important work in the criticism of sources, chronology, and geography. To this department also belong the *Exercitationes hist. crit.* of Samuel Basnage, an important criticism on Baronius, while his father Jacob Basnage, in his *Histoire de l'Eglise*, Rotterdam, 1699, 2 vols., is rich in material and effective in the anti-Roman sense. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica duor. prior. sæculorum* (1716) of Johannes Clericus the spirit of modern criticism is already alive, and the ecclesiastico-historical

compendia of Jablonsky and the German Turretin are already above the polemical rigour of the old confessional spirit; so likewise Venema (*Institutiones h. c. V. et N. T.*, 1777 sqq., 7 vols.).

In the Lutheran church, after the outstanding achievement of the Centuriators the exclusive cultivation of dogmatics and polemics till far on in the seventeenth century allowed predominance only to the utilisation of dogmatico-historical material in dogmatics and polemics (as in M. Chemnitz's *Examen. concil. Trident.*, Gerhard's *Loci*, etc.), and not of researches in Church History conducted from independent interest in history. New impulses in this direction were nevertheless already contained in the theology of George Calixt, in his demonstration of the common foundation of the confessions in ecclesiastical antiquity (*Consensus quinquesecularis*); and towards the end of the century there is an increase of the ecclesiastico-historical sense along with a certain regress of the dogmatico-polemical interest, as the former was cultivated by Chr. Korthold of Kiel, by K. Sagittarius, Thomas Ittig, A. Rechenberg, and others, and already received a powerful advance as regards the history of the Reformation in the documental *Commentarius histor. et apol. de Lutheranismo* of the admirable Veit Ludwig von Seckendorf (1688 sqq., in a new revision, 1694 fol.). Pietism contributed to the emancipation of the treatment of history from bondage to dogma, inasmuch as it induced a tendency to the appreciation of Christian phenomena, not so much according to the standard of the correct doctrinal conception, as by the subjective feelings of pious hearts. This tendency was driven to the most one-sided extreme by the pietist mystic Gottfried Arnold in his *Unparteiische Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie* (1699, complete ed. Schaffhausen, 3 vols. fol.); the light is seen to be on the side of the heretics persecuted and oppressed by the priests and the *ministerium ecclesiasticum;* on the side of the official church are spiritual death and arbitrary and external principles, and he looks yearningly towards the "first love" in the true imitation of the first Christians. Arnold, however, with all his exaggeration and unsound mysticism, powerfully broadened the view of ecclesiastical history. Among the representatives of the mild orthodox theology which no longer stands in a hostile attitude to Pietism, such as Buddeus and the elder Walch (John George), the tendency of the time away from dogmatics and towards historical scholarship shows itself in performances of value for the history of the church, in Chr. Eberhard Weismann, of Tübingen (*Introductio in memorabilia eccl.*, 2 vols., p. 12 (Tübingen, 1718), as a mild tendency to compromise. But in Johann Lorenz von Mosheim

(Professor at Helmstadt, finally Chancellor of the University of Göttingen, † 1755) there arises **the father of modern ecclesiastical history.** Equipped with most comprehensive learning not merely in theology, a man of genius, of fine æsthetic culture, a master of language in a high degree, he not only essentially advanced ecclesiastico-historical research into detail on very many points, but in a spirit of impartiality and ingenuousness, which did not however overlook the positive and valuable elements in events, penetrated the whole movement of ecclesiastical history, and set it forth with lucidity and taste. (*Institutionum hist. eccles. antiquæ et recentioris libri* 4, Helmstadt, 1755, 4 [2nd ed., 1764]. *Institutiones historiæ christianæ maiores. Sæculum primum*, Helmst., 1739, and the most meritorious *Commentarii de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Magnum*, Helmst., 1753, 4). Following in the footsteps of his father, the younger Walch (Chr. Wilhelm Franz), won for himself distinguished merit as a scholar by his works in Church History (*Neueste Religionsgeschichte*, and others, but especially the *Entwicklung einer vollständigen Historie der Ketzereien*, 2 parts, 1762 onwards and other years). Johann Matt. Schrœckh, a disciple and admirer of Mosheim, though he was indeed far behind his master in refinement and genius of style, has supplied in the forty-five volumes of his *History of the Christian Church*, a work which is broad in treatment but thorough and trustworthy and of solid sense, and to this day indispensable (Leipzig, 1772, the latter volumes completed after his death by Tzschirner). Semler's formless but stirring criticism had indeed a destructive but at the same time a universally inspiring and advancing influence on historical research, inasmuch as it placed all importance on the temporary and changeable character especially of the doctrines of the church, which it universally regarded in the light of mere expressions of doctrinal opinions, themselves changeable under altered temporal conditions and changing influences, and by no means to be set on an equality with the simple religious-moral content of the religion of Jesus or allowed to bind the right of the individual. Hence was developed the subjective pragmatism of the age of the *illumination*, in the temper of which the otherwise most learned and independent historian Ludwig Tim. Spittler wrote his *Grundriss der christlichen Kirche* (1782 and subsequently), a terse, intellectual, and witty presentation; H. K. Henke, of Helmstadt, was the author of a detailed general history of the church in chronological order (6 vols., Brunswick, 1788 sqq., repeatedly republished, the latter parts with a continuation by J. S. Vater) entirely dominated by the spirit of

reflective rationalism; and Gottlieb Jacob Planck of Göttingen wrote his works in Church History, which are distinguished by thorough research and lucidity (*Geschichte der christl. Gesellschaftverfassung; Geschichte des protestant. Lehrbegriffs*).

In our own century the need has made itself vigorously felt, from different standpoints, of following the emancipation from the old confessional bondage by further overcoming the ban of private and personal feelings, and of doing justice to the objective understanding of the ecclesiastical past by loving self-submersion in its proper content. This is sought, first of all, in the quiet and dispassionate collection of documentary matter, as by Chr. Schmidt (*Handbuch der christl. Kirchegenschichte*, Giessen, 1801 sq.), continued by Rottberg; and on this method of procedure one of the master writers of Church History, T. C. Ludwig Gieseler (*Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, Bonn, 1824 sq., 3 vols. in 8 parts, the first 6 parts in 4th ed., vols. 4 and 5 published posthumously, by Redepenning; the latter based on lectures and without reference to authorities) goes the length of accompanying the simple and somewhat brief text with copious and carefully and critically chosen matter from authorities; a work of the greatest merit. The second chief of the science of Church History, August Neander, exhibited a pious tendency of feeling which turns away from rationalism, and is at least in touch with Schleiermacher. On the basis of affectionate immersion in the authorities, he is capable in a high degree of doing justice to the inner Christian life with sympathetic participation in its manifold forms, of understanding the historical movement of Christianity as a spiritual development moving on by means of relatively justified oppositions, of taking delight in the individual impress given to Christianity by great personalities, of generously recognising in reference to dogma the religious significance even of dogmatic struggles. The third of the master spirits is Karl Hase (*Kirchengeschichtl. Lehrbuch zunächst für akadem. Vorlesungen*, 1834, 11th ed. 1886; *Kirchengeschichte auf Grundlage akadem. Vorlesungen*, I., 1885). A master of form, and full of intellectual fire, with an open eye for all that is significantly impressed on individual character, he has accurately and significantly portrayed the results of his research, and had at length begun to set them forth on a larger scale. His æsthetic treatment of religious phenomena shines in references to art and secular literature, of which he makes more frequent and more intelligent use than most professional theologians.

Marehineke (*Universalkirchenhistorie des Christenthums, Grundzüge*

zu akadem. Vorlesungen, I. Part, 1806) had attempted to attain for his time the objectivity in the conception of history, which was desiderated under the influence of the tendency of philosophy introduced by Schelling. The explanation of the development of the church was to grow out of the idea of religion, but the attempt remained suspended in abstract formalism. Of much more important, fertile and mature results, were the endeavours of F. Chr. Baur to bring the historical development of Christianity within the sphere of the law of the process of spirit. Although his presentation of the history of the Christian church, as a whole, was only in part published by himself, *Das Christenthum und die christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, Tübingen, 1853 [3rd ed. 1863];[1] *die christl. Kirche*, von 4. bis 6. Jahrh., 1859 [2nd ed. 1863] *die christl. Kirche des Mittelalters*, 1861, prepared for the press by himself); and in part only published after his death, *Gesch. der christl. Kirche*, 4 vols. 1863; *Kirchengenschichte des* 19 *Jahrh.*, 1862), his epochmaking works on the history of primitive Christianity, from which the most fertile stimulus has gone forth far beyond the limits of his own school, and on the other hand his works on the history of dogma have incontrovertibly assigned him a place among the foremost chiefs of ecclesiastico-historical research. Among independent writers of Church History, Chr. N. Niedner (*Lehrb. der christl. Kirchengesch.*, newest ed., 1866) also deserves special attention. He has the faculty of vigorously presenting the material drawn from original sources under particular points of view, although in a clumsy style. R. Rothe's lectures on Church History (published by Weingarten, 1875) are of the highest value for constitutional history, and in particular for the history of Christian life, and also on account of many striking points of view. The Church histories of Guericke and Lindner rather attach themselves to Neander, both, however, with a strict maintenance of the confession; R. Hasse (ed. by Köhler) writes with taste and comprehensiveness, but under the burden of a plan of treatment which is inadequate to the matter. The attractive and copious lectures of Hagenbach also stand under the influence of Neander, as does also the *Histoire du Christianisme* of Chastel, at least in the earlier volumes, and that of the German-American Ph. Schaff (*History of the Christian Church*); finally also the *Abriss der ges. Kirchengeschichte*, by J. J. Herzog, 3 vols. (with a completing supplement by Koffmane), Erlangen, 1876 sqq. From the standpoint of the Reformed Church: Ebrard, *Handbuch der Kirchen- u. Dogmengesch.*, 4 vols., Erl., 1865. The very meritorious

[1] [English translation by Allan Menzies, London, 1878.]

text-book of Church History by H. Kurtz,[1] written from the Lutheran standpoint, has in its ten editions simultaneously attained external comprehensiveness and freedom from prejudice. In the assiduous pursuit of ecclesiastico-historical research at the present time, we have evidence partly of the influence of the leaders of ecclesiastico-historical science who have been named, partly of the endeavours which from the time of Baur have never been set at rest to come to an understanding of primitive Christianity, in which to the investigators who are essentially followers of Baur (Lipsius, Hilgenfeld, Pfleiderer, Holtzmann, Weizsäcker) as to those who on the whole attach themselves to Neander (Lechler, Jacobi, Herzog, and others), and finally to those who, going on their own independent way by investigation of the sources, seek a positive foundation (Th. Zahn), a new position of far-reaching perspective has been opposed by Albert Ritschl, from which younger investigators, above all A. Harnack, have received most powerful stimulus. Work in Church History is also influenced by the high development of secular historical science, especially in the investigation of the Middle Ages, in which, on the theological side, H. Reuter is equally distinguished in method and knowledge of his authorities; younger talents emulate him with success. Finally the increased theological interest in the Reformation has given a considerable impulse to ecclesiastico-historical research.

In touch with German ecclesiastico-historical theology in our century in the evangelical sphere are both the products of the Dutch, where, above all others, W. Moll following Kist (*Geschiedenis het Kerkelijke leven der Christenn gedurende de zes eerste eeuven*, 2nd ed., 1855 and 1857; *Kerkesch. van Nederland voor de Hervorming*, Arnheim and Utrecht, 1864–67) and his school (Rogge, Acquoi, and others) are to be mentioned, as well as the English and American theology which, especially in the last decades, has been the subject of a great advance.

The Catholic writing of Church History in Germany in our century first struck a deep religious tone after the period of neology, in the History of the Religion of Christ begun by the convert F. Leopold, Graf zu Stolberg; and was afterwards raised to scientific eminence pre-eminently by A. Möhler and J. J. Döllinger, both as regards intellectual apprehension and industrious investigation of authorities; but also in Döllinger it has made the transition from ultramontane hostility to the Reformation, to Old Catholicism, which itself falls under the ban of Rome. Instigated

[1] [English translation. 3 vols. London, 1888–90.]

by them are the *Universal History of the Church* by Alzog, the massive text-book of Xav. Kraus (Trèves, 2nd ed., 1862), which in its external arrangements recalls that of Kurtz, and the Handbook of the learned Ultramontane, Hergenröther (Freiburg, 1876 sqq.). The main share, however, of Catholic research in Church History to-day consists in contributions to the special investigation of mediæval authorities, such as are recorded in the Year-book of the Görres Society and in the *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, published by Denifle and Ehrle (Berlin).

3. Introduction to the Knowledge of the Literature and Sources of Church History.

For a knowledge of general historical relations: the presentations of the history of the world, of comprehensive works: Becker's *Weltgeschichte* (8th ed. by Ad. Schmidt with its continuation by Arndt and Bulle), Schlosser (in the new revision, 4th ed. 1884), and especially G. Weber's *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte für die gebildeten Stände*, 15 vols. (2nd ed. begun since 1881); W. Oncken, *Allg. Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen* (written along with twenty-four co-operators since 1878).

With reference to **geography,** Sprüner's Historical Hand-Atlas (1838–46), 3rd ed. by Menke (1871–80), and Droysen's *Allg. hist. Handatlas*, Bielefeld and Leipsic, 1886. With special reference to Church History: Wiltsch, *Atlas Sacer*, Göttingen, 1843, and his *Kirchliche Geographie und Statistik*, 2 vols. 1846.

As regards **chronology,** the fundamental work is: J. Scaliger, *De emend. temporum*, Jena, 1629, and Dion Petavius, *De doctrina temporum*, Antwerp, 1703, and especially *L'art de vérifier les dates*, 4th ed. down to 1770 by St. Alais, 5 and 15 vols. 1818 sq., 3rd part since 1770 by de Courcelles, 1821–44; Ideler, *Handb. der math. und techn. Chronologie*, 2 vols., 1825 sq.; Brinckmeier, *Prakt. Handbuch d. hist., Chronol.*, 2nd ed. Berlin, 1882; Weidenbach, *Calendarium hist. christ. medii et novi ævi*, Regensburg, 1855; Grotefend, *Handb. des hist. chr. des Mittel Alters*, Hannover, 1872; A. Drechsler, *Kalenderbüchlein*, Leipz., 1801; F. Piper, *Kirchenordnung*, 1841.

Of the different chronological **eras** the following have to be taken into account for the purposes of Church History.

1. The Roman *ab urbe condita* (754 A.U.C. = 1 A.D.).

2. The method of counting according to the years of consulships and pro-consulships in use in the West down to the sixth century and in the Greek Empire down to the ninth century; Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, 1845–50.

3. Counting by the years of the reigns of the Emperors and other princes, particularly of the Popes.

4. Of the eras proper, that from the creation of the world taken over from the Jews plays a considerable part. It is based on the chronological evidence of the Bible which, however, is very variously interpreted. Julius Africanus counted down to Christ 5500 years, Eusebius (*Chronicon*) 5199, Scaliger reckoned 3950 etc.; the modern Jews count from the 1st Tisri, 3761. For the computation of Easter the basis was long afforded by the reckoning of the Egyptian monk Panodorus, 5493: finally the Byzantine or Constantinopolitan era reckons 5509 years before Christ, and begins with the 1st September, which the Orthodox Greek Church has retained, with the exception of Russia, where it was discarded by Peter the Great.

5. **The Christian Era.** The Roman monk Dionysius Exiguus (in the Easter Tables for A.D. 525) was the first to reckon *ab incarnatione Domini*, in doing which (in agreement with Panodorus) he set the year 1 at 754 A.U.C., which pretty nearly corresponds to the passages Luke iii. 1 and 23; but, if the birth of Jesus took place during the lifetime of Herod (Matt. ii. 1 sqq.) this date is put a few years too late; v. Wieseler, *Chronol. Synopse der vier Evv.*, 8vo, 1843; Zumpt, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, 1869.

As the birth of Jesus is ascribed to the end of the year 1, while the date of the Conception is received as the *terminus a quo* of the Incarnation, the year runs from 1st January to 31st December, 754 A.U.C. In the further spread of this method of reckoning Beda next (*De ratione temporum*) and Charlemagne were influential; in the tenth century it is already widely spread, does not however penetrate to Spain till the fourteenth century. Difficulties arose from the different periods of beginning the new year, according as the reckoning was made now from 1st January, now from Christmas, again from 25th March (or from Easter); it was not till the sixteenth century that the first became universal.

6. For a long period, alongside of the Christian reckoning there were also added the other chronological characterizations of the years as they are contained in the Easter tables, *i.e.* besides the years of the emperors and consuls, the so-called **Indictions** (the Roman tribute numbers), according to the Roman fiscal disposition in a period of fifteen years which ran from the 1st September, an institution which can be traced back to Constans, or Constantine the Great. Only the years of the current indiction are counted, not the latter itself, *e.g.* 1st, 2nd, etc., year of the Indiction. If the institution of the indiction could be traced back to the time of Christ, the

beginning of such an indiction would fall in the year 3 B.C.; the indiction of any year A.D. may be found by adding 3 to the number of the year and dividing by 15; the number then remaining indicates the year of the indiction, or if there be no remainder, it is 15. Confusion is brought in by the fact, that subsequently, when the real meaning of the indiction had long been forgotten, the reckoning from the 1st September was not strictly maintained, but combined with other ways of reckoning the New Year.

7. Of other eras, account has yet to be taken of the so-called *Æra Seleucidarum*, which begins B.C. 311 or 312, and the *Æra Hispana*, which starts from the conquest of Spain by Augustus (38 B.C.), finally the *Diocletian Era*, beginning with the 29th August, 284 A.D The reckoning by Olympiads is in use down to the fourth century (in isolated cases still later), cycles of four years beginning B.C. 777. According to the usual acceptation the first year of the 195th Olympiad begins on the 1st July, A.D. 1.

A. Among the **sources** of Church History the place of highest originality is taken, as in the case of history in general, by **monuments** and **original documents,** as their origin is itself a part of the event.

I. Among the **monuments** (vid. F. PIPER, *Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie*, Berlin, 1867) account must be taken of:—

1. **Unwritten works of art as such,** which, if they are not intentionally devoted to the commemoration of ecclesiastical events, give involuntary testimony as to the life and spirit of the church of their age. To this department belong collections of Christian sculpture, which are the subject of **Christian archæology,** so far as it is an archæology of art. S. R. GARUCCI, *Storia della arte crist. nei primi otto sec.*, Prato, 1873 sqq.; the literature of the Catacombs, vid. infra (I. Period. Part 2); H. OTTE, *Handb. der kirchlichen Kunstarchæologie des deutschen Mittel-Alters*, 5th ed., 2 vols., 1883–84. It is dependent on the statements of general art history. Works of SCHNAASE, KUGLER, W. LUBKE, and others; KRAUS, *Realencyclopädie der Christl. Alterthümer*, Freib., 1880 sqq.

2. **Inscriptions,** to which are added **coins** and **seals.** Of the great works on inscriptions, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, by BÖCKH (and his continuators), includes also Christian inscriptions, though only a selection (4th vol., part 2, by KIRCHHOFF); the *Corpus I. Lat.* by MOMMSEN has almost entirely excluded them. Here come in a number of older works on inscriptions, especially GRUTER, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, Amster-

dam, 1603 sq., Fabretti and others, and more recently de Rossi, *Inscr. christ. urbis Romæ VII. sæculo antiquiores*, Rome, 1857; Le Blouet, *Inscr. chrét de la Gaule*, 2 vols., 1853 sq., Hübner, *Inscr. christ. Hispan.*, Berlin, 1871, and *Inscr. Brit. Christ.*, 1876. Cf. Franz, *Elem. epigraphices græcæ*, Berlin, 1840, and Hübner, *Handbuch der römischen Epigraphik*, Berlin, 1877.

II. To public documents which are especially important for Church History there belong, among others:—

1. The **Laws of States** relating to the Church, *e.g.* those of the Roman Emperors (codices of Theodosian and Justinian, *vid.* before II. Period), the capitularies of Frankish Kings, the laws of German Emperors (vid. Periods III., IV. sq.), and the legislation of the various countries.

2. **Ecclesiastical Laws**, chiefly the proclamations as they issue from the law-giving ecclesiastical authorities, councils and superior ecclesiastical officials, in particular from the Bishops of Rome.

(*a*) **Acts of Councils,** specially the collections of Harduin, Paris, 1715, 12 vols. fol. and I. D. Mansi, *Sacr. conc. nova et ampliss. coll.*, Florence and Venice, 1759 sqq., 31 vols. fol.

The History of the Councils has been made the object of special research by C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengesch*, Freiburg, 1855 sqq., 8 vols., the 8th by Hergenröther, 1887 (down to 1520), vols. 1–5 in 2nd ed., 1877 sqq.[1]

(*b*) The papal **Acts, Rescripts, Bulls,** and **Briefs** (papal communications in less important matters; the main difference between *Bulls* and *Briefs* was set aside by Leo XIII. on the 29th October, 1878); *Bullarium Romanum*, *Bullarum privilegiorum ac diplomatum Rom. Pont.*, ed. C. Cocquelines, Rome, 1739, 28 vols. fol. *Continuat op.*, Barberini, Rome, 1835, 20 vols. fol., new augmented ed. Turin, 1857 sqq.; *Append. ad B. Rom.* Turin, 1867. The older papal Briefs: Coustant, *Epp. Rom. Pontif.*, Paris, 1721; Schoenemann, Göttingen, 1796, and (down to 523) Thiel, Braunsberg, 1867 sq.

Connected with these are the **Regests** on all Briefs, Bulls, Privileges and Councils: Jaffé *Regesta Pontif. Rom.* (down to 1198), 2nd ed. by Kaltenbrunner and others, 2 vols., Berlin, 1881–88; Potthast, *Reg. pont.* (1198–1304), 2 vols., Berl. 1873; J. v. Pflug-Hartung, *Acta pont. R. I.*, Tübingen, 1880, and *Urkunde der päpstl. Kanzlei* vom 10.–13. Jahrh., Munich, 1882.

[1] [English translation, I. II. III. London, 1872–83.]

For the **history of the Popes,** the Regests afford a solid foundation, for more ancient times in combination with the so-called *Liber Pontificalis*, one of various portions of collected history of the Popes (the oldest the Liberian Catalogue) from Peter down to the second half of the ninth century, which gradually arose and long went under the title of the *Library of Anastasius.* The best edition begun by DUCHESNE, Pt. I., Paris, 1886; following it is WATTERICH'S *Pont. Rom. qui fuerunt ab exeunte sæc. IX. . . . vitæ ab æqual. conscr.*, 2 vols., Leipsic, 1862 (reaching down to 1198). A. BOWER,[1] *Impartial History of the Popes of Rome*, translated from the Eng. by Rambach, 10 vols., Leipsic, 1751 sqq.; J. J. RAMBACH, *Gesch. der röm. Päpste seit der Ref.*, 2 vols., 1779; L. v. RANKE, *Gesch. der röm. Päpste*, 7th ed., 3 vols., 1878;[2] WATTENBACH, *Gesch. der röm. Päpste*, Lectures, Berlin, 1870; L. PASTOR, *Gesch. der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittel-Alters*, I., Freiburg, 1886 (for criticism on *vid.* Druffel in G.-G.-A. 1887, No. 12).

(*c*) The collections of the **Corpus juris canon.,** of which the first part includes the so-called **Decretum Gratiani**, and also the genuine and spurious older papal decretals; modern editions by Richter, Leipsic, 1833, and Friedberg, ib., 1876 sq.

(*d*) Connected with the papal Acts is the **Liber Diurnus** of the papal Chancery, containing the usual formulas of the papal epistles and communications, according to the older edition by Garnier in Migne 105, and more exactly Rozière, Paris, 1869 (5–11 century).

(*e*) The collection of Concordats by E. MÜNCH, 2 vols., Leipsic, 1831, and especially Vinc. NUSSI, *Conventiones de rebus eccles. inter s. sedem et civil. potest. initæ*, Mayence, 1871.

3. The ecclesiastical laws of different countries, in particular the **Protestant Church Ordinances;** those of the sixteenth century collected by L. A. RICHTER, Weimar, 1846; cf. J. J. MOSER, *Corp. juris ev. ecclesiæ*, Zürich, 1737 sq., 2 vols. They contain at the same time especially the liturgical regulations.

Treatises on **Ecclesiastical Law** are based on the documents hitherto mentioned; cf. F. WALTER *Fontes juris ecclesiast. antiqui et hodierni*, Bonn, 1861; A. L. RICHTER, *Lehrb. des kath. und evang. Kirchenrecht*, 8th ed. by Dove and Kahl, 1886, and many others.

[1] Published London, 1750–66.

[2] English translation, with Introduction by D'Aubigné, 1846.]

4. The **Liturgies** and **Laws of Worship.** J. A. Assemani, *Codex liturgicus eccl. universalis*, Rome, 1749, 13 vols. 4to; Renaudot, *Lit. orient. coll.*, Paris, 1715; Daniel, *Cod. Liturg. eccl. universalis in epit. red.*, Leipsic, 1847, 4 vols.; Muratori, *Lit. rom. vet.*, Venice, 1748; Hammond, *Ancient Liturgies*, Oxford, 1878. The greater part of the edition is entitled, *Liturgies Eastern and Western.*—Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies chiefly from original Authorities; with an appendix containing the Coptic Order of the Mass*, ed. and transl. by Dr. Bezold, Cambridge, 1884; and Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Würzburg, 1863, 2 vols. The Protestant Church orders, *v. sup.* Ebrard, *Reform. Kirchenbuch*, 1848. The more recent Protestant agenda.—Based on liturgical material are: Guil. Durandus, *Rationale divin. offic.*, 1605, new ed. Naples, 1866; Bona, *Rer. liturg. libri* 2, Rome, 1671, Turin, 1747 sqq.; A. M. a Carpio, *Bibl. lit. compend.*, Bonn, 1878; on it and the regulations of ecclesiastical law (No. 3) is based **Christian Archæology,** in so far as it affords a history of worship and of ecclesiastical discipline and constitution. Chief works: Bingham,[1] *Origines antiquit. eccles.*, tr. into Latin by Grischovius, 10 vols. 4to, Halle 1722; J. W. Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus der christ. Archäologie*, 12 vols., Leipsic, 1816 sqq. (Abstract: *Handb. der christl. Archäologie*, 3 vols., Leipsic, 1836); Rheinwald, *Die kirchl. Archäol.*, 1830 and other eds.; Guericke, 2nd ed., 1856; Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten der chr. kath. Kirche*, 17 vols., Mayence, 1825 sqq.; X. Kraus, *Realencyclopädie*, v. sup.—Alt, *Der christl. Cultus*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., 1851; and Th. Harnack, *Prakt. Theol.*, *Theorie und Geschichte des Cultus*, 2 vols., 1877.—Comprehensive constitutional history: G. J. Planck, *Gesch. der christl. kirchl. Gesellschaftsref.*, 5 vols. Hannover, 1805 sqq.

5. The **Creeds** and **Confessions of Faith.** Those of the ancient Church in Walch, *Biblioth. symb. vetus*, Lemgo, 1770, and A. Hahn, *Bibl. der Symb. und Glaubensregeln*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1877; C. P. Caspari, *Quellen z. Gesch. des Taufsymbols u. d. Glaubensregel*, 3 vols. Christiania, 1866–75, and *Alte u. neue Quellen*, etc., ibid., 1879. For the Eastern Church: Kimmel, *Libri symbol. eccl. or.*, Jena, 1843. For the Catholic, the collections of Danz (1835), and Streitwolf et Klener (1835), and especially Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum et definitionum quæ de rebus fidei et morum a Conciliis œcum. et summis pontif. eman.*, 6th ed. by

[1] [*Origines Ecclesiasticæ;* or, The Antiquities of the Christian Church. And other works of the Rev. Joseph Bingham, M.A., etc., 9 vols. London, 1844.]

J. Stahl, Wirceb., 1888, as well as the Protestant symbolical treatises: Lutheran: K. Hase; J. T. Muller, in Latin and German, 4th ed. 1876; Reformed: Niemayer (1840) and the comprehensive work of Ph. Schaff, *Biblioth. symb. eccles. univ.*, 3 vols. New York, 1882 (important on account of the Confessions of the English and American denominations).—Here are to be mentioned works on **Symbolics** and **Polemical Theology**: G. B. Winer, *Comparative Darstellung*, 4th ed., 1882; the general *Symbolics* of J. A. Möhler (1832), 9th ed., 1884, Köllner (1846), Marheineke (Lectures, 1848), Matthes (1854), R. Hoffmann (1856); Fr. Reiff, *Der Glaube der Kirchen*, etc. (1863); G. F. Oehler, *Lehrbuch*, ed. by Delitzsch, Tübingen, 1876; Scheele, *Th. S.*, revised by Michelsen, 3 vols. Gotha, 1881 sq. The Symbolics of the Catholic Church by J. Delitzsch, I., Gotha, 1875; B. Wendt, I., Gotha 1880.—H. W. J. Thiersch, *Vorlesungen über Protest. u. Kathol.*, 2 vols., 2nd ed., Erlangen, 1848. Protestant treatises against Möhler: by F. Chr. Baur, *Der Gegens. d. Cath. u. Prot.*, 2nd ed., 1836, and K. J. Nitzsch, *Protest. Beantw.*, Hamburg, 1835.—Schneckenburger, *Vergleichende Darstellung der luth. u. ref. Lehrb.*, 1855, and *Lehrbegr. der kleineren protest. Kirchenpart.*, 1863; K. Hase, *Lehrb. der Polemik*, new ed., 1878; Tschackert, *Ev. Polemik*, Gotha, 1865; N. Gass, *Symb. der griech. Kirche*, 1872.

6. The various rules of the monastic orders. Chief work: Luc. Holstenius, *Codex regular. monast. et canon.*, 3 vols. 4to, Rome, 1661. Ed. auct. M. Brockie, Augsburg, 1759, 6 vols. fol. The great works of Mabillon, *Annales Ord. S. Bened.*, Paris, 1703–39, 6 vols. fol.; 2nd ed., Lucca, 1739–45; Wadding, *Annales Minorum* (Franciscans), 2nd ed., Rome and Anc., 1731–1864, 24 vols. fol., and very many others afford the basis for the comprehensive **history of monasticism**: R. Hospinianus, *De monachis s. de orig. et progr. Mon.*, Tig., 1609; Alteserra, *Asceticon*, Paris, 1674, ed. by Gluck, under the title *Origines rei monasticæ*, Halle, 1782, 8vo; Helyot, *Histoire des ordres mon.*, Paris, 1714, 8 vols., in German 1753 sqq., with continuation by O. Phil. de la Madeleine, 1838, 7 vols. 8vo; G. Masson, *Hist. des ordres mon.*, Berlin, 1751, 4 vols.; ejusd. *Pragm. Gesch. der röm. Mönchsorden*, by Crone, 10 vols. Leipsic, 1774 sqq.; Henrion, *Hist. des ordres rel.*, Paris, 1835, German translation by Fehr.; Tübngen, 1845.

7. Works of **the Fathers and Ecclesiastical Authors of all ages,** who are not only witnesses, but also subjects of history.

Besides all separate editions, here belong the great collections of the Fathers of the church, and in part of the writers of the Middle Ages, the **Bibliothecæ Patrum**; alongside of the old collection of Paris (Bibl. Magna) and of Cologne, as well as that of Leyden, which contains the Greek authors only in a Latin translation (*Bibl. maxima*), there meet us a great number of more or less comprehensive collections, which make public the writings of the Fathers and Church authors, *e.g.*, Canisius-Basnage, Combefisius, d'Achery, Montfaucon, Muratori, Martène et Durand, Mabillon and others. Next, collections: A. Gallandi, *Bibl. vett. patrum et antiq. script.*, 14 vols. Venice, 1765 sqq.; much more comprehensive than the latter, as it not only includes the writings of smaller extent, but also the collected works of the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers, mostly in copies of older editions, which otherwise remain in individual editions, is Migne's collection, *Patrologiæ cursus completus*, Paris, 1844 sqq.; the *Series Græca*, 162 vols.; the *Series Latina*, 221 vols. 4to. The *Medii ævi biblioth. patrist. s. patrologia*, began by Horoy (Paris, 1879), may be regarded as a kind of continuation for the later Middle Ages (from 1216 onwards). The *Corpus scriptorum eccles. lat.*, which has been issued by the Academy of Vienna since 1860, and includes up till now 17 volumes, answers to the requirements of modern scientific philology. For modern times down to the close of the Middle Ages literary production covers too wide a field to permit of the making of similar collections, except in the case of narrowly limited fields. For the writers of the Eastern church in the domain of the Syriac language, J. S. Assemani's *Bibl. oriental.*, 4to, Rome, 1719, gives details with many extracts. In the publication of patristic *anecdota* in our century, Aug. Mai (*Script. rett. n. coll.*, 10 vols. Rome, 1825 sqq. [*Spicil. Rom. classic. auct.*, Rome, 1828 sqq.] *Nov. Bibl. patr.*, Rome, 1842, sqq.), and Pitra (*Spicil. Solesm.*, 4 vols. Paris, 1852, with its continuations) have been specially active.

Patristics (Patrology) and **Theological Literary History** supply an introduction to the domain of this literature of the Fathers, and the ecclesiastical writers of the Middle Ages. Its simple beginnings consist in brief enumerations of Churchmen, with biographical sketches and information as to their writings: Jerome, *De viris illustr. s. catal. de script. eccles.* He was followed by Gennadius Mass., Isidorus Hisp., and a series of other mediæval writers, down to Trithemius († 1516), and Aubertus Miræus († 1640), collected in

J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca ecclesiast.*, Hamburg, 1718 fol.; M. Dupin. *Nouv. Bibl. des auteurs eccl.* 47 t. Paris, 1686, and S. W. Cave, *Script. eccl. hist. lit.*, London, 1688, and frequently, Oxford, 1740; R. Ceillier *Hist. génér. des auteurs sacrés et ecclés.*, 23 vols. 4to (down to c. 1244), new ed., Paris, 1860 sq., in 15 vols.; Cas. Oudin, *Comm. de script. eccles.*, Leipsic, 1722, 2 vols. fol. (down to the fifteenth century); *Histoire litt. de la France par des rel. Bénédict. de St. Maure, contin. par des membres de l'Institut*, Paris, 1733 sqq. (G. Lumper, *Hist. theol. crit. de vita script. et doctr. sct. patrum*, 13 vols. Augsburg, 1783–99, includes only the first three centuries). For the Latin writers down to Isidorus Hisp.: Schœnemann, *Bibl.-hist.-lit. patr. latin.*, 2 vols. Leipsic, 1792–94; J. Chr. F. Bähr, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.*, Suppl. I.–III., Carlsruhe, 1836–40; A. Ebert, *Allg. Gesch. der Lit. des Mittelalters im Abendland*; vol. i.: *Gesch. der christl. lat. Lit. bis Karl M.*, Leipsic, 1874; vol. ii., *Lat. Lit. bis zum Tode Karls des Kahler*, 1880. The more recent Patrologies by Möhler, Fessler, Alzog (3rd ed., 1876) Nirschl (1882). For the first eight centuries the copious *Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literary Texts and Doctrine*, by W. Smith and H. Wace, 4 vols. London, 1877 sqq. For the whole domain of Church History here comes in the History of the theological sciences: C. M. Pfaff, *Introd. histor. in theol. litt.*, 3 vols. Tübingen, 1724; J. Fr. Buddeus, *Isagoge hist. theol. ad theol. univ.*, Leipsic, 1727; J. G. Walch, *Bibl. theol. sel.*, 4 vols. Jena, 1767; Flügge, *Einl. in die Gesch. der theol. Wissensch.*, Halle, 1799, and *Gesch. der theol. Wissenschaft*, 3 vols. Halle, 1796; Stäudlin, *Gesch. der theol. Wissenschaft, seit Verbreitung der alten Lit.*, 2 vols., 3rd ed., Gottingen, 1810.

For Catholic theological literature since the time of the Reformation, vid. Hurter, *Nomenclator litt. recent. theol.* (from the Council of Trent), 3 vols., 1876–1886, and Werner, *Gesch. der Theologie in Deutschland*, Munich, 1866; for the Protestant: G. F. Frank, *Gesch. der prot. Theol.*, 3 vols., 1865 sqq.; Dorner, *Gesch. der prot. Theol. in Deutschland*, 1886. The general Lexicons of literature, such as that of Jöcher, 4 vols., Leipsic, 1750 sq., with continuations by Adelung and Rotermund (6 vols., 1784–1819), as well as the numerous ones of particular countries, afford an indispensable assistance to the church historian. For individual monastic orders similar collections also exist, *e.g.* the *Bibliotheca Benedictino-Cassinensis*, 2 vols. Assisi, 1731-32; Quétif et Echard, *Scriptores ordinis Prædicatorum*, 2 vols. Paris, 1719–21; Backer, *Bibilothèque des écrivains de la comp. de Jésus*, 7 vols. Liège, 1853–61.

B. To the **indirect sources** belong chiefly the **Historians** and

Chroniclers, in so far as they stand in close proximity to the period depicted, or draw from more ancient sources. Here belong not only the narrators of Church History, who are in part mentioned above, but for the most part have to be mentioned in connection with particular periods, but also the narrators of the general history of the time. The latter seek to gather together collective works for the various kingdoms and countries, *e.g.* B. Niebuhr, *Corp. script. hist. byzant.*, Rome, 1828 sqq.; Muratori, *Rerum Italic. script.*, Milan, 1723 sqq.; Bouquet, *Rev. gallic. et francic. script.*, 1738 sqq. (continued by the Academie des Inscriptions), new edition by Delisle, Paris, 1869 sqq.; Langebeck, *Script. rer. Danic. med. ævi*, Hafn., 1772–1879; the *Monumenta German. hist.*, begun by Pertz and continued first under Waitz's and now under Dümmler's guidance; *Rerum Britann. medii ævi script.*, London, 1858 sqq.; Bielowsky, *Monum. Pol. hist.*, 3 vols., 1864 sqq.; *Monumenta Hungar. hist. script.*, Pesth, 1857 sqq.; *Monumenta hist. patriæ*, ed. jussu Caroli Alberti, Turin, 1863 sqq. and many others.

Here must also be mentioned the numerous **Lives,** especially those of the **Saints** and **Martyrs:** Ruinart, *Acta primorum Martyrum sincera et selecta*, Paris, 1689 sqq., it. ed. Paris, 1694, Verona, 1732, 4, Ratisbon, 1859; Surius, *Vitæ Sanctorum*, 1570; Assemani, *Acta ss. martyr. orient. et occident.*, Rome, 1748, 2 vols.; Bollandi etc. *Acta sanct.*, Antwerp, 1643 sqq., 63 vols. fol. (repeated Paris, 1687 sqq.); Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. Bened.*, 9 vols. fol., Paris, 1666 sqq. To these there are further to be added the innumerable biographical collections, for Germany the *Allg. deutsche Biographie* by Liliencron and Wegele, Leipsic, 1875 sqq.

Of the special departments of Church History which extend over the whole chronological range of the history of the church, there must be mentioned besides those already touched upon, that of the **History of Dogma.** For its entire range see specially Hagenbach, *Dogmengeschichte*, 5th ed., 1867; F. Chr. Baur, *Vorlesungen*, 4 vols., 1865; J. Thomasius, 2 vols., Erlangen, 1874, and H. Schmidt, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengesch.*, 4th ed. revised by Hauck, Nordlingen, 1887; for ancient history of Dogma, Fr. Nitzsch, *Grundriss der Dogmengesch.*, vol. i. (only), Berlin, 1870, and A. Harnack, *Lehrb. der Dogmengesch.*, 1886 sqq., 2nd ed.

The **General History of Missions:** J. A. Fabricius, *Salut. lux Ev.*, Hamburg, 1731; C. G. Blumhardt, *Versuch einer allg. Missionsgesch. der Kirche Christi*, 2 parts in 5 vols., 1828, and *Handb. der Missionsgesch. u. M.-Geographie*, 3rd ed., 2 vols., 1862; H. Kalkar, *Gesch. der christl. Miss.*, revised by Michelsen, 2 vols., 1879 sq.

History of Catholic Missions, by HENRION, revised by WITTMANN, 3 vols., 1845 sqq., and H. HAHN, Cologne, 1857 sqq.; *Annales de la Propagation de la foi*, Lyons from 1822, German in the *Jahrbücher der Verbreitung des Glaubens*, Cologne.—*Gesch. der evang. Mission*, by J. Wiggers, 2 vols., 1847, 51; G. WARNECK, *Abriss*, 2nd ed., 1883 (RE. 10, 33 sqq., where the special literature may be found).

History of the Ancient Church.

FIRST PERIOD—DOWN TO CONSTANTINE.

Literature: J. L. MOSHEMII, *De rebus Christianorum ante Const. M. commentarii*, Helmst., 1753, 4; A. RITSCHL, *Enstehung der altkathol. Kirche*, 2nd ed., 1857; F. Chr. BAUR, *Das Christenthum u. die christl. Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte*, 2nd ed., 1860 [English translation, London, 1878]; E. de Pressensé, *Hist. des trois prem. siècles de l'église*, Paris, 1861.[1] E. Renan, *Hist. des origines du Christianisme*, 7 vols., 1867–81 (down to death of Marcus Aurelius).

INTRODUCTION.

1. The Græco-Roman World.

The Roman Empire extended from the Euphrates to the Atlantic Ocean, from the African desert to the lands on the Danube, to the Rhine, even as far as the Weser, uniting in the *οἰκουμένη* all the civilised peoples of the age. In the Imperial power there seemed to have been reached a fitting unity of the great whole, and after troubles, a condition of comparative happiness. The unity of dominion, of government, of the Roman administration of justice bound the different divisions and nationalities closely together, admirable means of intercourse and the powerful activity of trade promoted amalgamation; the general diffusion of Latin, which was the official language, and especially of Greek, the language of culture, which since the death of Alexander had penetrated far East and had become naturalised in Asia Minor as well as in Egypt, caused spiritual contact and interchange; Latin, fertilized by Greek culture and literature, was in the bloom of the Augustan age.

A manifold variety of religious cults, which touched, mingled, and assimilated with one another, existed in the empire. The Hellenistic period since Alexander had carried Hellenic cults to the East along with Hellenic colonisation and political institutions (Asia Minor, the Ptolemies, the Seleucidae). The ancient view, according to which each people had its own gods, also determined the procedure of the Roman conquerors, who only in exceptional cases sup-

[1] [E. de Pressensé, *Early Years of Christianity*, 5th ed., 4 vols. London, 1883–89.]

pressed national religions (Carthage, Gaul), and as a rule took the local religions under their protection. On the other hand, they also held firmly to the principle that foreign worships could not be introduced without the approbation of the state. To prevent the intrusion of foreign cults they established the laws against the *sacra peregrina* as also those against the *collegia illicita*. But the mingling of peoples in great centres like Rome broke through the legal barriers. The world-empire completed the break-up of nationalities, even that of ancient Rome itself, and also the break-up of the pagan national religions which had long since begun. In **Greek religion** the original ancient view—essentially that of a religion of nature—was transformed into that of the world of the Homeric gods, with their ideals of a purely human life, which found their corresponding expression in art and its æsthetic subjection of nature by spirit, its glorification of the sensuous; at the highest point of Greek life, Greek piety, in contrast to the merely passive piety of the oriental (surrender to ruling nature powers—tendency to nature-pantheism) rises to the instinctive perception of moral powers, and a moral government of the world (the Tragedians); on the other hand, it also undergoes the critical reflection which fastened on the human weaknesses of its mythological world of gods, and the analytical power of humour besides (Aristophanes). Here already, however, there begins the antagonism between the educated consciousness and the popular religion, which was promoted by philosophy (Anaxagoras, the Sophists), by Euripides and the Comedians. The weaknesses and passions of the gods (in their original significance symbolical of theogonic and cosmogonic relationships) become the reflection of humanity itself, in which the merely æsthetically controlled sensuous finds vent, and the subjection to nature of the divine world, split up by polytheism which itself degenerates into *ἀνάγκη*, can offer no solution of the moral problems of humanity other than that which is afforded by the tragic idea of destiny. This is connected with the idea of the subjection to nature of human personality. The eternal importance of personality does not attain recognition. Religion does not point above the earth, not even beyond the nation to the universal ideal of humanity. Religion turns its attention less to man as such, than to the citizen of the state, and civic virtues; hence where the state is self-determined, the human worth of whole classes is ignored or oppressed on its account (slaves—women). Greek popular religion on the whole, however the individual may have risen superior to its limitations, lacks true ethical teleology; religion does not appear as the root of personal morality or as designed for

it, but preponderatingly as eudæmonistic, as the condition of the common welfare and the participation of the individual therein. Just because of the externality of this relation of the state-religion to inner personal life, it is possible for philosophy on her side quietly to permit the former to go on, and yet create a content of the educated consciousness entirely contradictory of it, although in the person of Socrates she had already come into conflict with the Greek popular spirit. Plato and Aristotle, each in his way, represent the highest point of Greek intellectual culture, the former by ideal explanation of the world in his ideas, which are at the same time the True, the Good, and the Beautiful, the latter by intellectual penetration of the entire world of phenomena in their subjection to law. But, standing on this pinnacle, Plato points beyond it. The supersensuous as the true essence of things, comes into discord and opposition to the sensuous reality; the presentiment of an unsolved discord between nature and spirit declares itself, and threatens to undermine the merely æsthetic unity of nature and spirit. Later philosophy completes this rupture of spirit with nature, but along with the dissolution of the old synthesis it prepares a higher. Once more Stoicism seeks the reconciliation of that dualism in its materialistic pantheism, without however being able to maintain it. Man directs his thoughts to his own subjectivity, after he has lost unconstrained unity with nature and ingenuous absorption in the objective world. At this point there arise questions as to the subjective criterion of truth and as to the highest good for man. In the Stoic ethics man comprehends himself in his own inner infinitude, and in so doing comes into direct opposition to the world; in the so-called life according to nature, *i.e.* in devotion to universal reason and her eternal law and in the subordination to the latter of all private inclination and pleasure, it is sought to reach a condition of passionlessness and freedom; so that the wise man shall be like Zeus, a king. The ideal indeed remains a hollow one, the moral attitude to the world preponderatingly negative, the soul of Stoic morality rather a renunciation than an ennobling of the world, pride more than love, and the human personality of the wise man which is enthroned falls a victim to inexorable destiny. Nevertheless an important ferment lies hidden in the Stoic ideal; in particular, inasmuch as it is a universal human and social ideal transcending national limits—it is essentially a principle which breaks through the circle of ancient thought.

On the other hand the egoism of unrestrained subjectivity puts itself forward in ethical eudæmonism, *e.g.* in that of the Epicureans;

pleasure or painlessness the highest good, virtue only a means; and in Pyrrhonism and the New Academy subjectivity passes into scepticism, which is puzzled as to the knowableness or reality of truth, and leaves at the best only probability, and so likewise as to the reality of a positive highest good in *Ἀταραξία*. This discord of the thinking spirit with the world and with itself also accelerates the undermining of the ancient faith. Stoic philosophy indeed, which contains a strong trait of piety, seeks to rescue the kernel of the ancient religious views by giving to the mythological figures a pantheistic significance, and recognising in them the different forms of the one divine world-life; but this cannot avail to stay the decay. Epicurus does not contest the belief in the gods, but dissolves every living religious relation to them, and his school follows up in outspoken manner the aim of freeing mankind from the curse of the fear of the gods; and the New Academy leaves the question of the existence of the gods in the background, although just for that reason it recommends men to follow tradition with regard to religion as the safest course.

One sign of the decay of the religious spirit in the sphere of Greek religion after the time of Alexander, is the emergence of the famous Euhemeros at the time of the Macedonian king Cassander (close of the fourth century B.C.), who sought to show in his own *ἱερὰ ἀναγραφή*, a treatise of a romantic form, that all gods were deified men and the temples their places of burial. The connecting link lay in the cultus of the heroes and the worship of the *κτίσται* in the colonies, but flattery linked on to this the deification of the mighty of this earth (earliest known example of the rendering of divine honours while the object of them was still alive, that of Lysander at the time of the Peloponnesian war), which reached its highest point of development in the time of Alexander and the Diadochi. With the destruction of Greek independence all the forces of analysis acquire heightened activity; therewith are taken up the hitherto existing roots of religious life.

The more austere and chaste character of the spirit of the Roman people and their national morality (domestic virtues), which lent them the force to conquer the world, hold tenaciously also to religious usages and duties. Here too religion was a state affair, but less the object of æsthetic enjoyment and ideal exaltation than an anxious and scrupulous awe in the presence of the mysterious powers on which the state is founded, and a legalistic anxiety in the fulfilment of public and private ceremonies. But the conqueror of the world was overcome by the vanquished. The wealth and

luxuries which streamed in drove out discipline and purity of morals; Greek culture and art widened the field of vision, but had also a disintegrating effect. The same poets who brought Greek poetry to the Romans and awakened Roman poetry (especially the Apulian QUINTUS ENNIUS, B.C. 200) also sowed the seed of Greek unbelief among the Romans and soon brought it before the people in the theatre. Ennius, at one time in the spirit of Epicurus shows the blessed gods as careless of mankind, at another follows the insipid ideas of Euhemeros, at another grasps at the Pythagorean philosophy of nature; the Epicurean Lucretius Carus († c. 55 B.C.) seeks in his didactic poem to emancipate the spirits of men from the narrow bonds of religious fear (*artis religionum nodis animos exsolvere*); the Roman satirists of the Imperial age, especially Propertius and after him Petronius and Martial (and even Horace) playfully take away from the people its religious faith and give it instead a refined sensuality.

To the widespread unbelief in the world of heathen gods there stood opposed, however, in small circles of culture a philosophic form of belief in God, before which there dimly hovered the idea of a piety directed towards essential morality. The age is permeated by a strong tendency to a philosophico-religious **monotheism,** which, although wearing a different colour in different systems, yet exhibits certain common peculiarities, namely, (1) a tendency to refined representations of the unenvious indefatigable goodness of the divinity; (2) the maintenance of a consoling belief in providence (which indeed is harshly contemned by scepticism and the naturalistic tendencies, *e.g.* by the elder Pliny); (3) search after the true worship of God, not in scrupulous statutes and ceremonies, but in moral relations as the imitation of the gods in goodness. Universal **humane** and moral points of view gain recognition, in which pagan egoism is as a matter of fact largely broken down; the glaring phenomena of the egoism and immorality of the Roman Empire lead, among philosophical moralists, to strong impressions of universal sinfulness (Seneca; parallel with Paul!); reflection and self-examination, self-denial and a return from luxury, are acclaimed; people begin to demand universal love of man, the sparing of the weak, the recognition of human worth even among slaves, the dignity of women, to preach respect for marriage vows, and the duty of forgiveness. The state is to become humane, and in actual fact begins to be more humane in its legislation. In connection with this moral-religious belief the hope of immortality begins to be more decidedly grasped.

But this philosophic or natural religion of the educated shows itself to be theoretically as well as practically untenable, suffers from inner contradictions in its religious conceptions and from too much phrasing and declamation; the naturalistic background (the blind power of nature and chance) on the one hand, and arrogance on the other, perpetually break out, and there is a want of the simple joy of belief, and devotion on the ground of a positive religion. Hence also educated politicians and philosophers are agreed, that the ancestral religion on which the state and all the relationships of life are based, ought to be maintained. The attempts of well-meaning "illumination," which would like to bridge over the yawning gulf between culture and popular religion, partly by justification and philosophic interpretation of the mythological conceptions—Stoic use of allegory to interpret myths—partly by simplification of the multifarious world of divinities with the utmost possible limitation of the superstitious elements and the derivation of the gods from one highest unity, could not in the nature of things have any great effect. Even Scævola (100 B.C.) distinguished the state-religion (*i.e.* the sum of religious ceremonies) from the mythological fables of the poets (the *religio nugatoria*) and philosophic religion, which necessarily remained unknown to the crowd. In the like manner also Varro (50 B.C.). "The wise man," says Seneca, "will observe all these religious usages *tanquam legibus jussa, non tanquam diis grata.*"

At the same time we must not undervalue the still existing power of the religious usages and conceptions which were intimately wrapped up with the civic and domestic life of the great masses of the peoples, as is convincingly shown by the tenacious opposition to Christianity. Besides, an important force for natures of religious susceptibility was contained in the Greek and Hellenised mystery-cults with their mysterious devotions and symbolic usages. Much more than the plastic forms of the popular mythology, which were less adapted to religious explanation, did the symbolic representation of divine incidents in the mysteries seem to invite to a more general religious speculative interpretation, to afford assistance to the syncretistic tendencies of the age, and point to a purer and deeper spiritual faith. They met the need of religious satisfaction as to the future life, as well as of religious purification and expiation, and finally (especially in the Orphic mysteries) of a speculative view of nature coloured by religion. Finally the conquering swoop of the Roman eagles served the turn of the Capitoline Jupiter also, in whose temple the trophies of the subjected peoples were gathered. In all parts of the world temples arose to him,—in Gaul he almost

completely ejected the ancestral gods. Under the peace of the Augustan age, which saw the popular religions of the Empire blended together in the Roman Pantheon, there arose an immense number of new temples, and the zeal for religious ceremonies was kindled in increased degree.

It was the political point of view also, which, supported by adulation and prepared for by the apotheoses which since the age of Alexander had made their appearance on Hellenic soil, introduced the religious worship of the Emperors, in whom the power and the stability of the Empire were represented. A monstrous irony, and yet intelligible from the circumstances and the effect of antique ways of looking at things, but which could only react destructively on the belief in the gods. But now in this Imperial age, along with increasing immorality and luxury and inward hollowness there appeared that condensation of religious superstition, in which an enervated generation sought, partly after wonderful and magical purification and expiation, snatching especially at the strange and the mysterious (the worship of Isis in Rome since B.C. 43; the orgiastic cult of the Dea Syra), partly after supernatural disclosures as to the future even for scandalous and criminal purposes (Chaldaici, Genethliaci, Mathematici), partly after magical arts and conjurings.

2. The Jews.

EWALD, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*,[1] 3rd ed., vols. 4–7; JOST, *Gesch. der Israel, seit der Zeit der Makk.*, 1820 sqq., vols. 1–4; GRÄTZ, *Gesch. der Juden*, vols. 3 and 4, 2nd ed., 1863 and 1866; DERENBOURG, *Essai sur l'histoire et la géogr. de la Pal.*, Part I., 1867; HOLTZMANN, *Judenthum und Christenthum im Zeitalter der apokr. und neutestamentl. Literatur* (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, by Weber and Holtzmann, 2 vols., 1867); GFRÖRER, *Das Jahrh. des Heils*, 2 vols., 1838; LUTTERBECK, *Neutestamentl. Lehrbegriffe*, vol. i., 1852; LANGEN, *Das Judenth. in Pal. zur Zeit Christi*, 1866; KUENEN, *De godsdienst van Israel*, 2 vols., 1870; E. SCHÜRER, *Lehrb. der neutestamentl. Zeitgeschichte*, Leipsic, 1874.[2] Of the 2nd edition, vol. ii. only, containing the internal circumstances, has appeared, Leipsic, 1886.

LOVE for the Holy Land and desire for the restoration of their sanctuary had driven the exiled Jews to return from what were otherwise favourable circumstances. Under the favour and with the help of Cyrus, Zerubbabel, a scion of the ancient royal house of Judah, had led the first companies back to Judea, as Persian viceroy, in B.C. 535. After long delays Darius Hystaspes permitted the completion of the temple, and granted moneys for that purpose from the royal revenues from the country; in 515 B.C. it was finished. The political and religious restoration was brought to a

[1] [English translation, 8 vols. London, 1869–86.]

[2] [English translation, Edinburgh, 1888.]

conclusion by Nehemiah as royal vice-gerent and Ezra as supreme judge. Ezra gave judgment with full royal authority, but on the basis of the Jewish law. Moreover the Persian viceroy of Syria, under whom Judea was placed after Nehemiah's death, interfered little with the internal affairs of Judea.

By Alexander's conquests the little country was brought into active contact with Western humanity, but also dragged into the wars of the age of the Diadochi, and several times exchanged Egyptian (Ptolemaic) for Syrian (Seleucidian) dominion, and *vice versâ*. Subsequently, when ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES urged on the Hellenization of the inflexible people with a violent hand, besieged Jerusalem in the year 170 B.C. and had desecrated the holy place with the abomination of idolatry, there arose the **Hasmonæan** family of heroes (Maccabees) for the rescue of the religion and the populace. MATTATHIAS was leader from 167. But his sons, Jonathan and Simon, although uniting civic power and high priestly dignity in one person, were obliged all the same to acknowledge a Syrian superior. Gradually however, from the time of Hyrcanus (B.C. 135), a genuine independent dynasty developed; Aristobulus even assumes the title of king. With increased self-confidence the Jewish nation appears in the character of victor; under Hyrcanus, Aristobulus and Alexander Janneus, conquers Samaria, the Palestinian towns which had fallen into heathen hands, and the neighbouring domains of Idumea and Iturea, and seeks to enforce circumcision on the subjected peoples. But the ideal impulses of this Maccabean age quickly fail; the horrors of contests for the throne and internal divisions begin already under Aristobulus. Finally the disputes for the throne between Aristobulus II. and Hyrcanus II., in which the Idumean Antipater plays a decisive part, gave the Roman power (Pompey) an occasion for interference. Jerusalem is overthrown, Judea becomes the ally and friend of Rome, Antipater under Roman protection gains the actual power, while the Hasmonæan Hyrcanus II. retains the names of high priest and king. But in the end the "Idumæan" dynasty mounts the throne (39–4 B.C.), in the person of HEROD the Great, who was favoured by Cæsar (the Egyptian war), a capable, energetic and crafty ruler, who, unscrupulous morally in his choice of means, cruel and passionate, depended on Rome, and remained a stranger to the religious spirit of the Jewish people. After his death, (1) his son ARCHELAUS became ethnarch of Judea, Idumea and Samaria, but was exiled in A.D. 6, while his country was governed by Roman Procurators; (2) PHILIP became the so-called Tetrarch of the north-eastern trans-Jordanic province

of Batanea, Iturea, Trachonitis and Auranitis († A.D. 34); (3) HEROD ANTIPAS received Galilee and Peræa. The tetrarchy of Philip passed after his death to a grandson of Herod the Great, HEROD AGRIPPA I. (37), who also in 39 received Galilee and Peræa (after the death of Herod Antipas), and finally in 41 A.D. Judea and Samaria which had hitherto been governed by Roman Procurators, so that from 41 till his death in 44 he was king of the whole of Palestine. But after his death the whole dominion was again placed under Roman officials, only Herod Agrippa II. (son of Agrippa I.) received in 52 Philip's tetrarchy, along with a certain right of supervision over the Jewish temple.

By the return from the exile there was established not indeed a theocratic state, but a theocratic, though politically dependent community, in which God's law should rule and which should separate itself from all strangers. In the **Law**, that is to say in the establishment of the sanctuary and worship according to the law, and internal conditions of justice as far as possible in accord with the law, the people grasps, in and with its religious, its national inheritance also. After the entry of Hellenism and the menacing of the religious-national inheritance of the people by Antiochus Epiphanes, this again became the fundamental conception of the **Hasmonæan rising**; zeal for the law of God, separation from all heathenism in the spirit represented by the so-called **Chasidim**, the pious κατ' ἐξοχήν. Prophecy is fallen dumb, but in its place there come the Holy Scriptures, first and pre-eminently the Thora; the study of the Scriptures, and especially of the law is developed and gives its character to pious Jewish life, and also the influential and revered class of the **Scribes** (νομοδιδάσκαλοι) who are honoured as Rab, Rabbi. Their vocation is not merely religious, but the religious juristic exposition of the law as the norm of the whole religiously correct civic life. This fundamental character explains the weight which was laid upon traditions as to the exegesis (application, amplification) of the directions of the law, and the development of a scholastic doctrinal tradition of eminent teachers of the law, which was regarded as a binding rule (Halacha, as distinguished from the Haggada). In the Talmudic conception there is thence evolved the figure of an unbroken scholastic tradition from the so-called (alleged) Great Synagogue in the time of Ezra down through the elder "Sopherim."

The service of the **Synagogue** was of special importance for the permeation of the people with religious-legal ideas. Instruction of the people in the law is the primary aim of these Sabbath assem-

blies in the "houses of assembly" (בֵּית הַכְּנֶסֶת), which arise after the exile, but it expanded into a kind of secondary worship of God —the school became at the same time a gathering for prayer and edification,—an important instrument in the detachment of Judaism from the temple. But the life of the Jews is now universally permeated by respect to the whole multitude of legal prescriptions regarding circumcision, rules as to eating, laws as to purity, tithes, duties of prayer and sacrifice, feasts. The influential party of the **Pharisees** (so-called from the time of the Maccabees, but rooted in older phenomena) most distinctly represents that spirit of strict and painful legalistic and therefore exclusive Judaism, and represents in general the specifically religious (orthodox) doctrines of the Jewish faith; and seeking, as it does, to make the spirit of Jewish scriptural learning practical, it is also especially strongly represented in the scriptural learning which is suitable to that end, and strengthens its influence. Its *rôle* as a politico-religious party, and in this sense national, brings it into a certain degree of opposition to other tendencies of the time. The Hasmonæan dynasty had united the high-priestly and the princely dignity in one person under Simon (143–35), under John Hyrcanus had attained independence from Syria, and his son Aristobulus I. had assumed the title and diadem of a king. It seemed as though a theocratic state had taken the place of the theocratic community. The hopes of a theocratic kingdom, the Messianic idea, must necessarily have made great strides; a deep feeling of the religious mission of the people of God, of the dominion of God and His law on earth—and including the heathen—took possession of men's minds, but the historical environment, the development of the people of God brought along with it the consequence that with the kingdom of God there was also linked the idea of political good fortune and glory and the like. The apocalyptic literature, the fundamental scheme of which was supplied by the **Book of Daniel**, took from the fortunes of the people of God in its conflicts with the great monarchies (Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Macedonian Greece), the dominant conception of a succession of ruling world-powers, which should finally be set aside and dissolved by the glorious Messianic kingdom. Now, from the beginning the Pharisees were on the side of the national law and the national religious hopes. But the Hasmonæans, drawn into the political interests and conflicts of the time, soon took up a course of secular policy which little corresponded to the theocratic ideal. Even in the time of John Hyrcanus this gave rise to great tension between the ruler and the ruling circle and the Pharisees who

formed a popular and religious opposition, the ideal of which really was the abolition of the secular royal rule. Under Alexander Jannæus a frightful war of annihilation was carried on against this powerful party, but in the end it was necessary to make peace with them and for the rulers to take them into account. The Pharisees, however, subsequently knew how to make their peace with the Idumæan upstarts, who in their turn were obliged to respect them.

Opposed to the Pharisees stood the party of the **Sadducees,** that of the people of superior rank in the worldly sense, the core of which was composed of the old ruling families of high-priestly race, what may be called the Jewish nobility. The same disposition, which in the pre-Maccabean era had led to a tendency to Greek manners and culture, now shows itself—in contrast to the legal and strictly religious tendency—in the form of lax, freethinking views among those of higher political rank, governed by secular politics. Hence the limitation of the law to what is literally contained in the Mosaic scriptures, the rejection of oral and scholastic tradition, and the tendency to form civic legislation freely according to the needs of the present, and above all to set life and the enjoyment of life free from the limits of the anxious traditional requirements of the law. The mind turns away from national-religious hopes, in connection with them from the Pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection, and directs itself mainly to the present life. The Sadducees, in the nature of the case less an exclusive party than the individuals of a certain social stratum, were little beloved by the people; indeed they were often hated as unbelievers and feared as strict (strict in the secular sense—bureaucratic) officials and judges; in their official appearances however (in the Sanhedrim and as High Priests) they were obliged in many respects to accommodate themselves to the legalistic demands of the Pharisees.

The Essenes: Along with the Pharisees and Sadducees Josephus places the Essenes (with Philo usually Essæans) as a third philosophic sect of the Jews. These are really a sect, in fact a close order or community; the name is probably derived from a word which, though it does not occur in Hebrew and Chaldean, is very commonly in use in Syriac, ḥsyā, *pious.* At the time of Christ about 4,000 souls, partly in separate colonies (as *e.g.* that depicted by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* v. 17, in the desert of Engedi on the Dead Sea, of which Dion Chrysostom also knew, probably from the same source as Pliny, v. Synesius' *Dion*, Opp. ed. Pet., p. 32), partly in towns and villages, but in coherent communities, with houses belonging to the order, or at least meeting-houses for meals. A probation of several years (a

noviciate with two grades) precedes reception into the narrower society of the order; children also are received to be trained for the ascetic life; strict obedience to superiors and strict secrecy as to the secrets of the order are required. They live with community of goods and without marriage, Josephus however (but not Philo) knows also of an Essene community which distinguished itself from the others by permitting marriage for the sake of posterity, *De bello Jud.* ii. 8, 13; but both Jos. *De b. Jud.* ii. 8, 2 and 18, 1, 5, and Philo, *De Jud.* in Eusebius *Praep. ev.* 8, 11, 14–17, account for the rejection of marriage from considerations which do not pronounce sexual intercourse as such to be evil, Jos. l.c.: *τὸν μὲν γάμον καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διαδοχὴν οὐκ ἀναιροῦντες, τὰς δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀσελγείας φυλασσόμενοι, κ.τ.λ.* In a frugal life, work divided according to plan and regulated (agriculture, breeding of cattle and all sorts of peaceful crafts—not trade) alternates with religious exercises. Prayer before sunrise, as it were addressed to the sun praying him to rise, sacred washings in cold water, and many similar observances precede the meal, which is partaken of in common, associated with religious usages and prayers, and celebrated in special garments, the food having been prepared by their priests. They disallow swearing (in spite of the oath of initiation) and anointing with oil. The Sabbath is celebrated in the strictest manner, and the name of Moses held in the highest regard; to blaspheme it is death. At the same time they seem to have brought offerings to the temple, but no animal sacrifices, and to have regarded their own religious dedications as more effective, and therefore to have been excluded from the temple, and to have carried out their sacrifices for themselves; whether by Levitical priests or other chosen persons is doubtful. The supposition that they had to refrain entirely from flesh and wine, which is connected with the prohibition of animal sacrifices, cannot be certainly vouched for, and is for many reasons improbable (vid. Schürer, 2nd ed. p. 478, Note 66). Not much weight is to be attached to the statements of Josephus (and Philo) as to their conceptions of the relation of the soul to the body, because they seem to be somewhat modified for the Hellenic public, in accordance with wide-spread ascetic philosophical ideas. On the other hand it is more credible that along with the Holy Scriptures of the Jews, ancient sectarian scriptures of their own were attributed to them, a special appreciation of the doctrine of angels, occupation with healing plants and magic cures, as well as a knowledge of the future, based on the study of the Scriptures and personal purifications which they appear frequently to have proved.

Sources: Fl. Josephus, *De bello Judaico*, 2, 8, 2 ff., *Antiqq.* 13, 5, 9. 15, 20, 4 f. 18, 1, 5; Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*, 12–13, and in Euseb. *Præp. ev.* 8, 11.

This phenomenon, which by name at all events cannot be found in the Talmud, but which on the other hand is of the greatest importance for the history of Christian sectarianism, has been attempted to be explained as a purely Jewish development (out of Chasidean and Pharisaic Judaism), as a one-sided exaggeration of certain Pharisaic legalistic requirements, or (Ritschl) as an attempt at a development of priestly purity and priestly dignity (the community a people of priests), or (Lucius) as a renunciation by the "pious," during the Maccabean period, of the temple service, which was then considered illegitimate. But the rejection of animal sacrifices and the peculiar sort of sun-worship (turning towards the East) nevertheless appear foreign and remarkable in Jewish surroundings (cf. Schürer, 2nd ed., 488 sq. and evidence there adduced). Or it is regarded as a mixed formation, under heathen influences, of Persian and Buddhist elements (Hilgenfeld), such as the Syrian Palestinian heathenism (Lipsius), or Hellenic, of the ascetic-dualistically inclined Pythagoreanism (Zeller, Schürer, and many others), so that we should have before us a community grown up in purely Jewish surroundings, but which had gone on under Pythagorean and perhaps Parsee influence, and at that point separated itself from Judaism. The conception of the Essenes not as an order, but as originally a family, which, allied with Israel, had in great part retained the patriarchal manner of life, stood in a merely loose relation to the temple at Jerusalem with its sacrifices, and amid the increasing materialisation of Judaism retained a fresh breath of the prophetic spirit, and amongst whom in the time of Christ many sought rest and peace, so that the tribe became a sort of order (Hilgenfeld, ZwTh. 1882, 257, 292, and *Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums*, p. 87 sqq. esp. 98 and 138) has a very uncertain foundation in Nilus, *De monast. exercit.*, c. 3 (in Mgr. 97, p. 721), who refers to the children of Jonadab, the Rechabites (Jerem. xxxv. 6, 8). This conception contradicts not only the passage from Philo from the Apology for the Jews (Euseb., *Praep. ev.* viii. 11), which for this very reason Hilgenfeld rejects as spurious, but also the presentation of Josephus (*De bello Judaico* II. 8, 2–13), and that of Philo in *Quod omnis prob. liber*, § 12 sqq. The hypothesis of Hellenic (Pythagorean) influence had a strong support in the description of the **Therapeutæ** in the treatise *De Vita Contemplativa* ascribed to Philo. They appear as an ascetic community of men and women, who give themselves up to contemplation, are found in other places, but chiefly in a great colony of huts and villages on the Mareotis Lake near Alexandria. Those who enter the society give up their goods, live in houses somewhat separate from one another, of which each has a sacred apartment (*Semneion* or *Monasterium*), into which no earthly food comes. Here they live the whole week occupied with sacred contemplations and the searching out of the allegorical sense of the Holy Scriptures (Law, Prophets and Psalms), for which purpose they also make use of ancient writings, and compose exalted hymns; they leave this cell only after sunset, to eat and sleep, but the house itself they never leave the whole week through. But on the seventh day, when all work ceases, they come together, anointed with oil, to a common festival, at which, however, the women (chiefly elderly virgins) and the men are separated by a partition. The 49th and 50th days also are celebrated by common meals of bread, salt, hyssop and water, in white robes amid sacred addresses and singing (alternate singing), and by a sacred night festival (*παννυχίς*), which is accompanied by choric dances and singing between choruses of men and women, probably in imitation of the song of Moses and Miriam. Special attention is called to

the fact that these true citizens of heaven and earth have no slaves, because all are born free. The disputing of the genuineness of the above treatise of Philo, by Lucius, *Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Askese*, 1879, which ascribes it to a Christian author, who in writing it had before his eyes the beginnings of Christian monasticism, has greatly shaken the traditional view. Philo's authorship of the treatise had already been denied by others, and Grätz (*Gesch. der Juden*, 2nd ed., 3, 463 sqq) had already ascribed it to a Christian author, who in reality portrayed Christian monks of the third century, while others were content to ascribe it to a Jewish author, somewhat of Philo's school, who had lent to his ascetic philosophic ideal a fictitious reality. There remain, however, powerful considerations against Lucius' hypothesis (v. Weingarten, RE. 10, 761 sqq.) which have hardly been all set aside by Harnack (Ibid. 15, 548 sqq.). And now Massebieau again comes forward in favour of the Philonic authorship (*Le traité de la vie cont.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 8th year, vol. xvi., No. 2, pp. 170–198). Following Lucius, Ohle now thinks it possible to go further (ZwTh. 1887, 298–344, 376–394), and ventures to regard the part of Philo's treatise, *Quod omnis probus liber*, §§ 12 and 13, relating to the Essenes, as an interpolation by the same author, who here also in the alleged Essenes only portrays cowled Christian monks. Indeed he would make away with the Essenes altogether, seeking to show (Ibid. 1888, 221–275) that the main relative passage in Josephus is an interpolation. This he hardly justifies. At the same time certain considerations may be made good against the Philonic treatise, but would concern it in its entirety. Ausfeld also, *De libro περὶ τοῦ πάντα σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἐλεύθερον qui inter Philonis Alexandr. opera fertur*, Göttingen, 1887 (Gött. Dissert.) supposes copious interpolations, not merely in the part relating to the Essenes. He regards the original treatise as the work not of Philo, but of a Stoic, but thinks that the interpolator has borrowed from Philo; he regards him as a Greek with a strong disposition to monotheism, deeply tinged with Judaism, but finds it necessary to place him chronologically very near to the original treatise itself.

Judaism however attained its great influence and quite uncommon importance for the naturalisation of Christianity in the heathen world, by means of its great **Diaspora.**

Only a small portion of the Jews had returned from the Babylonian Exile. A great number remained in Babylon, spread over Mesopotamia and Eastern Syria, first under Persian and subsequently under Parthian (the Arsacidæ from 256) rule. These "Babylonian" Jews continued in active intercourse with Jerusalem, whither their temple taxes flowed, for the gathering in of which the common treasuries at Nahardea and Nisibis served. At an early period Jewish settlements also arose in Arabia.

But, for the Græco-Roman world, the Jewish colony brought to Alexandria at the founding of the city by Alexander the Great, and subsequently greatly strengthened by reinforcements, was of great importance. From here Jews went to **Libya** and **Cyrene** in great numbers. At the same time in Syria, **Antioch** and **Damascus** were important centres. Jews were settled in districts of Asia

Minor (Phrygia, Lydia) by Antiochus the Great, and hence, as from Alexandria, the Greek coast-lands were visited and settled by the oriental strangers. After the conquest of Jerusalem, Pompey brought to Rome great hosts of captives (among whom were the Hasmonæan Aristobulus and his sons) who were subsequently emancipated by Cæsar (*libertini* of Acts vi. 9), erected synagogues for themselves, and were permitted to have their own social constitution, and also inhabited a certain quarter of the city on the farther side of the Tiber.

And all this numerous Jewry spreading over the Roman Empire remained linked to Jerusalem, its religious centre, regarded the Jewish Sanhedrim as a sort of spiritual (theologico-juristic) authority, paid their temple gifts to, and on festal occasions in great numbers visited, the sacred soil. A singular but solitary exception was formed by the **Temple of Onias** (Honjah) at Leontopolis in Egypt, erected by the priest Honjah under the protection of Ptolemy Philometor (from 170). Opposition, not to the sanctuary at Jerusalem, but to the high priest there, who was regarded as illegal, had led to this course; hence Jewish orthodoxy pronounced this Egyptian worship illegal, but did not exactly brand it with the mark of idolatry. For the rest, it was only a small temple with an unroofed fore-court, in which stood an altar for burnt offerings.

As the Jews in Egypt were decidedly favoured by many of the Ptolemies, so in the Roman world their condition was generally a favourable one, their religion recognised as an ancient national religion, a certain independence allowed to their internal social government (with differences of detail). Cæsar and Augustus granted them numerous favours, *e.g.* freedom from military service, and such like. In this *Diaspora* over the Empire, moreover, they exercised at the same time their extraordinary powers of attraction and repulsion, and by that very fact were drawn into the internal process of transformation of Hellenism. That peculiar nature of theirs, tenacious and yet pliable, and their industry fit them to enter into all circumstances and yet to hold tenaciously to their peculiar possession—their ancestral religion and law, and the proud feeling of being God's chosen people—and in this consciousness to hold firmly together. And however repellently their peculiar nature worked on the Roman people as a whole, there is in them something which attracts minds which are religiously unsatisfied and yearning. The imageless worship of one God, a monotheism not merely of philosophic reflection, but with the character of positive historical revelation and distinct moral intention—a religion of

confident faith and certain hope, its distinct impress on an ancient and venerable law, with the statutory commands of which there is combined a strong general ethical content—the service of the synagogue, with its instruction and edification on the basis of sacred scripture; all this was fitted to exercise an attractive power over yearning religious minds, and did exercise it; and the Jews never ceased to approach and to enlist them. As a matter of fact, the long practised conversion of proselytes was in its fullest vigour at the beginning of the Imperial age of Rome, and every Jewish community abroad afforded a centre therefor. In spite of all the contempt of pagans for the repellent customs of the Jews, Jewish zeal for conversion (the doubtful side of which is indicated by our Lord's words, Matt. xxiii. 15) had extraordinary results, which may be recognised from the scorn of a Horace and the lament of a Seneca (in Aug. *De civit. Dei*, vii. 11: *victi victoribus legem dederunt*) not less than from the boast of Josephus (*c. Apion*, 2, 39); they attracted women especially, and willingly and successfully among persons of rank. It is true that comparatively few passed entirely into the national community as so-called **Proselytes of Righteousness** (such as the princely house of Adiabene, the small vassal state of the Parthian kingdom, Josephus, *Ant.* 20, 2 sqq., *Bell. Iud.* 2, 19, 2. 4, 19, 11, and passim), the men by circumcision, both sexes by baptism (plunge bath, תְּבִילָה) and sacrifice (Schneckenburger regards the so-called Jewish baptism of proselytes as of later origin, perhaps (?) under the influence of Christian custom, but an imperatively necessary bath of purification for converted heathen was involved in the Jewish laws of purification). Much more numerous, however, were the admissions to the condition of **Proselyte of the Gate** (*σεβόμενοι* in the N. T.). The legal requirements as to the position of strangers in the Holy Land, to whom residence and trade in the country were permitted on condition of the observance of certain commands (Lev. xvii. 8 sqq.), were applied by Talmudic Judaism to such heathens as desired to attach themselves to the faith and the exercises of worship (synagogue) of the Jews, and accordingly the Talmud enumerates seven so-called **Noachic** commandments (valid for all Noah's descendants, and not only for the people of God), to which the abovementioned had to bind themselves (abstinence from idolatry, blasphemy, murder, incest, theft, disobedience to authority, eating of blood). That a similar demand, if also not yet so definitely formulated, was made of the friends of Israel and its faith at the time of Christ is indirectly proved by the so-called Apostolic decree (Acts xv.), which obviously applies to heathens entering into the Christian

community a practice existing in the case of Jewish proselytes. If many heathen were really attracted by religious cravings and contentment with the exalted conceptions of Jewish monotheism, there were others who were not less attracted by the influence of the superstitious tendency to foreign cults; and not only fanatical Pharisees, but also a doubtful sort of dark Jewish natures knew how (as magicians and seers) to turn this tendency to their own account.

These very successes of the people, whose peculiarities and claims were a cause of repulsion, nourished again in their turn the prejudices of Hellenic and Roman society against it. Amongst those who expressed themselves unfavourably to the Jews in literature, as Manetho (beginning of the Ptolemaic epoch; Hecatæus, on the other hand, expressed a favourable opinion), and in the last century Apollonius Molon, Posidonius Rhodius (in Cicero), Chæremon in the time of Augustus, and Lysimachus, had already done, Apion stood forth prominently as especially odious. He was an Alexandrian man of letters in the time of Tiberius (cf. Müller, *Fragmenta hist. Græc.*, III., 506–16), against whom, as against other attacks from the Hellenic side, Flavius Josephus wrote the two books *Against Apion* (more correctly, as only a part of the book is specifically directed against Apion: *πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας* [Porphyr.], or: *πέρι τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχαιότητος* [Orig.] inasmuch as this apology for Judaism as a matter of fact lays special weight on the proof of the high antiquity of the Jewish people). Numerous absurd tales as to their history, and fables about their religious worship, were in circulation, such as those about the worship of an ass's head, and about human sacrifice (Joseph. *c. Ap.* 2, 7). Their favoured condition under Cæsar and Augustus increased the feeling against them; under Tiberius they were only temporarily, and only in Rome, the object of hostile regulations. Under Caligula the hatred against the numerous and influential Jews of Alexandria came to an outburst there on occasion of the presence of King Herod Agrippa I., a tumult which the Roman governor Flaccus favoured. On that occasion the Jewish embassy, under the leadership of Philo, went to Rome, and to it so many Roman Jews attached themselves (Phil. *Leg. ad Caium*). For the rest, the death of Caligula next altered the conditions of affairs, and the expulsion of the Jews from Rome under Claudius (Suet. Claudius, 25), was also only a temporary regulation and referred only to Rome. It was not till the outbreak of the Jewish war, under the Flavians, that the **general** condition of the Jews was **essentially** altered, *vid. inf.*

The Jews could not have attained their great influence and their

important religious effect in the Græco-Roman world, if they had not themselves, in the Diaspora, exposed themselves to the influence of Hellenic culture, by means of which a common ground of understanding was for the first time created. The disposition of the Palestinian Jews to all sorts of Greek habits—to the Greek language, and in connection therewith to an acceptance of the dominant views of the age, to the extent of disregarding their specific religious-national heritage—such as repeatedly makes itself felt from the age of the Diadochi, had indeed found an energetic counterpoise in the Maccabean rising, but political relations and wars necessarily always led again to intimate contact with foreign influence. In a still higher degree however, the Jews of the Diaspora, who came into active trade and commercial intercourse with the world, were forced to avail themselves of the Greek language as a means of intercourse, so that those who were settled in Greek surroundings might gradually come to lose knowledge of their own tongue. Along with the use of the Greek language, and participation in Greek culture, the spiritual horizon was widened, and out of the combined elements, favoured by the general character of the Hellenistic period, peculiar views arose. The need of translating the sacred books into the Greek language was early felt, and this need was gradually satisfied by fragmentary translations of portions of the Bible for use in the Synagogue. The beginnings of such translation may, as a matter of fact, go back as far as the time of Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, B.C. 283 sqq., to whom the legend ascribes the entire Greek translation of the Bible by means of the seventy-two Jewish interpreters (cf. Ep. of (the Pseudo) ARISTEAS [Aristæus, Joseph. *Antt.* 12, 2] in Merx, *Archiv. f. w. Forsch. des A.T.*, I. 3). The Greek Bible of the Old Testament, which grew out of such attempts (Septuagint), itself already a monument of the beginning of the amalgamation of the Hebrew spirit with Greek elements, in its turn wrought fruitfully in this direction, and resulted in a peculiar religious foundation of culture of immeasurable importance. In the so-called Apocrypha, it included more recent Jewish religious writings, partly originally written in Greek, partly Greek translations of writings originally written in Hebrew, in which the documents for the study of this Hellenistic-Judaism have been preserved for us. Jewish authors arise, whose aim it is to make known the history of their people in the Greek language, partly with the expresssed tendency to the glorification of the Jewish people (Demetrius, Eupolemos, Artapanos, with whom this tendency is extravagantly augmented; everything glorious and great in pagan art and science is derived from

Judaism and Moses, glorified in mythological style,—the author of the epistle of Aristeas), and with the view of recommending Judaism in the eyes of the educated world; so finally, after the Jewish war, Josephus in the *Archæology*, which, like the treatise *Against Apion*, aims at the defence of older Jewish history against pagan attacks, while the *De Bello Judaico* sought to set forth the events in which he himself had taken part in such a form as he himself, after he had made his peace with Rome, desired that they should present to Roman eyes. Alongside of these there appeared the Books of the Maccabees, impregnated with a lively feeling of nationality, the first probably a translation of a Hebrew original, the second written in Greek, the third a religious "Tendenzschrift" of the time of Caligula. Even into the sphere of Hellenic poetry, the Hellenistic Jew follows. An epic-poet, PHILO, celebrates the Holy City in hexameters, an Ezekiel writes a drama entitled *Ἐξαγωγή*, on the Exodus. Under the names of celebrated pagan authorities, Hellenistic Jewish authors turn to the pagan world with the view of working under their forms in behalf of Jewish faith, ethical doctrine and views of the world. A chief portion of the Sibylline prophecies is of Jewish origin, in which in hexameters, and with the utilization of old pagan oracles, and with mingling of Biblical traditions with mythological ideas, men are called to the true knowledge of God and a purer life, while at the same time the chosen people is pointed to as that "which is set as the guide of life for all mortals" (III. 195). From like design springs the poem published under the name of the old Greek Gnomic poet PHOCYLIDES of Miletus (sixth cent.), in which, while specifically Jewish principles are kept in the background, a Jewish (monotheistic) morality is taught, an attempt therefore to offer to the pagan people the universal moral kernel of Judaism released from its hard shell—something like what was demanded of the proselytes of the gate (cf. Bernays on the Phocylidean Poem, 1856; cf. Collected Essays, published by Usener, I. 192-261. It is, however, not impossible to suppose, with Harnack, that it had a Christian origin. ThLZ. 1885, p. 160; cf. Schürer [2nd ed.], p. 824. Funk, *Doct. Duod. Apost.*, p. xix.).

Above all, Hellenistic Judaism took possession of Greek philosophy in the sense of a blending of Jewish religious views with it so as to form one religio-philosophic view of the world. Already, in the last outgrowths of the—still Hebrew—proverbial wisdom one sees the beginnings of the effects of Hellenic philosophy, for example in Koheleth in which some people (Plumptre and others) think they can find Epicurean and Stoic influences, or more recently (E.

Pfleiderer) Heraclitic elements. But in any case this blending is more thorough-going amongst the Greek-speaking Jews. The Alexandrian Aristobulus about 160 (under Ptolemy Philometor; fragments in Euseb. *Præp. ev.*, and Clem. Alex.) sees in the Old Testament the source of all wisdom, from which Plato and Pythagoras have drawn. The names of Orpheus, and Linus, to which even in antiquity the wisdom of religious mysticism had been attributed (Orphic poems), were made use of by Jewish Hellenism along with Hesiod and Homer to make them give testimony, in verses which were partly independently invented and partly twisted to suit a Jewish sense, in favour of Jewish belief, religious customs and morality. The religio-philosophical efforts of Jewish Hellenism found a point of attachment in the still essentially purely Hebrew proverbial wisdom (Proverbs of Solomon; Jesus son of Sirach), to which in form and general groundwork the Greek *Book of Wisdom* is attached under the name of Solomon, by an unknown Jewish (Christian, Weisse, Noack, Kirschbaum) author. The ruling idea of the Divine wisdom which is set forth in vivid personification, as the radiance of the Divine glory, the principle of revelation and the Divine world-activity, is rooted in the pure Hebrew doctrine of wisdom (Job xxviii., Prov. viii., Sirach), but assimilates Platonic, mixed with Stoic, notions, which like the Platonic doctrines of creation out of formless matter, the pre-existence of souls, the body as the prison of the soul, etc., had passed over into the educated consciousness of the time. The acme of this Hellenistic Jewish religious philosophy is designated by Philo, an Alexandrian Jew of the time of Christ, descended from a noble priestly house, brother of Alexander Lysimachus, the Egyptian Alabarch (*i.e.* a financial officer of high rank, not the Ethnarch of the Jews, v. Schürer, 2nd ed., p. 540) who was also highly regarded at the imperial court. A certain date for his life is afforded by his participation in the Jewish embassy to the Emperor Caius (Caligula), which had to complain of the regulations of the Procurator Flaccus. Philo was then (A.D. 39) already of advanced age. As he appears here as a representative of his people, so elsewhere he always appears as a believing Jew, exalting the Scripture above everything, holding fast amid all his philosophical explanation of it to the obligation of a life according to the law, and as one who will at least not surrender the national hopes for a Messianic kingdom. And yet he at the same time lives entirely in the rich world of Greek literature, including the historical and poetical, not merely the philosophical. He looks up with reverence to all the great Greek philosophers, so far as his eclectic philoso-

phising finds in them food for his religious and ethical speculation; therefore above all to Plato, but by no means exclusively, inasmuch as with him the Stoic is closely associated with the Platonic, and also the Pythagorean, Aristotelian, etc. It is only to Epicureanism and religious Scepticism that he takes up an attitude of entire rejection. **Here there is completed that blending of Hellenic speculation and Jewish religion which was so decisive for the history of the Christian Church and the forming of its theology, and there is produced a philosophy of religion in which philosophy itself is religious and requires a revelation, but in which religion embodies itself in a speculative view of the world and in which at the same time the ideal of the wise man coincides with that of the man of piety, and moral elevation finds its aim in flight from sensuality and in the mystical intuition of Deity.** On the Divine revelation, the inspired Holy Scripture, by means of allegorical interpretation as applied by Plato, and in a more comprehensive way still, by the Stoics to the philosophical explanation of religious myths, there are developed the ideas of God as the highest pure Being, of the creation of the world from matter by the eternal Divine powers, of the Divine Logos as the essence of all revelation and Divine creative activity, of man as spirit, sunk in the alien sensuous world, of his emancipation by means of ascetic virtue and exaltation in knowledge and contemplation, etc. Throughout Scripture is to be found behind the verbal (historical or legal) sense an assumed deeper sense (speculative, *i.e.* ethical ideas, higher truths) which only reveals itself to the pure perception of enlightened piety. Stumbling blocks which, from the verbal interpretation of Scripture, give rise to notions which are untrue, unworthy of God or contradictory, are themselves Divine finger-posts directing us to follow the hidden spiritual sense. Here the positive, historical, revealed religion becomes the husk of a universal, universally human and philosophical religion; its kernel is softened and an alien metaphysic substituted for it, but yet its ethical monotheism is brought near to the educated consciousness. Numerous writings (treatises of Philo) are attached to individual portions of the Pentateuch, especially to the history of primeval times and of the patriarchs: περὶ κοσμοποιίας, *De mundi opificio:* a philosophic explanation of the Mosaic history of creation, *Legis allegoriarum, libb.* 3: an explanation of the story of Paradise and the Fall, and so on. Others contain preponderatingly ethical treatises connected with the Decalogue and the ceremonial law. The main portion therefore is in the form of free exegetical treatment; other portions, such as the lives of Abraham, Moses and

Joseph more in a biographical style. *Quod omnis probus liber* and *De vita contemplativa* are in philosophic form (but their genuineness is much disputed). Of the five books on the fortunes of the Jews under the Emperor Caius, the treatise *Contra Flaccum* and the *Legatio ad Gaium* have survived.

Opp. ed. Mangey, 2 vols. London, 1742; small edition by Richter, Leipsic, 1828–30, and Tauchnitz, 1851–53; *De Mundi op.*, ed. Müller.

On Philo and the Alexandrian philosophy of religion, see the works of Gfrörer, *Philo*, 1831, and *Gesch. des Urchrist.*, 1838, I.; Dähne, *Geschichtl. Darst. der jüd. alex. Rel.-Phil*, I., 1834; Zeller, *Philos. der Griechen*, III., 2; C. Siegfried, *Philo v. Alex. als Ausleger des A.T.*, Jena, 1875, and others; Schürer, *Gesch. des jüd. Volks*, 2nd ed., II., 831 sqq.

III. The Samaritans.

Literature: Juynboll, *Comm. in hist. gentis Samar.*, Leyden, 1846, 4; Grimm. *Die Samaritaner*, Munich, 1854; Heidenheim, *Untersuchungen*, in his *deutscher Vierteljahrschrift*, I; Kohn, *Samarit. Studien*, Breslau, 1868; Ejsdm., *Zur Sprache, Literatur, etc., der Sam.*, Leipsic, 1876 (Essay in KDM. V.); Appel, *Quæstiones de rebus Sam.*, Breslau, 1874. Articles by Petermann (RE.), Schrader (Schenkel's BL.), and Kautzsch (Riehm's Hdb. and RE.²).

After the fall of the kingdom of Israel and the carrying away of the mass of its inhabitants, Sargon transplanted thither heathen colonists from the provinces of Babylon, **Cutha**, Ama, Hamath, and Sepharvaim (2 Kings xvii. 24 sqq.) to which further additions subsequently followed. In the mouth of the Jews this people received the name of Cuthim, Cuthæans. They mingled with the residue of Israelites, probably not small in number, which had remained behind, and attached themselves to the religion of the country. As early, however, as the return of the first body of Jews under Zerubbabel and Joshua (537 B.C.), the Jews denied community in Divine worship to this impure mixed people (Ezra iv. 7 sqq). Thereupon the Samaritans thwarted the building of the Jewish Temple till the second year of Darius (520 B.C., Ezra iv. 1 sqq., 24). Even under Ezra and Nehemiah the building of the walls of Jerusalem (445 B.C.) was only carried out amid perpetual Samaritan menaces (Neh. iv. 1 sqq.) In the times of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ and of Roman dominion they indeed shared on the whole the political lot of the Jews, but willingly took their stand on the side of their opponents. They formed an object of hatred and contempt on the part of the Jews (Sir. 50, 25 sq.), who as far as possible avoided intercourse with them (John iv. 9; Luke ix. 32), so much the more as they made good their claim on the religious

inheritance of Israel. The foundation for the Samaritans of a temple of their own on Mount Gerizim is attributed by Josephus (*Antiq.* 11, 7, 2 and 8, 2 sqq.) to a Jewish priest, Manasse, who being married to a daughter of Sanballat, the Persian Satrap of Samaria, was attacked by the Jews because of his foreign wife, and for whom his father-in-law built the Samaritan temple, in order to make him high priest there. The transposition of this story to the time of Darius Codomannus and Alexander the Great seems to rest on historical tradition as to the origin of the Samaritan temple, while in the personalities referred to a confusion with events about one hundred years old seems to exist (Neh. xiii. 28). When John Hyrcanus overthrew Samaria he also destroyed the temple on Gerizim and the city of Samaria (c. 110 B.C.); Mount Gerizim, however, remained the place of prayer. As the Samaritans desired to hold fast by the religion of Jehovah, their Holy Book is the Pentateuch, and indeed it was all they possessed (in Samaritan, *i.e.* ancient Hebrew writing) in a peculiar form differing much from the Massoretic text, which also shows some *tendenziose* alterations of the text (as Deut. xxvii. 4, *Gerizim* for *Ebal*). (From this Hebrew-Samaritan Pentateuch, however, is to be distinguished the Samaritan Pentateuch-Targum, which while ostensibly composed in the first century B.C., probably belongs to the second or third century A.D.) They hold by the law and circumcision and regard Moses as the greatest prophet of the one God. Idolatry, especially that the temple on Gerizim contained the figure of a dove, was reproachfully attributed to them by the later Jews, but cannot be proved—the N.T. contains no allusion to it—although the influence of the heathen elements in the people renders this probable, and the significance of Samaria for the history of primitive Christian sects renders probable the influence of Asiatic religious conceptions and their reception in a syncretistic sense. . The denial of the resurrection (cf. Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzung der Bibel*, p. 128 sqq.) appears to be a halting by the old undeveloped doctrine of Sheol, a refusal to fall in with Pharisaic dogma. Their Messiah (Deut. xviii. 18) they expected from the race of Joseph, the father of their race.

FIRST DIVISION OF THE FIRST PERIOD.

Primitive Christianity.

Literature: The narratives of the History of the Apostolic Age by NEANDER, *Gesch. der Pflanzung, etc.*, 5th ed., Gotha, 1864; J. P. LANGE, 1853; SCHAFF, 1854; LECHLER, *Das apost. und nachapost. Zeitalter*, 3rd ed., 1886; THIERSCH, *Die Kirche in AZ.*, (1852) 1858; A. HAUSRATH, *Neutestamentl. Zeitgesch.*, 2nd ed., 4 vols., 1873-77; [English transl. vol. i. 1878; vol. ii. 1880, London]; REUSS, *Hist. de la théol chrét. au siècle apost.*, 2nd ed., Strassburg, 1860; [English transl., London, 1872]; WEIZSÄCKER, *Das apostol. Zeitalter*, Freiburg, 1886; PFLEIDERER, *Das Urchristenthum, seine Schriften und Lehren*, Berlin, 1887; B. WEISS, *Bibl. Theol. des N.T.*, 4th ed. Berlin, 1884.

1. The rise of the Community of Jewish Believers in the Messiah.

Jesus came forward with the announcement of the coming of the kingdom of God (of which indeed He was Himself the initiator, in the consciousness of His specific relationship to the heavenly Father, and His Messianic vocation based thereupon), with the offer, corresponding to the Messianic promise, of the forgiveness of sins and the establishment of the righteousness of this kingdom of God for all who attached themselves to Him by repentance and desire for salvation, finally with allusions to the consummation of the kingdom of God in judgment and glory to be introduced by means of His surrender to death and His exaltation. His preaching was addressed to the whole people of God, and therefore did not in itself exclude the idea of a restoration of the kingdom of God under the national theocratic forms of the people of God; but the unreceptivity and opposition of the people as a whole necessarily effected the emergence, of which Jesus saw the prospect (Matt. xvi. 18), of a **Messianic community,** not coinciding with the national community, and claiming for itself all the hopes of the people of God. The circle of disciples which formed itself around Him, destined to be the salt of the people of God in so far as it does not withdraw itself from their influence, appears as a special community, differentiating itself from the national community, and at length to cast itself free. It pre-supposes faith in the crucified Messiah as the living and exalted Saviour and bringer of the kingdom of God. The closing up of the disciples, who had been intimidated by the crucifixion of Jesus, into an inspired and believing Messianic community, is based for them on the experience that their Master **lives,** on the self-attestations of the Risen One, and on belief in His exaltation and glorification. Their power and confidence is completed by the out-pouring of the Spirit

at Pentecost. This Spirit proceeding from the exalted One, and not the earthly appearance of Jesus or His doctrine by itself, is the proper **foundation of the Church**; but the emancipation of this special community from the general religious-national community of the Jewish nation comes about only as the result of a gradual process.

Even though the first diciples were mostly Galileans, and though the oldest evidence points to the fact (Mark xvi. 7; Matt. xxviii. 16 sq.) that after the death of their Master, they at first for the most part fled to Galilee, and there became assured of His being alive, yet they gather themselves together at Jerusalem, the holy city of the people of God, and here experience the outpouring of the new spirit. Jerusalem remains at first the central point of the Messianic community, which fact is also confirmed by the relations of Paul to the original community there.

It could not enter the minds of the apostles and disciples and those who through their word attained faith in Jesus as the Messiah, that they were anything else than believing Jews, who gave witness to the fact that the promises of God to His people were and are fulfilled in Jesus. They saw in the movement of the new spirit a confirmation of the fact that the Messianic age had dawned, and sought redemption and salvation in faith in Jesus, the holy and the just, established as Lord and Messiah, looked upon His death as the transition to His glorification, the bringing in of the judgment and the kingdom of glory, which had taken place according to the Divine counsel, and earnestly anticipated His coming from heaven. Living in the faith and hope of Israel, they reproach the people with the sin of rejecting and putting to death the Messiah; but as a sin of ignorance, so that repentance is still possible, and hope remains for the conversion of the people. As a matter of course they live under the forms of the sanctified ancestral law, not only as regards morals and the regulation of life, but also as regards the worship of God. The sanctuary of the people of God, the Temple, as the only proper place of worship, is also their sanctuary; indeed their highly augmented religious disposition, in spite of everything which in the teaching of Jesus pointed beyond the form of the old covenant and hinted at its being broken through, must at first have evoked a specially affectionate attachment to the religious inheritance and institutions of their people, the people of God. They visit the Temple at the Jewish times of prayer, take part in the celebration of sacrifice and feast-day, and find in the halls of the temple (Solomon's Porch, John x. 23; Acts iii. 11, v. 12) the opportunity for

the exchange of religious ideas and for witnessing to the Messiah acknowledged, ascended, and about to return. So likewise after the example of their Master they would visit the synagogues with their readings of Scripture and prayers, and those who had the capacity (cf. Stephen) would there appear as teachers (expounding the Scripture) according to their ability and opportunity, so long as they were not prevented.

But the certainty of their faith, their entire possession by a religious spirit, and their cordial spirit of prayer, naturally bind together these Jews who believe in the Messiah into a special family-like community. In it their most peculiar religious heritage reaches expression in prayer, preaching, and the out-pourings of inspiration; and it finds in the breaking of bread, in love feasts which culminate in participation in the blessed bread and cup according to the bequest of Jesus, its most solemn festivals, which cherish the feeling of a living mysterious community of life with the glorified Head. **Socially,** however, the primitive society was bound together by a sort of attempt at community of goods. Jesus' requirement of the sacrifice of the earthly for the sake of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xix. 21, 29; Luke xii. 31 and frequently), the ardour of the sense of a common life which strives to abolish the limits set up by property, and also indeed the fixed expectation of the coming of the Lord, which was to make an end of existing human regulations, here work together to engender a lively emulation in free affection, in the surrender of possessions for the good of the brethren; to a certain extent this was a continuation of the form of life which Jesus had led with His disciples (a common purse for the defraying of common necessaries). At the same time we must not think of an abstract communism, according to which each man also gave up all that he had earned (by labour) to the common purse, and received what was necessary from it; for, the provision for widows and the poor, which is early met with, presupposes a permanent difference between such as provide for themselves and such as are unable to do so. But, moreover, it seems to be the case that the giving up of their goods on the part of those who were so endowed, and voluntary contributions on the part of those who had no property but lived by labour, promoted that general impoverishment of the Jerusalemitic community which subsequently drove Paul to his work of collecting alms.

While the body of disciples after the Feast of Pentecost thus takes on the character of a **separate community,** at first within the Jewish nation, which exercises an important power of attraction by

the impression of its warm, genuinely Israelitish piety, and its preaching based upon the promises of Israel, it is also the custom to receive into the Messianic community those who adopt its faith by means of a special act: **Baptism.** John the Baptist, probably in view of such prophetic passages as Isaiah i. 16; Zechariah xiii. 1; especially Ezekiel xxxvi. 24 sqq., as well as of the symbolic significance of the Old Testament lustrations, had baptized those who repented and attached themselves to him, in allusion to the coming kingdom of God, but had reserved for the Messiah Himself the **baptism of the Spirit** promised in Ezekiel xxxvi. If (according to John iii. 26, iv. 1 sq.) the disciples of Jesus also baptized during the course of His life, such baptism had no more than the preparatory character of the baptism of John. But the promised baptism of the Spirit had really come upon the primitive community on the Day of Pentecost. In remembrance of a command of their risen Master they now practise baptism, as the universal form of reception into the community, upon all who in faith and desire turn towards it (the hypothesis that at first baptism was only given to the Gentiles is to be rejected). Baptism is admission into the community on the basis of repentance and faith in Jesus as the Messiah (Acts ii. 41, v. 14), the community which knows itself to be in living union with Christ and permeated by His spirit. Hence the natural presupposition, that with the reception of baptism, with entry into the community permeated by His spirit, the individual is also really permeated by the same spirit.

The rapid growth of the communities in the earliest times and the practical needs arising therefrom, especially in regard to the care of the poor, lead to a first establishment of community organization in the choice of the **seven** (Acts vi.). The apostles stood at the head of the community as freely recognised personal authorities, with definite limitations of office. There fell to them (1) above all the **vocation of witnessing**, on account of their personal relationship to Jesus, preaching and the vindication of the faith to those outside; to this position there might be attached the need which soon arose of learned explanation proper, without thereby excluding from it in any way the other members of the spirit-permeated community; (2) the place of **heads** of the original Christian family in everything requisite to the guidance of the community. Their resolution, however, led upon a definite occasion to the choice of the seven for the **service of tables** (care of the poor), *i.e.* as the community grows and there emerge two divergent elements in it, the need makes itself felt of no longer leaving the daily care of the

poor merely to individuals, but with the view of avoiding the inequalities which thereby arose, of placing it in the hands of **regular organs**, for which special persons entrusted with the confidence of the community were chosen, as the apostles could not agree to take this burden on themselves. Here for the first time the difference between the Hebrew and the Hellenic Christians makes itself felt, *i.e.* between the Palestinian believing Jews essentially untouched by Greek customs and the Greek language, and the Greek Jews believing in the Messiah, who had been born or had long lived in the *Diaspora*, and had adopted the Greek language and in part Greek customs (the expression also includes Greek proselytes). This first start of congregational organization was not permanently developed further, but was broken off along with the whole primitive existence of the original community.

2. The First Conflicts.

The growth and the confident emergence of the young Christian community awakened the apprehensions of the **priestly authorities**, in whom the Sadducean tendency prevailed. The ruling priestly nobility, carefully avoiding a strong Messianic movement among the people, thought it needful to oppose the preaching of the resurrection and return of Christ for the establishment of the kingdom of God as sedition and dangerous fanaticism, especially as it involved a condemnation of the action of the Sanhedrim against Christ. But in the person of Gamaliel (Acts v.) there also appears a tendency within the Pharisaic party, which, in opposition to the worldly view of the high-priestly party, holds out warnings against violent measures, and is unable to avoid the impression that to oppose the faith of the Christians which lives in the spirit of prophecy may yet be to oppose something Divine.

The Hellenist Stephen roused deep-stirring movements by his confession of and zeal for the faith in Jesus, chiefly in Hellenist circles. He was accused of blasphemy against Moses and God, as also of the assertion that Jesus of Nazareth would destroy the sanctuary of the Temple. His speech (Acts vii. 2 sqq.) proclaims the idea that the hostile relation of the people to Jesus is only the culmination of the stiff-neckedness which they had displayed against all the previous benefactions and saving intentions of God under the old covenant, and that the Divine revelation of salvation was not limited to the Temple. Stephen seems, in view of the increasing opposition of the Jews, to have fastened on the menace of Jesus of

the fall of the Temple, therefore to have at least hinted at the possibility of the rejection of the stubborn people, and to have pointed to the emancipation of the believing Messianic community from the national sanctuary and its forms of worship which in that case stood in prospect. But even so Stephen was a forerunner of Paul only in a very limited sense.

The persecution of the Jerusalem community—perhaps specially of its Hellenist part—which followed the stoning of Stephen, became a means of promoting the spread of the Christian faith to Samaria, to the coasts of the Mediterranean, to Phœnicia and Cyprus, at last to so important a centre as Antioch, the imperial capital of the East. To the winning of the Jews to faith in Jesus there is already added the reception into the Christian community of the pious Gentile CORNELIUS, a proselyte of the gate. Peter arrives at the view that it is God's will that the message of salvation, namely, the forgiveness of sins in the name of Jesus, should be preached to every man without respect of persons (not only to the circumcised Jew, but also to the pious Gentile desiring it), and he is moved by the actual similarity of phenomena of the special Christian inspiration in this Jewish proselyte, to recognise his reception into the Christian community by baptism as the will of God, which therefore is not to be made conditional on circumcision. Though this appears in tradition as an individual case sanctioned by special Divine guidance, in the meantime Hellenist Christians had already begun to preach the gospel to born Greeks also at Antioch in Syria, and successfully (Acts xi. 19–26). BARNABAS is sent thither from Jerusalem, and begins the important work in common with PAUL, who had meantime been converted, in a **community** in which **Gentile-Christians** form an important (or even preponderating) part, and for which, according to the erroneously contested tradition of the Acts, the name of *Χριστιανοί* first occurs. This indicates the fact that it was here that the Christians first attracted attention as members of a special sect, to be distinguished from the Jews in general.

During these important first steps in the spread of Christianity and its expansion by the admission of Gentiles, the community at Jerusalem, which rapidly gathered together again after the persecution, must have had comparatively quiet times (Acts ix. 31). Probably the absence of many Hellenists, the element of restless advance, contributed to mitigate Jewish objection. Besides, under the Roman Procurators the disposition of the Jewish people turned much more against Rome. The intention of Caligula, in particular, which was

only given up at the last moment, of causing his own statue to be erected in the very Jewish Temple, called forth a deeply penetrating religious-national excitement, in which the Christians of Jerusalem, although they otherwise kept at a distance from political zelotism, could only have taken an approving part. It had been Herod Agrippa who, only shortly before Caligula's death, had turned him back from that crazy project; from Claudius (41) he received, in addition to his previous possessions, Judea also, so that the whole of Palestine was once more united under one king. To gain favour for this policy among the Jews the strongest efforts were made. The self-confidence of the Jews, which was nourished by this turn of political events, seems again to have turned more against the Christians, as adherents of One who had been rejected by the leaders of the nation, to which result the consequences of the preaching of Christianity abroad may have essentially contributed. For the sake of the popular feeling Herod Agrippa laid hands on members of the community, and caused James the brother of John (the sons of Zebedee) to be put to death by the sword, in the year 44, for soon thereafter Herod Agrippa died (Acts xii.). Peter also was taken prisoner, but miraculously escaped and provisionally left Jerusalem. From this time on, James **the Brother of the Lord** appears ever more and more as really bearing rank as head of the Jerusalem community, while Peter more and more devotes himself to the apostolic mission abroad, and indeed, more accurately, to the mission in Israel. At the Council of Apostles (Acts xv.; Gal. ii.) we indeed find Peter again with John and James at the head of the Jerusalem community, but soon thereafter we find him again in Antioch, and James appears as the head of the community at Jerusalem (Acts xxi.). In spite of the existence of these personal apostolic authorities the Palestinian communities had need of instruments of leadership originating in themselves: these were the **Presbyters.** The name is taken over from the existing civic constitution of society among the Jews; here the Presbyters—in idea the older members of the community—were the members of the **local authority** with attributes partly administrative, partly judicial and disciplinary. In this judicial quality they form the local Sanhedrims (Jos. *βουλή, γερουσία*), which must have at least seven members, and were traced back to Mosaic ordinance (cf. Jos. *Antiq.* iv. 8, 14, and Josephus' own arrangement *Bell. Jud.* ii. 20, 5). They held their meetings in the synagogues and had their seats of honour at the synagogue service, *πρωτοκαθεδρίαι* (Matt. xxiii. 6 sqq.; here of the Pharisees in general, but used Luke xx. 46 of the *γραμματεῖς*, the

legal-expert assessors of the Sanhedrims). As in Palestine the religious and the civic community in the main coincided, all the concerns of the government of the religious communities too were in their hands. But in the **Synagogue Service,** and therefore in the leading of religious meetings and the exercise of the functions of divine worship (prayer, reading of Scripture, interpretation, religious doctrine, preaching, blessing), the seniors as such did not appear, but only the **chiefs of the synagogues** (*ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, Luke xiii. 14; Acts xiii. 15; *ἀρχῶν τῆς συναγ.* Luke viii. 41), who conducted divine worship and supervision over it, invited to lead in prayer, reading, and preaching, and the **attendants** of the synagogues, whose were the subordinate offices (Luke iv. 20). At the same time it remains very possible that one of the presbyters exercised the functions of chief of the synagogue, although it cannot be finally established. Now, in proportion as the Palestinian communities of Christians were treated by their fellow-countrymen as traitors and outlaws, the necessity emerged of setting up alongside of their combinations for worship a social organization also, which, since for Christians they must to a certain extent replace the civic social constitution, most naturally formed themselves on a certain analogy to it. Accordingly the evidence of Acts (xi. 30, xv. 2, 4, 6, 22, xxi. 18 sq.) as to such presbyters in the original community, who are entrusted with the leadership and representation of the community, but at the same time of course appear to be bound to its participation and consent, has throughout historical probability in its favour, and certain disciplinary attributes may perhaps also be ascribed to them. On the other hand nothing points to the exercise of teaching or the leading of **divine worship** as attributes which they had as presbyters, and therefore officially. They give advice (Acts xv.) and join in deciding a question touching essentially on the **existence of the Christian community,** which naturally rests on a conviction closely connected with the regulation of belief, therefore in a question of the government of the community which to a certain extent includes a question of doctrine; but it does not follow that in their character as presbyters they were called upon to teach. The latter mainly appears as the business of those who were personally called to and equipped for it, the Apostles and Prophets (Acts xiii.).

3. Paul's Preaching to the Gentiles.

Literature: THOLUCK in StKr., 1835, 2; F. CHR. BAUR, *Paul*, Eng. trans., London, 1873–75; O. PFLEIDERER, *Paulinismus* [Eng. trans.], London, 1877; KRENKEL, *Paulus*, Leipsic, 1869; W. Schmidt in RE. 11, 356 sqq., where the abundant special literature may be found.

1. The incitement to the wider preaching of the gospel in the Greek world starts from the Christian community at Antioch. For this purpose Barnabas receives Paul as a companion (Acts xiii. and xiv.).

SAUL, by birth a Jew of the tribe of Benjamin (Rom. xi. 1; Phil. iii. 5; 2 Cor. xi. 22), born at Tarsus in Cilicia (Acts ix. 11, xxi. 39, xxii. 3, cf. Gal. i. 21), educated as a Pharisee, and although indeed as a Hellenist he had command of Greek and had come into contact with Greek culture and Greek life, yet had not actually passed through the discipline of Greek culture, was introduced by Gamaliel to the learned study of the law, and his whole soul was seized with fiery zeal for the statutes of the fathers (Gal. i. 14). Hence his zealous participation in the prosecution of Stephen, when the Christian sect appeared to menace the existence of the Jewish faith, and to point to the destruction of the Temple and the law of Moses. But, while occupied in this persecution of the scattered Christians, he is alarmed and converted by the appearance of the risen Lord near Damascus (Acts ix. 22, 26). After his stay in Damascus, and in Arabia, and the visit to Peter (and James) at Jerusalem (Gal. i. 18 sqq.), having gone into Syria and Cilicia, he was taken to Antioch by Barnabas. He now undertakes the proselytising journey to Cyprus and the southern districts of Asia Minor (Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycaonia), preaching Jesus as the Messiah in the Jewish synagogues. Here Hellenic proselytes of the gate, men, and especially women, hear the gospel, and this affords a point of connection for turning to other Gentiles also. Thereby the Jewish opposition, which had showed itself from the first, is only aggravated, and the fundamental principle is established: the word of God must first be preached to the Jews, but where they reject it and show themselves unworthy of eternal life, the preaching turns to the Gentiles (Acts xiii. 46).

2. The work starting from Antioch, by which access to the faith is opened to the Gentiles, the formation of (preponderatingly) **Gentile Christian communities,** now introduces into the original Christian development an important problem, which (about the year 52, probably not later) (Gal. ii.; Acts xv.) leads to discussions and explana-

tions at the so-called Apostolic Council. Within the Jewish Messianic community, there arises the very intelligible demand, that the Gentile Christians should submit to circumcision and thereby take upon themselves the fulfilment of the life of the law. They must become Jews, proselytes of righteousness; otherwise they could not be saved nor have part in the Messianic kingdom of salvation; they must be incorporated in the covenant people. Thereby the vital chord of Paul's gospel to the Gentiles, whom on principle he did not bind to the Mosaic law (*vid. infra*), would be severed. Hence he appears at Jerusalem on behalf of his gospel, points to his own and Barnabas' results among the Gentiles, and requests that the Apostles Peter and John, and James the Lord's Brother, may recognise his procedure as justified and blessed by God, and that he should be given the right hand of fellowship and his special task as apostle to the Gentiles be recognised, while the original apostles should confine themselves to the mission to the Jews. In this recognition of the mission to the Gentiles, it was at the same time necessarily involved, that even for the Jews the real **ground of salvation** did not rest upon observance of the law, but on believing trust in the grace of the Messiah, the Messianic forgiveness of sins imparted to the repentant, confirmed by the reception of the Spirit which was thereby brought about, and which guaranteed salvation through the Messiah and reception into the Messianic kingdom. At the same time, however, it was of course maintained by the original church that the Jewish Christians remained bound to the life of the law. With reference to this point, it is required of the Gentile Christians in the so-called **Decree of the Apostles** (the epistle of the Apostles and the Jerusalem community to the Gentile Christians in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia, Acts xv. 28 sq., cf. v. 20), that they should observe certain prescriptions which were intended to obviate essential repugnances of legal Jews to Gentile customs, and which recall the so-called **Noachic Commandments** subsequently proposed by the Talmud, the demands made on the so-called Proselytes of the Gate (p. 41). To the Gentile Christians, thus recognised as participators in the kingdom of God, there is thereby to a certain extent assigned the position of proselytes in relation to the believing people of God (the presupposed proper kernel of the Messianic society). It indeed soon became plain that the practical difficulties were not thereby abolished; forthwith there arises (in Antioch, Gal. ii. 11 sqq.) dissension as to the extent of the purport of the expressed recognition of Gentile Christianity as free from the law. From the strictly Jewish standpoint it was thought, that even when one

recognised the Gentile Christians as brethren in belief in the Messiah, one was yet in duty bound to avoid **associating at table** with them as uncircumcised persons, so as not to violate legal regulations (Levitical rules as to food); a reservation which menaced the religious social life of Christians in one of its most important points (*Agapes!*) Paul however inferred from the recognition that God had purified the Gentiles by faith, that all limits must be dropped and therefore that there must be a certain breaking down of the legal standpoint even for Jewish Christians.

3. For Paul, who had risen to perfect independence by the energy of his own peculiar stamp of gospel, there now begin the years of his powerful activity, in which he not only again visits and extends his former missionary field in Asia Minor, but gains a firm footing in Macedonia (Philippi), Athens, and Achaia (Corinth); then on the so-called Third Missionary Journey he exercises a comprehensive influence during a stay of nearly three years at **Ephesus,** and finally looks from Achaia towards the metropolis of the world.

(*a*) The character of his preaching was mainly conditioned by **the events of his own personal life and the manner of his conversion.** As a Pharisee, an orthodox Jew, he had started from the view which laid the whole weight of importance on the law as an all-comprehensive, holy rule of life, by which he regarded the conscientious fulfilment of its prescriptions, the attainment of the salvation promised to the people of God, as conditioned. But in the Mosaic law, the multitude of legal prescriptions (the ceremonial law) were inseparably bound up and intermingled with essentially moral and religious requirements. Paul however, because he universally perceived the voice of the latter side—the earnestness of the moral requirements,—found no true satisfaction in the greatest zeal and the strictest obedience to the law, and felt the disparity between the demand and the fulfilment (Rom. vii.); but just for that reason, he had held to it the more tenaciously and sought righteousness in it, and on that account had fanatically persecuted the Christian faith, from whose influence he feared the undermining of legal order and ancestral morality. Then the vision of the Lord is imparted to him; He whom he persecuted adopts him for His own. He himself saved by **Grace**, renewed and called to be an apostle; while the law, regarded as the way of salvation, had not helped him, but had been the very cause which had driven him to what now appears to him as his most grievous sin. Thus from the very beginning Christianity comes to him under the aspect of freely offered Divine grace, which shows a way of salvation

opposite to that of the law, and the exalted Christ becomes to him the mediator of that grace. This however involves that for the kingdom of the Messiah, national and institutional presuppositions disappear as unessential. The Messiah of the Jews is **here more immediately and directly acknowledged as the Saviour of sinners in general,** than had been the case on the soil of Palestinian primitive Christianity.

(*b*) Quite similarly his **missionary preaching,** as to which his oldest epistles (1 and 2 Thessalonians) permit of some inferences, naturally started from the common ground of the Messianic idea. With the establishment of the Messianic kingdom the Judgment of the Messiah is near: this is the motive for the conversion of the heathen from idols to the living God. He who has been awakened from death, and appointed to judge, is also He who can save from the Divine wrath. The glad message invites to faith in this salvation and summons men to it, establishes the requirements necessary for the life which is turned away from idols and won and dedicated to God, and exhibits the God, who as He is in grace the originator of salvation, so also in Christ by means of the Holy Ghost gives strength and shows himself as a Father in the work of Divine grace. The gospel is met with special hostility by the unbelieving Jews, and this hostility will be augmented till the appearance of the Man of Sin, the Anti-Christ, whereupon the **Judgment** on the godless will ensue, when Christ shall return in His glory to establish with His own the kingdom of glory, to which those who up till then shall have died shall also attain.

(*c*) These simple ground-lines of apostolic preaching, to which freedom from the demands of the Mosaic law, the essentially equal standing of all men as sinners in presence of the Divine grace mediated by the exalted Christ, and the dominant place of grace as bringing and working salvation are already peculiar, now in the case of Paul, amid his powerful missionary activity on the soil of the mobile Hellenic life, take the peculiar form of the Pauline doctrine or theology. The latter is represented in his chief Epistles (Galatians, Corinthians, Romans), and is indeed essentially modified by the continual struggle with the Judaistic party, to refute which the Apostle finds himself compelled to bring forward dialectical proof and to develop his fundamental views. The **Judaistic party**, which had not prevailed at the Apostolic Council, attacks the communities free from the law, which had been founded by Paul, works everywhere against the Apostle, demands circumcision of the converted heathen and their sub-

jection to the Mosaic law, and contests the Apostle's apostolic authority, because Paul regards his apostolic calling as directly designed for the heathen as such, and thence infers the justification of the freedom of his preaching from the law. The Epistle to the Galatians exhibits the severe struggles of the Apostle in this connection; the Epistles to the Corinthians show this cardinal question linked at the same time with a multitude of other problems and tasks, raised by the lively apprehension of the gospel of Paul in the Corinthian community. The most clarified outcome of this development is the Epistle to the Romans.

Salvation (which is to be revealed in the kingdom of God) consists in righteousness before God, which brings life. It comes first by means of the gospel; for all mankind, Jews as well as Gentiles lack this righteousness; sinfulness is universal. As the Gentile world has fallen through sin into the irremediable condition of estrangement from and hostility to God, so also Judaism, in spite of its revelation of God, and its sacred law given by God, has fallen under judgment and stands in need of redemption,—because of sin men are unable to fulfil the law. The only importance of the latter is to bring sin to ripeness and reveal its corruption and awaken the desire after redemption. It has only a passing pædagogical importance. With the appearance of Christ there has now dawned the promised time of salvation, the time of grace in opposition to sin and law and all human merit. The exalted Lord, the Son of God, is the Mediator of this grace, who by His **atoning death** has reconciled the world with God and redeemed it from sin, and thereby brought about the result that God justifies out of grace the man who turns to Him in faith on the ground of the atonement. This faith—the work of God in man—is the opposite of the works of the law, and consists in renouncing one's own acts and merits, and in an entire confidence in God. By faith man comes into the relation of sonship and the assurance of all salvation by the Holy Ghost. Baptism is the foundation of a real community of life with Christ (by death and new creation), by the imparting of this spirit, which now becomes the principle of the new life, in which holiness and righteousness are also actually exhibited.—In connection with the fundamental idea of the Christian hope for the coming of the Lord to establish the kingdom of glory, which Paul decidedly held fast, and under the influence of reflections upon the actual aversion of the Jews as a whole from the gospel, and the actual calling of the Gentiles, there is developed the idea of the temporary hardening of the heart of Israel, and its final conversion after the fulness of the Gentiles shall have come in.

4. Circumstances of the Gentile Communities.

Literature: R. Rothe, *Die Anfänge der christl. Kirche*, Wittenberg, 1837; Weizsäcker, ZwTh. 1873; W. Beyschlag, *Die Kirchenverfassung im Zeitalter des N.T.*, Harl., 1874; Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, 3rd ed., London, 1888; Heinrici, ZwTh. 1876, 3. 77, 1, and in his 1 *Corinthians* i., 1880; H. Weingarten in HZ. vol. 45; E. Loening, *Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums, Eine Kirchenrechtl. Untersuchung*, Halle, Niemeyer, 1889.

1. The communities of the **Jewish** Diaspora, in whose synagogues Paul sought the first entrance for his preaching, strove universally over the Empire, and not seldom with some success, after a jurisdiction of their own and internal independence. In Alexandria they were all subject to one common ethnarch; elsewhere however, as it appears, the individual communities were independent of one another and without any other bond of union than was afforded them in a common faith, like exclusion from heathen customs, a lively sense of their common descent, and active intercourse. Here also Presbyteries (Gerousiai) appear to have presided over them as leading (civic) colleges of the community, though *e.g.* in the case of Rome the name Presbyter is not to be found in the inscriptions (Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaizerzeit*, Leipsic, 1879 4). It is found however in the catacomb inscriptions at Venosa (*v.* Hatch *ut sup.*, p. 61, note 16). As a matter of fact however the πρῶτοι of the Jews in Rome (Acts xxviii. 17) may have been some such elders of the community. The question however, whether anywhere in Palestine, the East, or the Hellenist-Roman Diaspora, the case may have occurred of a majority of the members of an existing Jewish community taking up the faith in Jesus, and so simply continuing itself under the existing forms now regarded as Christian (Hatch, p. 60 sq.) must be postponed and may be regarded as doubtful. Opposition soon drives Paul out of the synagogues, and with him the Jews and proselytes who were becoming believers; free Christian communities arise in the midst of the Gentile world. According to Acts (xiv. 23), Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey in Lystra, Derbe, and Iconium, seem to have appointed **elders** (presbyters) in the converted and assembled communities, several such for each community. This seems probably connected with the Jewish and Judæo-Christian arrangements (*v. sup.*, p. 56), in the very beginning of Paul's activity, when he was still working in association with Barnabas on the commission of the community at Antioch; and accordingly we would have to think of them after the pattern of the presbyters of the original community. On his

journey to Jerusalem also, Paul—again in the Asia Minor province—summons the **elders** of the community at **Ephesus** to Miletus, to say farewell (Acts xx. 17). They stand in the relation of **overseers** (ἐπίσκοποι) to the community as the flock (ποίμνιον) entrusted to them by God. They are to **feed** and **watch** the community of the Lord, which He has acquired by His blood, so that **wolves** (false teachers, who practically lay waste the community) may not break in. He sets up to them as an example his own voluntary renunciation of maintenance by the community. They are to maintain themselves by their own labour, to assist the poor, and consider the saying of Jesus, that it is more blessed to give than to receive.

Unless the interpolating influence of a later view has interfered with the rendering of the words of Paul, we have here elders with functions as leaders of the community, who place themselves at the service of the community without pay, and in their **overseership** over the preservation inviolate of the faith have to watch against disturbance, without its being involved that even as elders they have to exercise the teaching vocation.

Alongside of these elders, who are also designated bishops (ἐπίσκοποι), there may be placed, on the supposition of the genuineness of the First Epistle of Peter, which again was addressed to communities in Asia Minor, the elders mentioned 1 Peter v. 1 sqq., who are to feed the flock without earthly gain and without desire to lord it over their charge, after the pattern of the Shepherd and **Overseer** (ἐπίσκοπος) of souls (ii. 25). The contrast of the νεώτεροι (v. 5) with the πρεσβύτεροι shows that the relationship of natural piety towards age, from which the position of elders had developed, has not yet disappeared, as again Peter on the ground of the same relationship designates himself συμπρεσβύτερος.

Glimpses into the conditions that were arising on Hellenic soil are afforded us by the Pauline epistles, especially by those to the Corinthians, which show that if elsewhere the Jewish form of presbyteries attained influence in the manner depicted, this was by no means universally the case.

In Paul's ministry **household communities** which gathered round the first converted appear as the **beginning** (1 Cor. xvi. 15). Now so far as the older epistles of the Apostle permit us to see, it is impossible to perceive even in the grown communities any proper **official** organization of the communities; neither an office on the ground of apostolic **appointment,** nor on that of **election by the community,** whether with the committal of special authority in the community to its official representatives, or to definite standing commission with the discharge of official duties. As regards the latter,

we learn casually, indeed, of the choice of some persons who are commissioned with the discharge of a certain business (matter of collecting money); but that is the formation of a committee for the carrying out of a special purpose, not the creation of standing officers. But apart from that, only such of the believers gained by the Apostle come at first into prominence, as place themselves and their gifts and their means at the service of the community, according to the law of love (1 Cor. xvi. 15, εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἔταξαν ἑαυτούς, Rom. xvi. 1); *i.e.* such as combined with their Christian zeal the advantage of a privileged social rank and the corresponding means, and appear in the character of **patrons** or **patronesses** (προστάτης, προστάτις), caring for, helping, guarding the multitude who belong to the lower ranks, after the manner of the ancient relation of client and patron. Phœbe was undoubtedly a προστάτις of this sort (Rom. xvi. 1–27), but the προϊστάμενοι also (1 Thess. v. 12 and Rom. xii. 8) *may* at least be so regarded. At the same time, there is now developed a very lively **religious-social life**, in which, on the basis of the one faith, a multitude of *charisms*, *i.e.* of gifts awakened, augmented and glorified by the Spirit, seek and find an opportunity of demonstrating themselves. It is in these gifts of grace that there rests the original justification for the **personal authorities** which acquired recognition in the primitive communities. This is the fundamental basis even of the **apostolic** authority of Paul. Naturally the word of the apostolic, *i.e.* evangelical preaching is **authoritative** for all who by this very word have come to belief; it is the **received gospel** (1 Cor. xv. 1–3), the tradition (παράδοσις) to which he appeals (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 15), that which he has received from the Lord (1 Cor. xi. 23), according to which he has received by his own personal experience of life the revelation of the risen One, and in it his apostolic calling from **God**, not from **man** (Gal. i. 11 sq.). So apprehended, he naturally vindicates it in God's name. For the rest, however, he only vindicates the personal superiority of the spiritual father (1 Cor. iv. 14 sq.), and in this sense claims obedience and adhesion. For his performances, disquisitions and exhortations, he only claims that the community of the Lord in which His spirit rules should recognise and acknowledge the same spirit in him also (1 Cor. vii. 25, 24; Rom. i. 11 sq.).

Connected with this point is in the next place the position of other **teachers**, who, on the strength of personal conviction or spiritual endowment, come forward as preachers, such as Apollos at Corinth, or of **apostolic assistants**, who like Titus, Timothy, and

SILVANUS, help the Apostle to carry on his work, under his direction and on his commission; and also such teachers as, arising in the communities themselves, effectively display the gift of **prophecy** or of **teaching.** But all these persons, endowed with the *charismata* of the Word, Apostles (envoys, in the sense in which Barnabas and Paul were such, as sent out on mission by the community at Antioch—not in the narrower historical sense of the Twelve), Prophets and Teachers (1 Cor. xii. 28) stand partly as apostles (or rather apostolic assistants) in no organic relation to the individual community, partly as following the voice of the Spirit in no official position in it. They contribute each his share, as do others by other gifts, to the edification and strengthening of the community. To be sure on one point there is an obvious allusion to the fact that the position of the **Teachers** (who instruct in the word, therefore in so far as there arises a personal relation of teacher and scholar), is looked upon as a special calling, which affords ground for a claim for maintenance (Gal. vi. 6, which claim, indeed, Paul himself, although renouncing it for himself, vindicates on behalf of the apostles, 1 Cor. ix. 6 sqq.); it is a calling, but not an office.

But alongside of the gifts of the **Word** (as well as other gifts of active faith, healing, etc.) Paul also mentions some which are suited on another side to become the foundation for official functions in the community, *i.e.*, the ἀντιλήψεις and κυβερνήσεις (1 Cor. xii. 28). Here, however, alongside of the **personal** designations of the bearers of the gifts of the Word (Apostles, Prophets, Teachers) the Apostle sets **impersonal** designations of functions. This however is a sign of the existence of the fact, namely, **helps** and **succours** by those who were equipped with means and wisdom for the service of the brethren (among others in the case of the patrons of the communities) and **governing functions;** but it also indicates that they had not yet with equal constancy become affixed to definite persons as services rendered as a vocation, or been placed in special official commission. (A similar impression is made by Rom. xii. 6–8, where μεταδιδ., προϊστάμενος, and ἐλεῶν, as also the significant and comprehensive διακονία is essentially connected with ἀντιλ. and κυβερνήσ.). In the oldest epistles of the apostle (Thess. and Gal.) he addresses his exhortations, not merely those of a general moral character, but those also which refer to the care and promotion of the life of the community, to the community as a whole, or to the discerning, the spiritual, the advanced or such like, but nowhere to the organs of the community by vocation (1 Thess. v. 14, correction of the disorderly, exhortation of those of little faith, care for the weak; 2 Thess. iii. 6–13 sqq.,

procedure—even to the extent of expulsion—against those of irregular life). Those "who are over them," *i.e.* the patrons (*v. sup.*) are to receive in return for their assiduity, guidance and spiritual exhortation, the free acknowledgment of love. In like manner the Epistle to the Galatians, in regard to the danger on the side of the Judaistic emissaries, appeals solely to the Christian consciousness of the community, in particular to the discernment of those who are spiritual (vi. 1 sqq.). The total impression also of the Epistles to the Corinthians not only points, apart from the personal authority of the Apostle Paul, to self-management and government of the community in general (especially the decision on exclusion and subsequent re-admission, 1 v. 1 sq.; 2 ii. 5; vii. 12), but also gives no perception of any permanent organ of the leadership or government of the community. All this makes it appear improbable, that here in Corinth also the Judæo-Christian government by elders was adopted **from the very beginning;** of elders we hear nothing at all. Hence it is that recently, instead of the Jewish analogy for the shaping of the Christian community, it has been preferred to introduce a Gentile analogy (Weingarten, Heinrici). The existing form of the so-called associations for worship (*θίασοι*, *ἔρανοι*) naturally presented itself to the Christians as a pattern for gatherings for purposes of free, religious-social association. They were fellowships for the cultivation of foreign worships and for social alliance, in which for example the influence of patrons of distinction also made itself felt; and further, on Roman soil the so-called **Collegia** or **Sodalitia,** especially the burial clubs, the object of which was mutual support and friendly union, but which as a rule had also a religious point of union (Th. Mommsen, *De collegiis et sodal., Rom.*, Kil., 1843. P. Foucard, *Les associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, Paris, 1873). In these cultus-associations the common religious bond brought a collection of persons who were otherwise separated from one another by differences of rank, into close and brotherly combination, with equal rights as regards the founding of laws, the admission of new members and the exercise of discipline in the society; hence they afforded a pattern after which those who believed in Christ might organize themselves. Among them there existed solemn acts of initiation for those who were to be admitted, with which the baptism of Christians may be compared, and there were feasts for which the common table of the lovefeasts afforded a parallel. But the Christian assemblies for Divine worship which stood open to the uninitiated also, and served to attract them, likewise corresponded to the procedure of these associations in their exoteric assemblies.

If the form of these associations, though it did not exactly set up the standard, was yet of influence upon the Christian associations, it followed naturally, that the instruments which were requisite for the guidance and management of the affairs of the society should bear the character of officials of the society, functionaries chosen by the society.

Now, we may not without further consideration generalise from the Corinthian circumstances, and must leave open the possibility that in different places and amid various co-operating circumstances things may have taken a somewhat different form; this form was everywhere similar only in a negative respect, inasmuch as in the first place we are not to imagine a definite form of constitution of the community introduced by the Apostle as obligatory, the bearer of which was clothed with an authority derived in any way from the Apostle. It is quite consistent with this, that the persons whom the communities placed at their heads as leaders were such as enjoyed the confidence of the Apostle.

If this was the case in the Pauline communities, so much the more was it so in that at **Rome**, which did not owe its rise to any apostolic person. Here however, as the synagogue and the proselytes who were connected with it composed the nucleus, it is possible that the Jewish presbyteries may have been the pattern, and therefore that in the Christian community elders may have been placed at the head, though perhaps at a time subsequent to that at which Paul wrote the Epistle to the Romans, when the community certainly chanced to be in the first stages of the household-community, in which the guiding power is exercised by the personal influence of outstanding believers (so at least if Romans xvi. belongs to the epistle and is addressed to Rome, which, in spite of all doubts, is not impossible). Of the later Pauline epistles, the **Epistle** to the **Philippians** shows that in this community, which was already at least ten years old, the need of fixed officers had already led to the creation of **Bishops** and **Deacons** (Phil. i. 1), whereupon the following questions to which we must later return, emerge: 1) Were they instituted on the choice of the **community,** or somehow appointed by the authority of the Apostle? 2) Were they the only existing officials of the community of the kind in Philippi (seeing that they alone are addressed by the Apostle in the epistle), or is there a special reason why the Apostle only addresses these? (With reference to the support afforded by the community to Paul.) 3) If the former; 1) are the ἐπίσκοποι (several!) of Philippi only nominally and to some extent distinguished from the **Presbyters** (approximately equis-

valent to Presbyters or *those* Presbyters who, being entrusted with special affairs of government, are here under consideration)? In favour of this view is the obvious identification of Presbyter and Bishop in the Pastoral Epistles (to be referred to later) and that noticed at Acts xx. 28. 4) If the latter, however, were there, therefore, besides the Bishops and Deacons mentioned, some sort of other Presbyters, as representatives of some sort of the κυβερνήσεις along with the ἀντιλήψεις? 5) How are the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι related to each other? That their official functions have some similarity is very probable (cf. the Pastoral Epistles), in which case the distinction would be defined in such manner that, if besides them there existed other Presbyters (for the κυβέρνησις proper), then the Bishops and Deacons would both belong to the side of the ἀντιλήψεις or διακονία in the broader sense, while the Bishops had the functions of oversight, and the Deacons the actual serving functions of the ἀντιλήψεις. So far, however, these are all mere possibilities.

2. *The Shaping of the Religious Life of the Community.—Literature*: Th. Harnack, *Die christl. Gem.-Gottesd. im apost. und nachapost. Zeitalter*, Erlangen, 1854; Jacoby, *Die const. Factoren der apost. Gd.*, JdTh. 1873, 4; Weizsäcker, *Die Versamml.*, JdTh. 1876, 3; R. Seyerlen, *Der christl. Cultus*, ZwTh. 1881.

Of importance for this point was the mixed condition of the Pauline communities, in which, even though in different degrees in different places, on the whole the converted Gentiles (and proselytes) were in the preponderance. After the habit of Paul's own life, and after what numerous Gentile proselytes had experienced in the Jewish synagogues, the example of the synagogue assemblies could not remain without influence; on the other hand, the custom of the Gentile religious associations might also have its effect. But the new spirit creates for itself new forms, or improves those which exist and fills them with a new content.

For religious meetings the opportunity was chiefly afforded by private houses or hired apartments. From the very first there is developed a twofold need, *viz.* the need of cultivating the religious life by means of the **Word**, and the enjoyment of the **celebration** of **religious communion.** At the former, after the example of the synagogue, and in the nature of the case, the exclusion of unbelievers was not required, in fact it would have deprived the community of an important means for the spread of its faith; but for the second, the holy celebration of communion, the exclusion was necessary.

In the celebration of the **Word** in Divine worship, it is universally

to be presupposed that in the Pauline communities the **reading of Scripture**, public reading of portions of the Old Testament in the highly venerated translation of the Seventy interpreters, was taken over from Jewish and Judæo-Christian usage, and sufficed for the fundamental elements of the preaching of the gospel which grew up on the soil of the Old Testament revelation. To it there were appended exegetical and practical addresses; the freedom to come forward as a teacher which already obtained in the Jewish synagogue (Acts xiii. 15) is also to be presupposed in the Christian sphere (Acts viii. 4; xi. 19 sqq.; cf. James iii. 1), so much the more as the universality of the imparting of the Spirit is characteristic of the Messianic age. Enhanced and generalised in its application, it gained acceptance in the sphere of the mobile spirit of Greece. The free utterance of the Christian spirit in its manifoldness is presupposed by the Apostle in Corinth as the ruling principle, which is only to be restrained within the limits of order (1 Cor. xiv. 33) and decency (xiv. 40), regulated by its purpose, the *οἰκοδομή* (ibid. v. 26), and guarded against arbitrary abuse. Charismatic endowment is the foundation for the Christian life and the shaping of the Christian community (p. 65); so also is it for the practice of religious worship, the foundation of **doctrine, prophecy**, both as comforting and enlightening; ecstatic speaking of tongues, and singing of psalms appear in the character of such charismatic utterances, which are to receive at once their echo and their estimate (criticism) in the spirit of the community.

It is a question how far, along with the inevitable Old Testament foundations, the **celebration of Jewish Feasts** also, in particular of the Sabbath and the great Jewish Feasts, was taken over by the Christians. Jewish Christians would observe the Sabbaths and Feasts even in mixed Gentile communities. But a distinction of days and seasons, required of all on principle, as commanded by the law, is excluded by the fundamental principle of the Apostle Paul (Rom. xiv. 5 sqq.; Gal. i. 9 sqq.; Col. ii. 6). At the same time a signalising celebration of *one* day—only not celebrated as exclusive—in the week, the free out-growth of the needs of the community, would be quite compatible with this principle. As the celebration of the first day of the week as the **Day of the Lord** (*κυριακὴ ἡμέρα*, resurrection day, is universal in post-apostolic times, the mention of this day, Rev. i. 10, acquires great weight, and the passages 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Acts xx. 7 (cf. John xx. 26) merit decided attention, though they do not afford strict proof (Th. Zahn, *Gesch. des Sonntags*, Hanover, 1878). Of the great Jewish festivals, the **Jewish Passover** most nearly

approaches general Christian observance. The passage 1 Cor. v. 7, written about the time of the Jewish Passover, presupposes that the Christian community takes a certain interest in it. But the allegory itself shows that the Christian community is aware that it does not *as such* celebrate the Passover. It is possible, but by no means necessary, to assume the presence already of a celebration contemporaneous with the Jewish Passover, but converted to a Christian significance.

The other Christian social celebration, which in the nature of the case is exclusively limited to believers, is the **Eucharist.** The Lord's Supper, the institution of which (1 Cor. xi. 23 sqq.) is determinative for Paul, the Gentile-Christian communities — at least that at Corinth—draw into the circle of their Gentile social conceptions. The fraternal meals could here assume the character of evening fellowships, on occasion of which, according to the Hellenic custom, each of the participants brought his food in a basket to consume it in company (Xenoph., *Memorab.* iii. 14; Athenæus, *Deipnos.* vii. 7, 68, p. 365a: *τὰ νῦν καλούμενα ἀπὸ σπυρίδος δεῖπνα*). Paul has to reprove the grave scandals connected with it, which stood in sharp contradiction with the idea and aim of the Holy Supper. But when at 1 Cor. xi. 22 the Corinthians are referred to their houses, where they may eat and drink, we may not infer that Paul intended an entire setting aside of an evening meal; his words hold good only of the removal of whatever suggests the satisfying of strong greed without regard to a neighbour.

Baptism is the universal rite of admission into the Christian community and brotherhood of the "saints," *i.e.* the dedicated to God. Baptism is **into Christ** (Rom. vi. 3; Gal. iii. 27), without giving along with this expression of its essential reference any information as to the formula used. The thought of the appropriation of the Messianic forgiveness of sins is supplemented by that of the foundation of a life-communion with Christ. Personal belief is presupposed; hence the admission of adults. An extension of it to children is certainly not proved by Acts ii. 36; xvi. 33; 1 Cor. i. 16; although at the same time it is not excluded by 1 Cor. vii. 14. But if it had been a universal apostolic custom (established by Paul) the subsequent opposition of a Tertullian (*De baptism.* 18) would be unintelligible. (In itself 1 Cor. vii. 14 might be understood in the sense that baptism was in use only for the admission of those who had not hitherto been Christians, into the Christian fellowship, but that the children of Christians had no need of any such admission.)

The **conditions of Christian life** in the mixed Gentile Christian

communities are determined by the fact of the meeting together in one religious social life of converted Jews and converted Gentiles. The former were, indeed, for the most part pretty soon loosed from the connection they had hitherto had with the synagogue, by the hostile behaviour of the Jews, and the latter obviously remained from the moment of their conversion at a distance from participation in acts of heathen worship; but the amalgamation of the two elements into a *tertium genus* could only be completed gradually. Strict adhesion to the life of the law on the part of Christian Jews led to conflicts such as that which took place at Antioch. So far as the Apostle Paul in his own communities overcame his Judaistic opponents on principle, this process could only lead to breaking down the strictly legal life on certain points, along with which, all the same, it was possible that legal customs might be maintained by the Jewish Christians on certain points, which gave their life a definite Jewish colouring. On the other hand, those who were used to Jewish customs must have taken offence at many usages retained by the Gentile Christians from among their previous Hellenic customs. The exertions of the Apostle Paul to bring about an understanding at Corinth as to the use of meat which had been sacrificed are thence to be explained. The directions in regard to this question given by the Apostle, agree essentially with the regulations of the so-called Apostolic Decree, inasmuch as they require avoidance of meat offered to idols (at least of that which has been shown to be such), though also from a free—and yet morally motived—regard to causing offence; avoidance of offence is, moreover, also the motive in the Decree. The Apostle, however, makes no express reference to the Decree, which by the growing activity of Paul, had as it were become too narrow, and had been outrun. Mutual regard is here to be strongly recommended: on the one hand, tolerance of those who to the freer view seem to be weak; on the other, abstinence from censorious judgment.

Of great importance here are the religious-theological views of Paul as to the higher unity given in belief in Christ (1 Cor. xii. 4–6), the **new creation,** which is perfected in the converted, and by that very fact overcomes the limits, oppositions, and particular points of view given in the previous life of nature (2 Cor. v. 17; Gal. ii. 4), the freedom of the reconciled life from the yoke of the law (Gal. ii. 4). The conviction that the essence of Christianity is spirit, and the idea of the organized and articulated community of the body of Christ, founded upon the common faith in Christ, exert a unifying influence. With the **religious enthusiasm** of the

young faith which awaits the coming of the glorified Saviour, there is bound up the cordial warmth of the **brotherly love** which is born of this faith. Social distinctions are not abolished in the community which is in process of formation, but bridged over by regard to human and Christian worth, and subordinated to a higher equality (1 Cor. viii. 21 sqq.; Philem. 16 sqq.). Not many wise after the flesh are called, and not many noble (1 Cor. i. 26); slaves, mechanics, tradesmen are converted; but nevertheless people of education and rank are not entirely lacking, who minister to the community of their means. There is developed a rich spiritual life, in which various spiritual and moral problems emerge and move men's minds. The young community does not, indeed, lack for hostile attacks from the side of heathenism; *vid.* 1 Thess. ii. 14, where hostilities on the part of their own (Gentile) fellow-countrymen are put in comparison with those which the original community has to suffer from its Jewish compatriots. On the whole, however, these still appear to be only rare cases, arising out of special occasions (Acts xvi. 16 sqq.; xix. 23 sqq.). Conversion to the Christian faith did not break off hitherto existing intercourse between relations and friends (1 Cor. x. 37 sqq.); it was at first maintained without impediment, although within it many conflicts were latent. But, on the other hand, the Christian recognition of the governing power as ordained of God, and along with it of the honour and obedience due to it for the sake of God and conscience, does not exclude the Apostle from indicating contemptuous rejection of secular judicial aid on occasion of quarrels between Christians (1 Cor. vi. 1 sqq.) as the only attitude compatible with the brotherly league of Christianity, even though the actual life of the community does not correspond with it. Within the Christian community the legal point of view ought properly to become superfluous through the idea and force of brotherly communion; much less, however, ought internal strife to be carried outside.

5. Palestinian Judæo-Christianity from the time of the Apostolic Council down to the Destruction of Jerusalem.

Literature: *vid.* p. 32 sq. and E. Renan (p. 26), vol. 4, *l'Antichrist.*

While Peter (as it appears) is occupied with the work of preaching to the Jews outside of Palestine, the community at Jerusalem, and indeed the Palestinian communities in general, stand under the leadership of the brother of the Lord, James, as their recognised head. They remain strictly in the life of the law, and still hold securely to the hope of the conversion of the whole of God's people

(which Paul had for the present given up). The mission to the Gentiles is indeed recognised, but the manner of its conduct by Paul and the powerful increase of Pauline communities excite misgivings and dissensions. For in these mixed communities, in the presence of what is often a preponderating Gentile element, it becomes ever clearer in what direction the development is pressing; that, in fact, for the sake of the higher Christian communion the legal customs even of the Jewish Christians in these communities must inevitably be broken down, and general Christian freedom, on principle, from the commands of the law, gain recognition.

Under these circumstances the party of the Jewish Pharisaic zealots, with whom Paul had to combat in his communities, must have made an impression and gained influence in Palestine. When Paul came for the last time to Jerusalem, not only was he well aware of the grim hatred of the unbelieving Jews against him: the deep aversion of the Palestinian Christians also to his mode of action could not remain concealed from him. He came, however, in order not to fail on his part in anything which might avert a definite break, and preserve the union between the powerfully increasing Gentile Church of the Diaspora and the Mother Church. James, who receives him, directs his attention to the great multitude of believing Jews, who were all zealots for the law. It is not necessary, without further consideration, to place them all on the same rank with Paul's Judaistic opponents; the cause of offence here is not that Paul preaches the Gospel to the heathen without circumcision, but the fact that they have been informed that he permits the Jews among the heathen to fall away from Moses, not to circumcise their children and to live without regard to the customs of the law (Acts xxi. 21). This was not entirely without foundation in so far as Paul, in the mixed communities of his domain, laid emphasis on the point that the Jews, for the sake of communion with their Gentile Christian brethren, should abate somewhat of the strictness of the legalistic life and treat the observance of the law as not indispensable to salvation, and inasmuch as upon his principles, it was impossible to speak of the **indispensability** of circumcision for the children of Jewish Christians (although this point nowhere comes to express statement in the Epistles—Gal. v. 2 treats of the Gentiles). It could not, however, be stated as the constant procedure, or maxim of Paul. Accordingly, with a view to produce tranquillity on the subject, Paul allows himself to be induced by James to carry out a work of legal piety in participating in the Nazarite oath of Jewish men and the assumption of the burden of

the charges involved, which he could do without the denial of his fundamental principles (*vid.* Acts xxi. 22–26 and thereon WENDT in his revision of Mayer's Commentary). So little, however, is the Jerusalem community to be made answerable for the hostilities to Paul which led to his being taken prisoner (it was spread abroad that Paul introduced Gentiles into the Temple), that we hear again, indeed, that in a special manner they took an interest in the imprisoned Paul, and moreover that in some way on account of the alliance with Paul they were drawn under the hostile attacks of their unbelieving fellow-countrymen. For all that, the fate of James shows how little the decided adhesion to legalistic or strictly legalistic life was able to silence the hatred on the part of the unbelieving Jews against those who adhered to the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah. Universally reverenced by the people on account of his strict legalism and special asceticism, and on account of his perpetual prayer for the sins of the people, yet on account of his acknowledgment of that Jesus who sits on the right hand of the great Power in Heaven and who is to come, on the instigation of their spiritual advisers, he was thrown down by the people from the pinnacle of the Temple, and stoned. HEGESIPPUS in Euseb. 2, 23, places this event shortly before the siege of the city by Vespasian. Josephus, *Antiq.* 20, 9, 1 would place the stoning of James earlier, *viz.* after the death of the Procurator Festus and before the entry on office of his successor Albinus, and assigns the cause, with great intrinsic probability, to the rise of the harsh High Priest Ananus, who belonged to the party of the Sadducees. At the same time the very words which relate to James are strongly suspected of interpolation.

6. The Community at Rome and the Neronic Persecutions of the Christians; the Destruction of Jerusalem.

Literature: A. MANGOLD, *Der Römerbrief u. s. geschichtliche Voraussetzungen neu untersucht*, Marb., 1884; E. SEYERLEN, *Entst. u. erste Schicksale der christl. Gem. in Rom.*, Tüb., 1874; BEYSCHLAG in StKr. 1867, 4; WEIZSÄCKER in JdTh. 1876; LIPSIUS, *Chronol. der röm. Bischöfe*, 1869, p. 162 sqq. and *Quellen der röm. Petrussage*, 1872; HILGENFELD, ZwTh. 1872 *et passim* and *Einleitung in d. N.T.*, p. 624; J. DELITZSCH in StKr. 1874, 213 sqq. TACITUS, *Annal.*, 15, 44; SUETONIUS, *Nero* c. 16; CLEMENS ROM. *ad Cor.*, c. 5 and 6; MELITO ap. Euseb. 3, 15 sq.; TERTULLIAN, *Apol.* c. 5; EUSEBIUS. *H. E.* 2, 25; RUFINUS, 2, 84 sq.; SULPICIUS SEV. 2, 26; OROSIUS, *Hist.* 7, 7. —H. SCHILLER, *Gesch. des. röm. Kaiserreichs unter Nero*, Berlin, 1872, and in the Commentt. publ. *in honor.* Th. MOMMSEN *scr.* Berl., 1875; NISSEN, in HZ. 1874; WEIZSÄCKER, JdTh. 1876; HOLTZMANN, *Nero u. die Christen*, HZ. 1879; FR. ARNOLD, *Die neron. Christenverf.*, Leipsic, 1888.—E. RENAN (p. 72).

1. Of the growing hatred of unbelieving Judaism to the

Christian community proof is given by the stoning of Stephen, the procedure of Herod Agrippa, and finally the putting to death of James the Just. But from the very beginning the work of the Apostle Paul was in a special manner the object of this hatred (1 Thess. ii. 14 sqq.). What attitude does the Gentile world take up to this new phenomenon? That even for Gentile eyes it soon became apparent that the Christian community was to be distinguished from that of the Jews is shown by the name *Χριστιανοί*, which appears at Antioch, and which appellation was given, not on the part of either Jews or Christians, but from the Hellenic side (Acts xi. 26, and WENDT thereon; of other opinion LIPSIUS, *Ueber d. Ursprung und ältesten Gebrauch des Christennamens.* Jena, 1873, 4,. who, on insufficient grounds, throws doubt on the occurrence of the name so early). The religious inclination of many Gentiles to the Jewish faith is of assistance to the apostolic mission; indeed, in consequence of that fact, a considerable share of the odium which Judaism bears in Roman eyes falls on the Christians; the Christian preaching of a Paul, in so far as it treats of the conception of the hope of Israel and the value of the law, is naturally treated by the Gentile authority as a mere Jewish controversy (Acts x. 12 sqq.). It was only the winning of Gentiles to the new religion that could possibly lead to conflicts with the authorities. In this sense his opponents seek to bring the conversion of Gentiles by Paul under the reproach of the introduction of foreign cults (Acts xvi. 20 sqq.), or into political suspicion (Acts xvii. 7), but at first without essential consequence.

Now, however, Christianity reaches the capital itself and makes itself noticeable there (p. 67). A numerous Jewish community, in lively intercourse with the mother-country and the most important centres of intercourse of the Hellenic East, here afforded the point of connection for Christian preaching. It early reached this point, but not through the medium of Peter (Acts xii., according to Roman tradition) or any other distinguished apostolic person. The important circle of Roman proselytes, which gathered about the synagogue was vividly impressed by the Christian preaching, and hence a strong ferment was introduced into Roman Judaism and the surrounding circle of Gentile proselytes.

It is an impossible legend which relates that the Emperor Tiberius, on occasion of the report of Pilate, had already attempted to include Christ among the Roman gods, and though indeed frustrated by the opposition of the Roman Senate, had at least threatened the accusers of the Christians (Tertull., *Apol.* 5). On the other hand it is

quite possible, even though no stringent proof could be adduced for it, that a public regulation of the Emperor Claudius (41–54) against the Roman Jews was occasioned by the fermentation which had come into Jewish circles at Rome through the preaching of Christianity. Suetonius (*V. Claud.* 25, cf. Acts xviii. 1) records of Claudius: "*Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.*" Chrestus, a current Greek and Roman name, may have been the name of any Jewish disturber in Rome, though of such a person there is no other knowledge. But the alteration of the name Christus, Christianus, into Chrestus, Chrestianus also occurs elsewhere (Tertull., *Apol.* 3, *Ad nationes*, 1, 3. Lact., *Div. Inst.* 4, 7, 5). So Suetonius might erroneously have referred to an instigator called Chrestus disturbances, which the name of Christ, the penetration of Christianity to Rome had occasioned, although he elsewhere has the correct name (*Vita Neronis*, 16). Soon after the beginning of his reign, Claudius, in opposition to the measures hostile to the Jews of his predecessor Caius (Caligula), had formally recognised the rights of the Jews in the Roman Empire (Joseph., *Ant.* 19, 5, 1–3), not without exhorting them to a discreet demeanour. However, he also, according to Dion Cassius, 60, 6, had taken measures against the Jewish community in Rome, which had greatly increased; but, on account of their great numbers, he feared an outbreak, and had not expelled them (*οὐκ ἐξήλασε μέν*), but had forbidden their assemblies.[1] Whether this may have been an earlier regulation than that which is mentioned by Suetonius, or whether the expulsion may only have been carried out in a very modified form, in any case, it did not long operate. According to Orosius, *Hist.* 7, 6, the expulsion took place in the ninth year of the reign of Claudius,—about 50 A.D. Orosius is indeed in error in appealing to Josephus for the fixing of this date; but Acts xviii. 2, as a matter of fact, brings us to about this time (*vid.* Meyer-Wendt *in l.*).

Just such internal conflicts in Roman Judaism, flaming up over the name of Christ, may have contributed to the Roman Christian community early casting itself loose from the connection with the synagogue. The converted Gentiles in this community now appear speedily to have attained the preponderance. Everywhere in Pauline-Christian circles this Roman Christian community was known, and Paul took the most decided interest in it, had the intention of visiting it, and in his Epistle to the Romans expounded to them his gospel of free grace. Then he actually comes thither, but

[1] A bold conjecture of Ewald's: *τῷ δὲ δὴ πατρίῳ νόμῳ βίῳ* [add. *οὐ*] *χρωμένος ἐκέλευσε μὴ συναθροίζεσθαι.*

as a prisoner, works for the gospel in Rome, and from this central point exerts influence by letter in various directions. His case, the trial before the Gentile authority, must likewise have contributed to make Christianity the object of public remark.

This two years' imprisonment of Paul, even although it cannot be quite exactly fixed chronologically, brings us to about the period of that frightful catastrophe, the burning of Rome (summer of 64), and the persecution of the Christians by Nero which is associated with it. The fire broke out on the 18th July, 64, in the shops on the Circus Maximus, and in the course of its six days' duration (after which it again broke out), of the fourteen regions of the city it desolated three completely, and seven in greater part. Men and beasts perished in the flames, criminals availed themselves of the universal consternation, dark rumours and panic fears took possession of men's anxious minds. Nero came back from Antium where he was staying, as the fire was nearing his palace at the Garden of Mæcenas, and saw his creation sink in ashes. Neither Nero's energetic endeavours, first to combat the flames and next to mitigate the frightful famine, nor the religious ceremonies which were performed after the fire for the purpose of reconciling the gods, were sufficient to stifle in the populace suspicion of the emperor himself as the originator of the conflagration. (It is still an undecided point whether that suspicion was well grounded.) He then sought to divert suspicion, by throwing the blame on the Christians, to whom the people attributed all sorts of infamy. Some individuals were put under accusation who confessed (*i.e.* the incendiarism, not Christianity), either reduced to do so by torture, or as renegades who desired to restore themselves in the opinion of the Romans. By their means a great number were given up, who (in the investigation) were convicted, not so much of incendiarism as of hatred of the human race, *i.e.* **according to the view of Tacitus:** they were accused of the incendiarism, but the investigation afforded fewer indubitable proofs on this point, than on the evil disposition of these Christians to the human race. For the comprehension of this difficult passage it is necessary to remember: 1) the Neronic persecution of the Christians was really directed against Christians who were clearly to be distinguished from Jews: it was not a *Judenhetze* (against Schiller and others); 2) they were persecuted, however, not on account of their Christian confession as such, but on account of the alleged incendiarism; but the pretext was afforded by their unpopularity with the mob, which attributed all sorts of iniquities to this mysterious sect; 3) the inquisition upon the great number of

those who were given up afforded only insufficient positive proofs of the crime of which they were accused; on the other hand people clung much more to the trait of the *odium humani generis*, a hostile disposition to the world, which seemed to find foundation in the Christian belief and its hopes in a future order of the world which should make an end of the kingdom of this world, so that it was thought possible to expect such crimes from them; 4) it is after all possible, but entirely without positive confirmation, that Jews may have directed suspicion and hatred upon the Christians.

The punishment of those alleged to have been found guilty followed in the most ignominious manner, some being used for fighting with beasts, sewed up in skins, thrown to the dogs, others being crucified. On the occasion of the ghastly games in the Garden of Caligula, while Nero circled about as a charioteer, Christians flamed as torches, dressed in tow and pitch in the so-called *tunica molesta* (Juvenal, *Sat.* I. 155 sq., cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 14) attached by the neck to stakes of fir. For other *ludibria*, shameful pantomimes, for which condemned persons were made use of, reference may be made to Clem., *Ad Cor.* 6.

Though the Neronic persecution of the Christians is in its nature an individual fact with a special motive, and a regular extension of it beyond Rome, or rather Italy, cannot be proved, is in itself improbable and has no foundation in later notices (Oros. 7, 7 and Sulp. Sev. 2, 29), the possibility is not excluded that such procedure against the suspected Christians found imitation elsewhere, or that even earlier attacks on the part of the Roman authorities had occurred which led to death (Rev. ii. 13; xx. 4; the allusions in first Epistle of Peter).

It is probable, however, that Paul fell a victim to this persecution, though as a citizen he was executed with the sword; perhaps also (?) Peter, who is said to have been crucified.[1]

The Neronic persecution became of deep importance for the consciousness of primitive Christianity. It not only sharpened the already existing lively feeling of the opposition between the kingdom of God and the world in which the Prince of this world is powerful, between faith and idolatry, but also served the purpose

[1] Tertull., *De præscr. hær.* 26.—The so-called second imprisonment of Paul (Euseb., 2, 22) cannot be established on the notice in the Muratorian Canon, lin. 38 sq. (*vid.* Hesse, *Das mur. Fragm.*, Giessen 1873) which is founded on Rom. xv. 23, and on Clem., *Ep. ad Cor.* 5, and is in itself improbable (*vid.* W. Schmidt, RE. 11, 335 sq.).—The so-much-attacked tradition of the coming of Peter to Rome is to be upheld (*vid.* B. Weiss, *Einl. ins N.T.*, 421 sq.).

of making that conception of the opposition of the kingdom of God to the great world-powers, which lay at the bottom of the entire Messianic expectation, and which had been further developed in Jewish literature since the time of Daniel, give itself a special expression for the Christian consciousness, and in reference to the Roman world-empire, now regarded in the light of Antichrist, with Nero as its representative. Four years later Rome saw the tyrant, after the shameless self-degradation of his later years, take flight in presence of the rise of disturbances, deserted by his troops. He put himself to death; but the rumour soon spread in the changed minds of the people, that he was not dead but had fled to the Parthians, that thence he would return (Sueton., *Nero*, 57; Dion Cass., 64, 9; Tacit., *Hist.* 1, 2. 2, 8), an expectation which hardly arose on Christian soil, but which all the same was received into the Apocalyptic picture of the future (Rev. xiii. 3).

Sources: Fl. Josephus, *De bello Judaico*, *libb.* 7, and *De Vita Sua* (Opp. ed. Haverkamp, Amsterdam, 1726, and Dindorf, 2 vols. Paris, 1845–47, Handy ed. Bekker, Leipsic, Teubner, 1855, and others); Tacitus, *Histor.* V. 1–13; Suetonius, *Vita Titi*; Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicon*, II. 30, 6–7 (ed. Halm) and thereon Bernays, *Ueber d. Chronik des. Sulp. Sev.*, Berlin, 1861; Orosius, Hist. 7, 9, 6.—The literature vid. p. 32.

2. In **Jewish** expectation, the belief in the coming and imminent decisive conflict, the overthrow of the Roman world-empire by the rise of the kingdom of God, had become more and more confirmed along with the increased fanaticism of the Jewish Zealots. This fanaticism drove the Jewish land, in powerless rebellion against the ruthless government of the later Roman Procurators, ever deeper into lawlessness and so to destruction, whereat the populace, which according to the assurance of Josephus did not in its majority desire war, was filled with anticipations of the coming horrors. The conflict of the last Proconsul, Gessius Florus, May, 66, in consequence of which the Jews obtained possession of the Temple and fortified it, may be regarded as the beginning of the war. Gessius Florus, however, withdrew to Cæsarea. The daily offering for the Emperor was discontinued. The remarkable retreat of the Syrian Procurator Cestius Gallus and his troops, who had hastened up, in autumn, and had suffered a defeat, greatly facilitated a general outbreak. But in the years 67 and 68 Vespasian gradually made himself master of the whole country, till the death of Nero (June 9, 68) and the uncertainty of authority intervened; finally Vespasian, being himself (in opposition to Vitellius) raised to empire by the legions (in Egypt, July 1, 69), left the subjection of

Jerusalem in particular to his son Titus. Here the rule of terror of the Zealots had begun with John of Gischala and had soon led to self-laceration under three party leaders (John, Simon Bar Giora, and Eleazar), till, shortly before the Passover of 70 A.D. Titus enclosed the city, and now step by step the grisly drama proceeded, till amid famine, blood and flames, Jerusalem fell (August 10, 70). According to Sulp. Sev., who had before him and made use of the part of Tacitus' *Histories* which is lost, Titus himself — in contradiction to the well-known saying of Josephus—had decided on the destruction of the Temple, and indeed on the entire destruction of the Jewish and Christian religion: *quippe has religiones licet contrarias sibi, iisdem tamen auctoribus profectas; Christianos ex Judæis extitisse: radice sublata stirpem facile perituram.* Tacitus may have had his information from the book *De Judæis* of Antonius Julianus, who himself belonged to Titus' council of war (cf. Min. Fel., *Oct.* 33). Orosius also asserts, probably basing on Tacitus: *Titus—templum—incendit.* The surviving prisoners were sacrificed in fights with beasts and gladiators at the games, or had to glorify the triumphal procession of Vespasian and Titus (71), on which occasion the sacred vessels of the Temple were also carried in triumph (vid. the Arch of Titus).

3. When the Jewish Christians of the Holy Land saw this destiny of their nation in preparation and step by step in process of realisation, they without doubt sympathised with their people. The news of the Neronic persecution of the Christians in Rome must have strengthened the feeling common to both Jews and Christians, of the enmity to God of the Gentile world-power; but on the other hand, they felt themselves to be distinct from their fellow-countrymen who had despised Jesus and now expected their political saviours. The Christians, set free from menaces (as in the death of James), on the other hand also from enticements to fall away from their faith, began to regard the rise of the terrors of war as the times of trouble before the return of the Messiah, and the prophecies of Jesus (his so-called eschatological speeches, Matt. xxiv., cf. x. 17 sqq.; Mark xiii. 1–37; Luke xxi. 5–36) which exhorted them to flee in the time when the abomination of desolation should stand in the holy place (cf. B. Weiss, *d. Matth. Ev. u. s. Lucas-Parall.*, 1876, p. 504 sqq.) began to be agitated among them (at that time probably recorded not in "the broad-side of the small Apocalypse," but in the λόγια κυρίου of Matthew, the apostolic source of our synoptic Gospels). The time seemed now come for the Messianic community to separate itself from the false hopes of

its people. According to Eusebius (H.E. 3, 3, 5) a revelation was vouchsafed to the community at Jerusalem, to flee to Pella in Peræa (to the mountains).

4. But that Christians outside of Palestine were not less influenced by the impression made by these events and their religious treatment is shown by the Revelation of John (we shall let pass here the question of authorship), which was composed in living relationship to the circumstances of Asia Minor a few years after Nero's death, but before the final destruction of Jerusalem itself. The eye of faith, under the impression of the Neronic persecution on the one hand, and of the continuously advancing final fortunes of the Jewish nation on the other, is directed towards the **return of Christ.** A picture is unfolded of the Divine judgment on the Gentiles, the afflictions of believers before their final perfection, the hostile appearance of the Gentile world-power destined to final overthrow, and its seductive world-spirit (the false prophet), in contrast with the community of God, which bears the kingdom of God in its bosom and which is regarded as the legitimate continuation of the ancient covenant people, the true Israel, the ideal nation of the twelve tribes which is drawn from all the nations of the earth (Rev. vii. 4 sqq.; ix. sq.; xiv. 3), while the unbelieving Jews are the synagogue of Satan (ii. 9; iii. 9).

In the sphere of influence of the mission of Paul (cf. the letters to the seven churches), or at least in lively relationship to that sphere, there here appears a conception of Christianity which is related to that of the original apostles. Though by no means filled with hostility to the Pauline gospel, and especially not with Pharisaic zeal for the law, much less of hatred of Paul as a false apostle (mistaken interpretation of ii. 2), it nevertheless makes a special stand against heathen impurities of life (here following the standpoint of the Apostolic Decree, *vid.* ii. 14.20) and against a false doctrine which gives itself out as a deeper wisdom (ii. 27), alluding to the pressing in of false speculation.

In the above the essential unity of the Book of Revelation is presupposed. At the same time the probability of a revision or rather combination of its component parts is not entirely to be denied, although the hypothesis of repeated revision of a fundamental original Apocalypse has been advanced unconvincingly by D. Voelter (*Die Enst. d. Apok.*, 2nd ed., Freib., 1885), and however great a failure the attempt of F. Vischer (Harnack and Gebhardt's *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, ii. 3, 1886) to prove it to be a Jewish book with a Christian revision, appears to be. For the conception of it hitherto, cf. W. Beyschlag in StKr. 1888.

7. Christianity in the Roman World under the Flavians.

Literature: A. Hausrath, *Neutestamentl. Zeitgesch.*, 2nd ed., vol. 4, 1877; Renan (p. 26), vol. 5.

The far-reaching activity of Paul probably closed with his martyrdom at the time of the Neronic persecution, and therefore before any release or so-called second imprisonment. Peter, whose arrival at Rome is strictly to be maintained, was likewise called away by a martyr's death, if not in the Neronic persecution then not very long after. If this be the case, and if our first Epistle of Peter is his work, Peter, although he had formerly regarded the mission to the Jews as his special task, must have turned, in the further developments after the close of Paul's missionary activity, to the missionary sphere of the latter and received important influences from him. The activity of most of the rest of the Twelve and its result are lost in quite uncertain darkness. Andrew, the brother of Peter, is said to have received Scythia as his mission field (Euseb. 3, 1); hence he is regarded as the Apostle of the Russians. On the other hand the *Acta Andreæ* (Tischendorff, *Acta ap.*, 105 sqq.) would point to an activity in Achaia. Bartholomew is said to have worked in India, Thomas, there and in Parthia. In the sayings as to Philip, reminiscences of Philip the Evangelist (Acts vi. 5; vii. 5 sqq.; xxi. sq.) are mixed up with those of the Apostle: activity in Hierapolis and Phrygia. Matthew is certainly for a long period to be found on Palestinian soil, but as to his further lot we have only late and quite discordant and worthless legends. Thaddæus (Judas Lebbæus) seems to have worked in the Syrian East; the Edessene tradition gives Thaddæus or Addai a place as one of the seventy-two disciples.

Let us leave out of account the only individual who reaches down to the close of the century as a certain historical figure, John the son of Zebedee, and seek out the other historical traces of Christianity in the time after the Neronic persecution and the Jewish war. The Christianity which is represented by the Revelation of John and presupposed to exist in the sphere of Pauline activity in Asia Minor, (p. 81 sq.) does indeed bear the forms of this Jewish-apocalyptic conception, sees in the Christian community the true ideal people of the twelve tribes, and in opposition to Gentile customs and immoralities connected with idolatry, takes the side of Jewish customs, but not otherwise than in the spirit of numerous Gentile proselytes and of the Apostolic Decree and the abstinence also recommended by Paul. The controversy on the law and circumcision which Paul conducted with his Pharisaic opponents has fallen dumb; nothing

points to the vindication of such Jewish legal demands, nor does anything indeed point to the sharp formulation, determined by opposition, of Paul's gospel of faith free from the law. How far tendencies of the former sort still held ground we do not know; but dominating or preponderating they cannot have been in this Gentile Christian sphere. As, however, in the later Pauline Epistles the belief in the exalted Christ has led to the retrospective expression of the view of faith in the unique and world-comprehending importance of Christ in His supramundane and premundane Divine existence, so also in the Apocalypse, the Messiah Jesus in His Divine glory appears at once as the beginning of all creations of God (iii. 14), the First and the Last, indeed as the personified Word of God (λόγος xix. 13, mainly of course as the fulfiller of the Divine will). And as, for Paul, the universality of the proclamation of Christianity is based on the saving significance of the death of Christ, so in the Apocalypse He is the slain Lamb, around whom the community out of all the nations of the earth is gathered, the number of those who have made their garments white in the blood of the Lamb and by the blood of the Lamb have conquered Satan.

Alongside of the province of Asia Minor, **Rome** very early attains to an outstanding importance for young Christianity. If, as we have supposed, the community here which emancipated itself from the synagogue was mainly recruited from among the proselyte circles which had formed themselves around the Jewish synagogue, if Paul during the years of his captivity, and Peter also influenced this preponderatingly Gentile-Christian community, we must, however, by no means undervalue for the Christian community the continuous influence of Judaism on the Roman world, an influence which was not lessened but rather increased by the destruction of Jerusalem. Many thousands of Jewish captives had arrived here and been sold as slaves—Rome was the greatest Jewish city in the Empire. Vespasian and Titus, as destroyers of the sanctuary, were no doubt an object of hatred to the Jews, but they exercised no oppression; indeed the Jewish war had brought them into closer relations with numerous Jewish persons, who, like Justus of Tiberias (Jos., *Vita*, 65) and Josephus, had made their peace with Rome and were on good terms with the Herodian Agrippa II. and his notorious sister Berenice, the mistress of Titus. Just at that time Judaism must have played a part of higher importance, have made an impression on Gentile minds and gained proselytes (*vid.* Juvenal); and in part it was an enlightened and liberal Judaism. Jewish Hellenism had already long availed itself of the weapons of Hellenic

philosophy and science (history, poetry, even drama, p. 43 sq.) in order to exalt the Jewish faith, but at the same time to annex Hellenic conceptions and to allow the ceremonial aspect to recede behind the essence of a monotheistic morality. Under this stimulus there was consequently developed a proselytism, which was indeed attracted by that monotheism and the belief in providence and prophecy and the moral ideas allied therewith, and which also had a strong tendency to Jewish customs and festivals—especially the keeping of the Sabbath—but which remained far from binding itself to a strictly legal way of life in circumcision etc. (Jos., *c. Ap.*, II. 32, cf. Schürer p. 645). We may suppose that Roman Christianity not only also appeared in the character of such a proselytism, but also retained from it a certain Jewish colouring.

In proportion as the distance in time from the beginnings of the preaching increased and the voices of the outstanding witnesses fell dumb, the need arose of fixing in writing the evangelical preaching of Jesus the Messiah. In this way, according to Papias (*ap.* Euseb. 3, 32), Mark, *i.e.* John Mark, the Jew by birth (Acts xii. 12) and nephew of Barnabas (Col. iv. 10), the spiritual son of Peter (1 Peter v. 13; cf. Acts *passim*), but who also stood in friendly relations with Paul (after a previous conflict, Acts xv. 38) in his mission sphere in Asia Minor, as Peter's hermeneut or interpreter, gathered together the evangelical preaching from reminiscences of the preaching of Peter. Apart even from the not improbable but still doubtful interpretation of *Babylon*, 1 Peter v. 13, as Rome, ancient tradition points to Rome for the composition of this Gospel taken by Mark from the mouth of Peter (the earlier Presbyters of Clem. Alex., *ap.* Euseb. 6, 14). The proof of Jesus' Messiahship is here specially adduced for Gentile Christian readers from His miracles, with the single exception of i. 2 sq., quite without reference to Old Testament prophecy, while Jewish customs and places, and Aramaic words are explained to the reader who is unacquainted with them; many points only significant to the Jewish reader are disregarded.

The Gospel of Mark was indeed not written till after the death of Peter (according to the most natural conception of the words of Papias confirmed by Irenæus l.c.; otherwise Clem. Alex. l.c.) but probably soon after it, namely, still before the destruction of Jerusalem (as the form of the prophecy of Jesus as to the last things, cf. chap. xiii. 24, 30, 33, seems to show).

Out of the circles of primitive Christianity there had already proceeded through the instrumentality of the Apostle Matthew the collection of "Logia" in the Hebrew language mentioned above

(p. 82); now, not very long after the destruction of Jerusalem, a Jewish Christian, though certainly scarcely a Palestinian, but someone belonging to the Diaspora and in it in intercourse with Gentile Christians, restored the Greek Gospel which now bears the name of Matthew, on the basis of Mark and the former apostolic original document, for the purpose of proving that Jesus had appeared as the Messiah. This Gospel perhaps already betrays acquaintance with the Revelation of John.[1]

The judgment which had fallen upon Jerusalem and the Holy Land had heightened the objections which were presented to the Jews who believed in the Messiah by the lagging of the Jewish people behind the Gentiles who received the faith. Israel seems to be deserted by God, and yet its King of David's race has appeared, in whose fortunes the prophecies of Scripture, from David onwards, are fulfilled, in which, however, there is also already a glimpse of the persecution by the leaders of His people, and on the other hand of the willingness and desire of the Gentile world according to its light. Therefore the Gospel proclaims that the nation, betrayed by its leaders, shall itself bear the blame of the misfortunes foreseen by Jesus, in consequence of which the kingdom shall be taken from the Jews and given to the Gentiles (xxi. 43). For that reason the idea of the kingdom of God, conceived under national and theocratic forms, here begins to be transformed into that of a kingdom whose complete realisation can only be hereafter, and of which the Messianic community (ἐκκλήσια), which is arising out of the national community, is the preparation here. And although Jesus recognises the Law of the Old Covenant in its whole extent (v. 17), and only rejects the Pharisaic tradition (xv. 13), and also presupposes the observance of the law by His disciples, at the same time the spiritual and deeper conception of morality, which at the same time involves emancipation from the slavery of the letter, breaks through the limits, and Jesus prophesies the destruction of the Temple, and therewith a great portion of the life of the law, and in Christ's commands (Matt. xxviii. 20) the free moral kernel of all Divine commands comes out as the righteousness of the kingdom of God for Gentiles and Jews. The number of attempts to give a literary form to the proclamation of the miraculous life of Jesus, with its saving power and effect, increased. A considerable number of them are glanced back at by the author of our third Gospel, Luke, the born Gentile (Col. iv. 14, cf. ver. 11), the

[1] *Vid.* attempt at a sort of restoration of the original "Logia" of Matthew from Matthew and Luke, *ap.* Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, i. 44, sqq.

physician, who became an important companion of Paul and the witness of a great part of Paul's activity. He now makes it his object to investigate the tradition of the eye-witnesses, and to give a complete history of the life of Jesus, making use of already existing written portraits, especially using Mark and the apostolic source, but other sources also along with them. To this history there is linked on the same author's Acts of the Apostles. On the Gospel his Pauline universalism is distinctly stamped, without in the least repressing the strongly Jewish-Christian colouring of a portion of the tradition. The note, which so frequently echoes through the Gospel, of the oppressed and suffering condition of the Christians, suggests the time of Domitian (81–96), to which approximately the different traces point, without the possibility of fixing exactly the time when it originated. At the same time it is quite possible to attribute the Gospel to the seventies, and the Acts of the Apostles to about 80. The important work, the Acts of the Apostles, shows us how the ideal picture of the original community presented itself at this time to a Gentile Christian on the basis of living tradition, and how, in the common Christian opinion of the Christian Roman world of that age, even the struggles and conflicts of the primitive time involuntarily assumed a mitigated aspect. We have in it, not a *Tendenzschrift*, which seeks to balance oppositions of the present from a party standpoint by lighting up and correcting the primitive history, but a representation, based on correct tradition, of the measure of fundamental unity which really existed between Paul and the original apostles and on the practical mutual understanding actually formed in conflict. In its conception it is involuntarily dominated by the consciousness of a present, in which, apart from the exclusive Ebionites of the East, the relations of the converted Gentiles to the converted Jews had become ever less difficult, through the fact that the so-to-say liberal Judaism was reinforced from the side of Gentile Christianity by that inclination to attachment to certain Jewish customs, which was equally distant from the stringent principle of Paul's standpoint and from the Pharisaic point of view, and which arose out of the original conditions of the proselyte life.

Hence is explained the fact that, although the Christians in the time of Nero had already attracted attention as a special sect inside of Judaism, in the time of Domitian they could still be classed by the Roman world along with the Jews, although the born Jews among them in the Roman world were certainly in a great minority. The hard measures against the Jews which were taken by Domitian

(81–96) affected the Christians also. Inasmuch as the *fiscus Judaicus*, the Jewish Temple-tax, which had now been assigned to Jupiter Capitolinus, was most rigorously exacted, not only were those Jews ferreted out who sought to evade it by concealing their nationality, but those persons in Rome who, without professing Judaism, lived like Jews, were denounced, with success (*qui vel improfessi Judaicam intra urbem viverent vitam*, Suet., *Dom.*, 12). This struck, along with many others, Gentiles who felt attracted to the synagogue and its Divine worship, kept the Sabbath, abstained from meat offered to idols and other impurities (also from the eating of swine's flesh, Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 96 sqq.), at the Christians also. Near relations of the Emperor, the Consular Flavius Clemens and his wife Flavia Domitilla were condemned by Domitian. Flavius Clemens, according to Suetonius, on account of a trivial suspicion (*contemtissimæ inertiæ*, Suet. c. 15), according to Dion Cassius (*Xiphil.*, ep. 67, 14), on account of *ἀθεότης* and inclination to Jewish customs, was put to death, and Domitilla was banished. Christian tradition (Euseb., *Chron.*, p. 160, Schöne's ed., on the authority of the historian Brettius or Bruttius so nearly contemporary; H.E. iii. 18, 2; here, however, the banished Domitilla is designated the niece of the Consul) regards them as Christians, for which much may be said. The "utterly contemptible indolence" (cf. Tert., *Apol.*, 42: *infructuosi in negotiis dicimur*) would be the mark of a man who, mastered by the faith alien to the world, had turned away both from the gods of Rome and worldly affairs to an image-less worship of God and a retired life. Later tradition (Jerome, *Ad Eustoch.*, ep. 86) pointed out a small island on the west coast of Italy as the place of banishment of a Christian Domitilla. And the discovery of the family burying-place of Domitilla, not far from the burying-place of the Roman bishops of the second and third centuries, and with Christian traces (De Rossi, Kraus, *R. Sott.*, p. 41 sqq.) confirms the probability that Christianity had found access to members of the Flavian family (cf. Hasenclever in JprTh. 1882). For the rest, confusion remains as to the person of the Domitilla in question, wife or niece of the Consul.

About the same time there emerges in a remarkable manner at Rome the form of that Clement of Rome, whom tradition makes bishop of Rome, *i.e.* whom we must regard as an outstanding presbyter of the Roman community. According to Hegesippus and Irenæus he lived in Rome in the last decade of the first century, and was early, but certainly incorrectly, regarded as the person referred to by Paul, Phil. iv. 3 (Orig.). The epistle of the Roman

community to the Corinthian bears the name of Clement in the *superscription* (Cod. Const.), but the address bears that of the Roman community. Bishop Dionysius of Corinth, however (Eus., H.E. 4, 23), in the middle of the second century already names Clement as the author. The identification of this Roman presbyter (bishop) with the T. Fl. Cl. mentioned above obviously suggests itself, but weighty considerations are against it (*vid. Proll.* in HARNACK and GEBHARDT'S edition of the Apostolic Fathers, and FUNK in ThQ. 61, 4 [1879], p. 531 sqq., and in his edition of the Apostolic Fathers). The epistle, written at the end of the period of Domitian (81–96), or probably shortly after his death and therefore under Nerva, refers to calamities (ch. i.) which the Christians have suffered. These are to be considered as not only the Neronic persecution, but probably also the vexations under Domitian. For the rest, the epistle leaves us to suppose a regulated condition of the Roman community; we also perceive that the Roman community is conscious that it is possessed of a certain weight with other communities, seeing that it calls the Corinthian community to account for the unlawful setting aside of the elders of the community there. The exhortations to unity and subordination to their presbyters are prefaced by moral and religious exhortations of a general kind. In general the author moves amid the apostolic-catholic fundamental conceptions, recalls in particular the heroic careers of the Apostles Peter and Paul, shows the influence of the Pauline doctrine in his representation of Christ and the doctrine of justification, without maintaining the latter in its theoretic stringency and exclusiveness, faith and works being put ingenuously alongside of one another in the doctrine of salvation; he also gives us glimpses into the condition of church organization (*vid. infra*).

This is one of the most important monuments of ancient Christianity, till our time only known from the important Greek MS. of the Bible, COD. ALEXANDRINUS (after the Revelation of John) from which Patricius Junius first published it, Oxford, 1633. In it the end is wanting, which we have only come to know by the discovery at Constantinople of a new complete MS. belonging to the year 1056, by the Greek Metropolitan Philotheos Bryennios (published 1875). To the name of Clement, which was highly regarded throughout Christendom, a pseudonymous literature has attached itself, that of the so-called Clementines, preserved in the Clementine Homilies (Greek) and the Recognitions, etc. (*vid. infra*), besides two much later interpolated epistles on the virgin life preserved in Syriac. **The so-called Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians** (in our collection of the Ap. Fathers), really not an epistle at all but a homily, itself makes no claim to be by Clement; the fragment however appears to have been early attributed to him, at least Euseb., H.E. 3, 38, knows, besides the famous letter, of another attributed to him with doubt-

ful correctness, which is probably to be referred to our one. It appears to be quoted as an epistle of Clement to the Corinthians in Pseudo-Justin's *Quæst. et Resp. ad Orthodox.*, 74 (*vid.* however, Otto *ad h.l. Opp. Just. V.*, p. 108 sq. annot.). This fragment is also contained complete in the MS. of Bryennios (*vid. infra*).

Among the writings most frequently made use of in the epistle of Clement is the **Epistle to the Hebrews,** a monument of the second Christian generation (ii. 3; xiii. 7) of great importance in other respects, and not necessarily to be placed before the destruction of Jerusalem. The author is a Jewish Christian of Hellenistic culture, not a Paulinist, but one who, starting from the apostolic primitive Christian standpoint, has attained entire freedom from all Judaistic elements. He regards the Christians as the direct continuation of the Old Testament people of God, and the gospel of Christ as the completion of the Old Testament institution of salvation, which in itself was imperfect; sees especially in the O.T. priesthood and sacrificial arrangements (with an abundant application of the theory of types), the imperfect and shadowy types of the complete redemption through Christ, regards the latter as the closing of the perfect revelation and reconciliation, and from this standpoint warns Jewish Christian readers against falling away from their original lively faith; anticipating the danger of Christians becoming lukewarm, he is obliged to warn them against desertion of the Christian assemblies, which had already become customary with many (x. 25). The hypothesis formerly dominant, that the epistle was intended for Palestinian Jewish Christians who were in danger of falling back into Judaism, seems somewhat shaken by recent investigations. The question is not so much of falling back into legal Judaism, as of religious lukewarmness in general, which, particularly under attack and persecution, is in danger of turning away from belief altogether. But the epistle is important and of great consequence on account of the Hellenistic culture of the author, by means of which he understands how to cast much light on the O.T. from his Christian standpoint, and so peculiarly paves the way for Christian scriptural learning.

If we follow the First Epistle of Clement, and in addition to it take further the special evidence of the so-called Pastoral Epistles, it becomes possible to draw certain conclusions and express certain surmises with regard to the further development of the state of church organization. The Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, at least in their present form, lies open in actual fact to most cogent scruples from most various sides. What can be said, on prudent deliberation, in favour of the Pauline authorship with full recognition

of the great considerations against these epistles, is now shown by Weiss (Meyer's Comm., 5th ed., but an entirely new work; cf. also E. Kühl, *Die Gemeindeordnung in den Pastoralbriefen*, Berlin, 1885); on the other hand it is impossible to bring them down beyond the close of the first century.

The Epistle of Clement asserts (chap. 42 sqq.), in desiderating order and subordination in the community, and adducing therefor the example both of military subordination and of the definite fixed Old Testament priestly functions performed by definite persons at definite times, that the apostles, entrusted by Christ Himself with the gospel, had instituted in individual localities the approved firstlings of their converts as bishops and deacons of the future believers. They had, however, foreseen that strife would arise over this overseership (ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς), and hence had also made arrangements with regard to it for the future, that after the death of those whom they had instituted other approved men should succeed them in their service (λειτουργία). It would be unlawful and sinful, to set aside such persons, either instituted by the apostles or subsequently by other notable individuals with the approval of the whole community, and who blamelessly performed [1] their service (λειτουργία) to the flock of Christ. The presbyters already fallen asleep are accounted happy in not having survived to experience this.

We may accordingly suppose, that out of the original personal position of outstanding first fruits of the communities (*vid. supra*, p. 64 sqq.) who had been recognised in their position of leadership by Paul and those commissioned by him, there has been developed a permanent congregational office of the eldership as appointed by the community, in which the next generation with good grounds recognised an order desired by the Apostle, and that the manner in which the Corinthian community had displaced elders from their position appeared to the more aristocratic Roman community as a violation of this good order. As the office of these presbyters is itself designated as ἐπισκοπή, and as, in the Pastoral Epistles, the same persons in a recognised measure are called now Presbyter and again Bishop (Tit. i. 5, 7; 1 Tim. iii. 1; iv. 14; v. 17-19)—alongside of whom with similar requirements stand the Deacons—we shall be inclined to see in Bishops (Presbyters) and Deacons the same instru-

[1] According to the fundamental underlying figure of the priest, it is said of them that they offer up the gifts of their overseership; by this is hardly to be understood the Eucharist; their services to the community are the sacrificial gifts which they offer up.

ments of churchly κυβερνήσεις and ἀντιλήψεις as we have already seen in the Epistle to the Philippians. On the other hand the ἡγούμενοι (Heb. xiii. 7) now appear, not on the side of the fixed congregational office, but plainly on the side of the Prophets and Teachers (cf. Acts xv. 22, 32), whose vocation rests not upon the calling of the community but on the evidence of the Spirit.

8. The Apostle John and the Church of Asia Minor.

Literature: The literature of the Johannine controversy, *vid. ap.* B. Weiss, *Einl. in's N.T.*, p. 586 sqq.; Holtzmann, *Lehrb. der Einl. in's N.T.*, 1885, p. 419 sqq. As to John's stay at Ephesus, *vid.* against Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Naz.*, I. (1861); Scholten, *Der Apostel Johannes in Kleinasien*, 1872; and Holtzmann, in Schenkel's BL. (*Johannes*), especially Steitz, in StKr. 1868, 3; Hilgenfeld, *Einl. in's N.T.*, 1875, p. 394, sqq.; Krenkel, *Der Apostel Johannes*, 1871, and many others.

One out of the number of the original twelve, John the son of Zebedee must have survived pretty well on into this period, until the last decade of the century; at first as one of the pillars of the community at Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 9), how long we do not know. Acts xxi. is silent regarding him, also in Acts xv. when he was certainly at Jerusalem, he is not mentioned; perhaps at the beginning of the Jewish war, perhaps even earlier, in any case after the close of Paul's personal activity in Asia Minor (58), he appears in Ephesus as the head of the Church in Asia Minor. The tradition of a banishment to Patmos under Domitian seems to have originated in Rev. i. 9; there is no historical foundation for the legend of his martyrdom by boiling oil at Rome (Tertull., *Præscr.*, 36). Polycrates of Ephesus, who knows his grave in Ephesus, designates him (Epistle to Bishop Victor of Rome) one of the great lights of Asia, a Priest who has worn the high-priestly fillet, a witness and teacher. The first epithet may be regarded as a designation of his exalted position as over-pastor (Euseb., 3. 31, 5, 2 sqq.). In Asia Minor John had to keep down both Jewish and Gentile false doctrines, and held the church together with burning zeal (the meeting with Cerinthus at the bath, Iren, *Hær.*, 3, 3. 4); his zealous love sought out the lost (Clem., *Quis div. salv.*, 42); he died under Trajan at a great age with the bequest of love on his lips.

The attempt to overthrow the whole ecclesiastical tradition of the activity of John in Ephesus and in Asia Minor in general, and to refer it to a confusion with the Presbyter John (Eus. 3, 39), as made first by Lützelberger, and more recently by Scholten, Keim and others, does violence to historical traditions (*vid.* against it briefly Meyer-Weiss, *Comm. z. Ev. Joh.*, p. 3). The question is in-

volved with that of the authorship of the Revelation of John and of the Gospel and of the mutual relations of the two. If the Apocalypse is by the Apostle John (from which presupposition as a starting-point Baur's criticism against the Gospel operated), it naturally attests John's activity in Asia Minor (hence the criticism of Scholten and Keim gives up this position); but even if it were the work of the Presbyter, who is certainly to be distinguished from the Apostle, the ecclesiastical tradition which ascribes it to the Apostle can only be founded on general knowledge that his sphere of work was in Asia Minor. Of course the Gospel of John shows an essentially different character of conception, and would point, if the Apocalypse and the Gospel were written by the same Apostle, to a very significant inner advance within a few decades, which, though indeed not absolutely impossible, would be a most remarkable phenomenon, and one which from the nature of the case it is impossible stringently to demonstrate. The Gospel, however, must undoubtedly have been regarded as the distinct impress of Johannine tradition, consequently as Johannine in a more secondary sense, even though the authorship by the Apostle himself could not be victoriously maintained.

If at the time of the Apostolic Council John still looked upon himself as an Apostle of the Jews (Gal. ii. 9), the catastrophes which overtook Jerusalem, the fellowship which was entered into with Paul, the entry into the Asiatic sphere of the latter, and on the other hand the increasing embitterment of the Jews may perhaps have led him, as perhaps also Peter, beyond that standpoint, and at the same time may have matured in the important sphere of Asia Minor, views such as we find developed in the Gospel. They are, indeed, thoroughly and entirely rooted in Old Testament ideas, and conceive of Jesus and His work in thoroughly organic connection with the Old Testament revelation, and there is nothing which they less exhibit than an anti-Judaism which should emancipate itself from the Old Testament. But the actual fact that the Jews, as a whole, had hardened themselves against the gospel of Jesus, and that a community of believers from the whole world, without regard to national descent, had found sonship in faith on Jesus, causes the Apostle to speak of "the Jews" as aliens, representative of the world which is alienated from God. To him also Jesus is the Messiah; but the relation of sonship to the heavenly Father is deepened into a conception of the perfect self-presentation of God in the Son, the Messiah, and the relationship receives a transcendent background in the notion of the original being of the Son

with the Father, of His unity with Him; He becomes the Eternal Son of God, and the elucidatory conception for this relationship is afforded by the **idea of the Logos.**

These expressions do not start from *a priori* speculation as to the being of God and His eternal disclosure in the Logos as the principle of revelation; but, as in the case of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews conclusions are deduced backwards from faith in the exalted Christ to the eternal divine being of the Son, so in the Gospel of John, starting from the impression of the personality of Jesus as the most immediate manifestation of God, there is a contemplative ascent to a pre-temporal or eternal existence in God. At the same time it is always very possible, that the **expression Logos,** which is not put into the mouth of Jesus Himself, but only used by the evangelist to explain the secret, may have been taken from the Alexandrian Jewish philosophy of religion, since it is not purely Hellenic, but a Hellenistic-Jewish expression, which is partly rooted in a Jewish theology based on Old Testament ideas. At all events, apart from the ideas which moved Hellenistic Jewish circles, it may well be directly and entirely derived from the Old Testament (creative word of God, etc. So Weiss and Franke, *d. A.T. b. Joh.*); but the manner of its introduction makes it appear like a definite and known *terminus technicus.* The correct observation also, that the Johannine representation of this Logos by no means coincides with the special Philonic speculation, does not at all exclude the possibility that it was taken up from the consciousness of the age in the circles of Hellenistic Judaism. To me the question is an open one. If the Messiah thus reveals Himself as the only begotten Son of the Father, who is seen in the Son as the Word become flesh, the Life which has appeared, the main weight for the apprehension of Christian salvation falls not so much on the hope of the future coming of the (Messianic) kingdom of God—although this is not set aside—but on the eternal life which has already appeared in Christ and which is to be appropriated by believers, and which has already triumphed over death.

Both ecclesiastical tradition as to John (his meeting with Cerinthus, Iren., *Adv. Hæres.*, 3, 3, 4, cf. Euseb. 4, 14, 6 and 3, 28, 6) and allusions in the first Epistle already point to conflicts of the Apostle with false teachers (enemies of God—Antichrists, who deny that Christ has appeared in the flesh), in which the beginnings of Gnosticism are to be recognised, and it is just in a spiritual struggle excited in this way that we may find the explanation of the speculative tendency of the Gospel of John (*vid. inf.*).

FIRST PERIOD.—SECOND PART.

The Post-apostolic Age down to the emergence of the fixed forms of the Ancient Catholic Church.

1. Unbelieving Judaism.

Literature: Münter, *Der jüdische Krieg unter Trajan und Hadrian.* Alt. and Leipsic, 1821. The general works on Jewish History, *vid. sup.*, p. 32; and H. L. Strack, *Thalmud* (RE. 18, 297 sqq.).

Jerusalem was destroyed, the Holy Land down-trodden; 97,000 captives were carried off, part of whom went forth to perpetual imprisonment in the mines, part were worn away in combats with beasts and in public works. The whole province was confiscated to the Emperor, and parcelled out for sale or the use of veterans. The contribution, which till now had been sent in by all Jews of the Roman Empire to the Temple at Jerusalem (the Temple-tax), was now to be paid to Jupiter Capitolinus, *i.e.* to the imperial treasury. This led next to extortions, and especially under Domitian to espionage directed against those Jews who sought to escape the tax by denial of their nationality (ἐπισπασμός). The fearful war also resulted here and there in the (Hellenic) Diaspora in outbursts of hatred against the Jews; scattered remains of the party of the Zealots were suppressed in Egypt and Cyrene.

After the war, however, forbearance was exercised towards the remainder who stayed in the country; the powerfully spread Diaspora (the Eastern, Semitic, and the Western, Hellenic) secured the continued existence of Jewish life, which in its religion possessed a tenacious vitality. A dark grudge against the Roman desolator of the sanctuary led under Trajan to a frightful insurrection. While Trajan was busied against the Parthians in the East, and after the first and not very productive expedition had sent considerable forces to the East, the Jewish rebellion first raised its bloody head in Cyrenaica and Egypt. The fanatic Jews perpetrated incredible atrocities, which were reciprocated by the Greeks in Egypt when they gained the upper hand. Simultaneously the insurrection raged in Cyprus (over 200,000 Greeks are said to have perished in Cyrenaica, and as many in Cyprus). So also the Jews in Mesopotamia rose, until the Mauretanian prince Lusius Quietus, at the command of Trajan repressed the insurrection with wild ferocity (Marcus Turbo in Cyrenaica; how and by whom the repression followed in Cyprus is unknown). Whether Palestine already took part in the revolt at this time is unknown; at all events, peace

was re-established in the first year of Hadrian.[1] HADRIAN'S initial forbearance and gentleness filled the Jews with hope (even with that of the restoration of the Temple, cf. Ep. Barnab. c. 16), but soon gave place to an opposite method of procedure; in stead of Jerusalem there was to be raised a new pagan city with a pagan temple; he forbade circumcision (as appears not in consequence of the revolt, but these regulations contributed to calling it forth). Then in A.D. 132 there broke loose the revolt of the pseudo-Messiah Barcochba (*son of the star*, according to Num. xxiv. 17; after his failure, Barcosiba), who was recognised as the Messiah by the celebrated teacher of the law, Rabbi Akiba (who by his journeys spurred up religious fanaticism). The Procurator T. Annius Rufus was unable to master the revolt, which rapidly spread over all Palestine, including Jerusalem[2] itself; it was only Julius Severus, called in from Britain, who gradually succeeded in confining it to the fortress of Bitthir, not far from Jerusalem, and destroyed the latter, when Barcochba lost his life (135 A.D.). The losses of the Romans were great, but Judea had again become a wilderness. Jerusalem, now Ælia Capitolina, becomes a city with pagan edifices and temples; Jews are forbidden access to it; harsh commands are issued against the exercise of the Jewish religion; circumcision, the celebration of the Sabbath, and the teaching of the law are forbidden; espionage directs itself against acts of religious significance. Under this pressure an assembly of Jewish scholars under Akiba at Lydda, resolved to permit transgressions of the law to the people in order to preserve it (only not idolatry, incest and murder). Akiba himself and others were executed. With the death of Hadrian the persecutions and the prohibition of circumcision ceased; but even Antoninus Pius renewed the prohibition to visit Jerusalem (not till the post-Constantinian age does this cease).

With the subversion of political existence, the learned schools of law now acquire a great importance for the future, as a dominant

[1] VOLKMAR, *Das Buch Judith*, 1860, HITZIG, GRAETZ and others ascribe the origin of the Book of Judith to these circumstances: Judith=Judæa, Nebuchadnezar = Trajan, Holofernes = Lusius Quietus, who was recalled from Palestine under Hadrian on suspicion, and on the journey was put to death by command of the Roman Senate against Hadrian's will. *Vid. contra* this quite flighty hypothesis: FRITZSCHE in SCHENKEL'S B.L., III. 444 sqq., and SCHÜRER in RE. 2nd ed., I. 504. The conception also, apart from this definite explanation, that the book originated (was fabricated, HARNACK) amid the opinions of that time stands on very weak support; the fiction with its historical impossibilities probably belongs to the times of the Maccabees.

[2] Vid. SCHÜRER, *N.Tl. Zg.*, p. 358, against JOST.

and unifying spiritual power for the maintenance of Judaism. Accordingly, the school at Jamnia (=Jabneh), between Joppa and Ashdod, not far from the sea, was at first the centre. Already during the Roman war there gathered here a number of Rabbis as spiritual and juridical authorities; to them there attached himself the famous master, the younger Gamaliel of Jerusalem. From hence the celebration of the feast days was determined according to the law. Since the ruin of the nation by the renewed war under Hadrian, the president of the school has become the spiritual head of the nation, Nasi; a spiritual court of civil justice, a Sanhedrim of seventy-one members expert in the law, is established. Later, Tiberias becomes its chief seat. The need of fixing the tradition of the law which had so long only been handed on from mouth to mouth leads to **written collections**; even Akiba seems to have devised such a thing. Of these, that which was instituted by Rabbi Jehuda Hakkadosch (Hannasi) in Palestine (ob. c. 220) and his disciple, under the title of the **Mischna** (δευτέρωσις = *repetitio* sc. *legis*, though the name is also otherwise explained) received general recognition (six *Sedarim* = ordinances, with altogether sixty-three tractates—Massaeket, Massikthoth; the contents almost entirely Halacha, although there are two Haggadic tractates [the famous one: the Pirke Aboth] and various Haggadic explanations. The language is Hebrew).

Rabbinical casuistry, however, further compelled the amplification and explanation of the substance (of the law), whence arose the so-called Gemara (גמר bring to an end; completion of the Deuterosis); *viz.* 1) The **Palestinian** or **Jerusalemite**; it contains the discussions of the Palestinian school, and was revised at Tiberias before the extinction of the latter about A.D. 350. 2) A disciple of Jehuda had transplanted the Mischna to Susa in Babylonia; the sum total of the material brought together here by scholarly activity was brought to a close in Susa about 550—and formed the **Babylonian Gemara**. Both are written in Aramaic (though with different shades of dialect) and have acquired general recognition (cf. SCHÜRER and STRACK l.c.).

Alongside of these expositions of the law, which were properly dominant, and in the main regarded as binding, there goes also the freer, less-cramped exposition of the Haggadic Midraschim, aiming at religious edification and dogmatism.

The Jews, shutting themselves up in their law, were pursued by the intelligibly deep hatred of the Christians, who in Barcochba's revolt, even when they were born Jews, naturally kept apart from all Jewish endeavours. The Jewish Christians were looked

upon as apostates, against whom a peculiar imprecation is directed (the blessing on heretics, ברכת המינים).

Hence arose slanders of Christ and Christians, odious stories (cf Just. *c. Trypho*, Celsus *ap* Origen).

2. Specific Judæo-Christianity.

Sources: Justin., Dial. c. Tryph., c. 47: Iren., Adv. hær., I. 26, 2; Hippol. Ref., 7, 34; Ps. Tertull., Adv. Hæres., 11: Orig. c. Cels., 5, 61; Philostr. Hær., 37; Euseb., H. E. 3, 21; Epiphan., Hær., 30.—Literature in Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, 421–426. *Ejdm.*, *Judenthum und Christenthum*, 1886.

In the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem (70), the faith and hope of the Palestinian Judaeo-Christians had separated from those of their non-Christian fellow countrymen. They had gone forth to the trans-Jordanic Pella. And these trans-Jordanic neighbourhoods remained the gathering points of Judæo-Christians even after the war (Epiph., *Hær.*, 29, 7. 30, 2. 18. 40, 1. 53. and Jul. Afric., *ap.* Euseb. H.E. 1, 7, 14), whilst others soon returned again to the Holy Land,—to Galilee, Samaria, and even to the ruins of Jerusalem (Epiph. *De mensur.*, 14, 15. Euseb., H.E. 3, 35, *Demonstr. ev.*, 3, 5, p. 124). Obviously, as members of the Jewish nation, they remained faithful to the life of the law. Like James the brother of the Lord, till his death, other members of the family of Jesus subsequently occupied leading positions among them. So Simeon, the son of Clopas, who is said to have died a martyr's death under Trajan (Heges., *ap.* Euseb., 3, 32). According to tradition, he is regarded as the bishop who, after the destruction of Jerusalem, was appointed by the apostles themselves as the successor of James in the headship of the community at Jerusalem (Euseb., H.E. 3, 11). But also the two grandchildren of Judas, the brother of Jesus, who in the time of Domitian were given up as Davididæ, and were set free again as not dangerous (Eus., 3, 20), were now set over the Church, according to Hegesippus, as being martyrs and relations of Jesus.

Even Vespasian seems to have inquired after the descendants of the Jewish royal race (Eus., 3, 12, cf. Oros., *Hist.*, VII. 10). In the case of the above-mentioned two brothers this was the reason of their being brought before Domitian; but their condition as small cultivators working the land with their hard labour (*horny hands*), (their 39 plethra were valued together at 9,000 *denarii*) gave a reassuring confirmation to their expressions as to the unearthly character of the kingdom that was to be expected, when Christ should come to judge the living and the dead. In the case of

Simeon also, his Davidic descent appears to have been an element of consideration.

Amongst these Judæo-Christians in their comparatively isolated circumstances, the views and principles both of apostolic Judæo-Christianity and of the Pharisaically minded opponents of the Pauline preaching to the heathen, seem to have made progress. Nevertheless there was much, both in their position and in the circumstances of the time, which was fitted to deepen the gulf between them and the rest of the Jews, and to further an approximation to the Christians who had come from paganism. Legal Judaism, which sought to keep the nation together after the war *v. sup.*), persecuted the Christians as heretics (*Minîm*) with its entire hatred. Thrice on the day of the Sabbath assemblies the Nazarenes are solemnly cursed. The prayer of imprecation is attributed to Rabbi Samuel the Less and the authority of Gamaliel II. (80–117), cf. Justin., Dial. c. Tr., 16 and Otto's note II. p. 60). Traces are not entirely wanting, that Jewish-Christians, individuals who expelled demons in the name of Jesus and who engaged in religious questionings with Jews, were not always treated so roughly (*v.* Renan, *Orig. d. Chr.*, V. 433 sqq.); on the whole, however, the spirit of animosity prevailed. To the famous Rabbi Tarphon, one of the lights of the law schools at Jabneh and Lydda after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Talmud, in which he is reputed to have knowledge of the Gospels and books of the Minim, ascribes the saying: a persecuted man ought rather to take refuge in an idol temple than in the houses of the Minim; for the idolaters deny God without knowing Him, the Minim deny acknowledged truth. Their books are to be burnt even though the name of God occurs in them (*vid.* the passages in Renan, *Les. orig.*, V. 71).

From the circle of these Judæo-Christians there proceeded the collection of *logia* of Matthew, above mentioned.

The outbreak of the Jewish war under Hadrian, which ended in the complete annihilation even of Jewish social existence, and transformed the re-established Jerusalem into a pagan city (Ælia Capitolina) into which no circumcised person might enter, was bound still more to separate Christian Jews from Judaism. In consequence of it, as a matter of fact, some of the Judæo-Christians seem to have made ever closer approaches to their brethren from paganism. Nevertheless a considerable portion still persisted in exclusiveness towards the Gentile Christians, hardened itself in its old Judaistic manners and Judæo-Christian views, and the longer it existed the more it took on the character of a sect, cutting itself off

from the development of the church. The former tendency, however, seems to have preponderated in the great Judæo-Christian Diaspora of the Roman Empire, the latter in the Semitic East.

Thus Justin Martyr already distinguishes such Judæo-Christians as held fast as far as possible to the life according to the law, but did not wish to make a similar demand on believers from among the Gentiles (*Χριστιανοί*), [and these he will acknowledge willingly as Christian brethren, although not all Christians, *i.e.* Gentile Christians, so decide, but many will have no community (intercourse and hospitality) with them]—from such as would compel all Christians to the observance of the law as necessary for salvation; the latter, who do not recognise free Gentile Christianity, he also on his part will not recognise (although thereby he does not mean exactly to deny salvation to the Gentile Christians who allow themselves to be induced to accept the life of the law). In Irenæus, Tertullian and Origen the name **Ebionites** or **Ebionæans** occurs as the sect-name of these Judæo-Christians, who on principle hold themselves aloof from the Gentile Christians, a name which the teachers of the church falsely derive from a founder of the sect called Ebion. Irenæus knows nothing as yet of an Ebion, but only of *Ἐβιωναῖοι* and *Ἠβίωνοι* (4, 33, 4). It is assuredly an ancient Jewish-Christian designation of (Jewish) Christians in general, as the Ebionim, the poor, oppressed, humble, devoted members of the people of God (in contrast to the haughty, wealthy, wicked), in justice for whom the Messiah would concern Himself (Isa. xi. 4). On the approximation of the apostolic Judæo-Christians to the Gentile Christians, the name remained attached to the party which separated itself in a sectarian manner from the main body. Even Epiphanius knows that the Ebionites were proud of this name as the successors of those who had laid their goods at the disciples' feet. Origen also seems to know nothing of a personal founder of the sect of this name; he knows the word only as an appellative, and explains it from the poverty of their dogmatic conceptions. His expressions correspond to the above explanation, in so far as "*Ebionæans*" sometimes designates those Jews who have accepted Jesus as the Christ (*c. Cels.*, 2, 1); but again it is asserted of the Ebionites that they denied the birth from a virgin; hence (*c. Cels.*, 5. 61) he speaks of *δίττοι Ἐβ.*, who are specially distinguished by their attitude to this dogma. *Vid.* the passages in Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, p. 424. In a curious fashion Hilgenfeld is now not disinclined to believe in a founder of the sect named Ebion, on the ground of a

quite late passage in Anastas. Presb., in the seventh century, which contains an alleged quotation from Ebion's treatise on the prophets. Ebion, however, is a later type of many heretics.—Naturally, alongside of their strict maintenance of the Mosaic law as universally obligatory, we find among them the old enmity to Paul, the enemy of the law and apostate, and the retention of the Messianic hope in chiliastic form; in addition, they also hold a common Jewish conception of Jesus as a mere man, naturally begotten, who was dedicated to the Messiahship in the baptism of John, in opposition to the primitive Christian conception of Jesus' supernatural birth. The tradition adhered to by HEGESIPPUS, that the church was a pure virgin till the time of the martyrdom of Simeon the son of Clopas (inasmuch as such false doctrines as existed up till that time only crept in the dark, but since then had raised their heads after all the apostles had left the scene), may refer to the time of this sharper emergence of the antagonism between apostolic Judæo-Christians and heretical Ebionites (Heg., *ap.* Euseb., 3, 32, cf. 4, 22).

The survival down to a later age, of a Judæo-Christianity more closely approximating to that of the apostles, but through its isolation and seclusion taking on the character of a backward sect, distinguished from the more abruptly heretical character of the Ebionites, is attested by the fact that Epiphanius in his age distinguishes, under two names which were originally general names for Christians, between Nazarenes and Ebionites. With this also the judgment of Jerome on the Nazarenes of whom he had personal experience, agrees.

Epiphanius, however, in his portrayal of the Ebionites, had certainly in view phenomena which show the general Jewish fundamental character of the sect under strong modification, and point us to other influences which are here still further to be referred to.

Elkesaites.

Sources: EPIPH., Haer., 9. 17-19. 30; HIPPOL., Refut., 9, 13 sqq. In HILGENFELD'S edition of the Pastor Herm., 2nd ed., 1881, p. 228 sqq.; Uhlhorn in RE.², IV. 184.

The Christian heresiologists allude to a complex breaking up of Judaism at the time of Christ into different sectarian opinions, and also to the influence of Samaritan syncretistic conceptions; and they make both gain influence in the church and result in heretical opinion. But in particular the Jewish sect of the Essenes, or an Essene party extending beyond the exclusive limits of the sect, seems

early to have made way among the Jewish converts to Christianity. Traces of it may perhaps be found in the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. xiv., abstinence from flesh and wine in the general Judæo-Christian character being designated by the Apostle as a prejudice of the weaker which was to be indulged), more decidedly in Colossians, where Paul has to confront with severity those who require circumcision, strict Jewish observance of the Sabbath and feasts, and particularly observances as to meats and the laying of weight on special doctrines of **angels** and their worship. Others have also wished to recognise Essene Christians in the heretics of the Pastoral Epistles (Mang.). At the same time, however, the influence of pagan elements makes itself felt, to which Eastern (trans-Jordanic) Judaism was greatly exposed (cf. also Rösch, StKr. 1888, 2, 265 sqq.). Under a multitude of names, and without clear separation of individuals, which may only be different names of the same sect, Epiphanius mentions Jews and Judæo-Christian sects—Ossenes, and Jessaïans = (Essenes), Sampsæans, Nasaræans, distinguished from the Nazarenes and **Elkesaites**, whose name he derives from a false prophet Elxai (*Ἠλχασαί*), who had also been honoured among the Ebionites, who adopted some of his doctrines. This prophet Elxai is said to have arisen in the time of Trajan. Probably, however, this name is not a personal name at all, but the name of the book which was highly esteemed in the sect, and it means, as Epiphanius, in spite of his reference of it to a person, rightly explains, **hidden power** (חֵיל כסי).[1]

For the rest, according to Epiphanius, even in the time of Constantine two women, Marthus and Marthana seem, to have been designated his descendants. The book makes reference to the Emperor Trajan's expedition against the Parthians; hence it was said that Elxai had also brought it from Parthian Sera, where he had received the revelation of an angel of colossal size alongside of whom stood a female figure (spirit); it must apparently be explained from the circumstances of the Jewish insurrection under Trajan and in the time of Hadrian. A certain Alcibiades of Apamea brought the book to Rome in the beginning of the third century, and on that account Ritschl and others have placed its origin in that period, but incorrectly (*vid.* Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch.*, 433, and my article *Ossener*, RE. 1st ed.). Hilgenfeld has collected and explained the fragments that have been preserved in Hippol., *Ref. Hær.*, IX. 15, 39, and Epiph., *Hær.*, 19 and 30.

[1] According to Klostermann, *Probleme*, 20, חֵיל כסי properly אֵל כ״ (Samaritan translation) is the God of secrecy, the alleged brother of Elxai: 'Ιεξέος or 'Ιεξαῖος, not יח כסי but חיי כסי, *i.e.* secret life.

The strictly retained fundamental traits of a Jewish character, the maintenance of the life according to the law (with an important exception), especially of the Sabbath and circumcision, are here modified to the extent that bloody sacrifices and the eating of flesh in general are rejected, and in direct opposition to the fire of sacrifice, a special purifying and atoning significance is attributed to **washings; repeated lustrations,** to which moreover physical and magical influences are ascribed, here take the place of Christian baptism. It is impossible to ignore pagan mythological and cosmological influences, to which that portion of the Jews who dwelt east and north-east of the Holy Land was specially exposed, in the forms of oaths and in the witnesses appealed to, as for instance in the interpretation of the stars and magic, which were favourite practices. Christian thought, however, gains recognition in the Messianic significance of Jesus. In what relation it stood to the doctrine of the birth from a virgin, is not quite plain. But they baptize in the name of the great and highest God and of his Son the great King, *i.e.* Messiah, for the forgiveness of sins; and they see in Adam an incarnation of the ideal Adam or original man, whom they also designate the highest archangel, the one alongside of the other, so that Christianity is conceived as a special revelation and yet as essentially identical with Judaism.

Appendix: Influences of the Elkesaite Ebionitism have been preserved in the literary material which is romantically worked up in the so-called Clementines. There have been preserved 1) the (20) Clementine Homilies, τὰ Κλημέντια, to which in their present form an Epistle of Peter to James, one of Clement to James, and the so-called διαμαρτυρία have been prefaced (the Greek text still imperfect in Cotelerius' ed. of the Apost. Fathers, I., and in Schwegler's ed., more complete according to Cod. Ottob. by *Dressel*, Götting., 1853, after new collation of MSS.; *Clementina* ed. de Lagarde. 1865. 2) The so-called Recognitions (ἀναγνωρισμοί) only extant in Rufinus' Latin translation (after older editions in Cotelerius and others above mentioned; finally Gersdorf, Leipsic, 1838). 3) Lastly, the Epitome in two versions, published by Dressel, *Clementinorum epitomæ duæ*, Leipsic, 1861. A Syriac form ed. by de Lagarde, Leipsic and London, 1861.—A romantic story has here attached itself to the celebrated name of the Roman Clement. Clement is the pagan seeking the truth, Peter the representative of pure Christianity (coinciding with true Judaism), who follows step by step Simon Magus (the representative of Magic and Heresy, particularly Gnosticism, but who also bears characteristics of Paul, who was hated by Ebionism) and overcomes him in argument. Miraculous events in the history of Clement's family are woven in. In Peter's doctrinal discourses the Elkesaite-Ebionite views above referred to make themselves felt, but the elements of heathen mythology and theurgy are repressed. The universality of Christianity is recognised, but so mediated by Jewish belief, that Christianity is only to be looked upon as the re-establishment of pure Mosaicism, and both as essentially identical appearances of primitive religion. In Adam, pure religion

is already revealed, hence also the historical Adam is characterised as the appearance or the bearer of the ideal sinless original man, of the Holy Spirit of Christ, who then appears again under different names in the different periods of the world's history, until he finally appears in Christ and gives universality to the original religion. He was specially present in Moses, whose religion was supplemented in subsequent times by many additions and then restored in its purity by Christ. The very putting down of the law in writing is here looked upon as a corrupting of the pure Mosaic revelation with impure elements. The whole is moreover permeated by a religio-philosophical metaphysical theory, which, while opposed to Gentile Christian Gnosticism, yet makes concessions to its speculative spirit with a view to coming to terms with it; hence this party has been designated Gnostic Ebionism. Alongside of strict maintenance of Jewish monotheism there is developed a theory of cosmogony in which Stoic influences may be recognised: origination of the world by a transformation of the divine substance, in which also the origin of evil is to be explained without going the length of dualism. **Syzygies**, *i.e.* correlative opposites bound to one another move through the whole system of the universe, beginning with the opposition of the devil and the Son of God.—The relation of the two forms, of the Homilies and the Recognitions to one another, has led literary criticism to the hypothesis, that there is underlying them an older Gnostic-Ebionitic treatise which has been worked up independently and in different ways by both, by the Clementine Homilies with polemic against the Marcionite Gnosis, by the Recognitions in a style more approaching to ecclesiastical Christianity. Even if this fundamental treatise bore the title Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, its identity with the treatise referred to elsewhere in the ancient church under the same title remains very problematical. Cf. A. Schliemann: *Die Clementinen und die Ebioniten*, 1844; A. Hilgenfeld, *Die Clem. Rec. und Homil.*, 1848; Uhlhorn, *Die Homil. und Rec. der Clem. Rom.*, 1854; J. Lehmann, *Die Clem. Schriften*, 1868; Lipsius, *Quellen der rom. Petrussage*, 1872; Uhlhorn in RE.², 2, 277 sqq.

It must be doubted whether the views which prevail in the Clementine Homilies were ever the definite confession of an established party in the Græco-Roman Church. The Clementines are usually attributed to the second half of the second century. Decisive grounds for so doing are however wanting, and there is much which seems to argue for a later time,—about the beginning of the third century.

3. The Geographical expansion of Christianity in the Empire and beyond its frontiers, and the manner of its diffusion.

At the close of the first Christian century we must not only presuppose the presence of the Christianity which issued from the districts of Palestine in the countries of Pauline, Petrine and Johannine activity, but we must now look upon **Alexandria** also, along with the other great central points of the Empire, Antioch, Ephesus and Rome, as already affording shelter to Christianity, whatever may be the case as to the traditional activity of Mark there. In **Palestine**, the sea-coast towns also with their essentially Hellenistic population and culture, after the destruction of Jerusalem, and again after the war under Hadrian, were the most important points

not of specially Jewish but of general Christian significance. Such particularly was Cæsarea Palestinæ (Stratonis Turris, not to be confounded with the Cæsarea Paneas in the North, at the foot of Lebanon), at one time provided with splendid buildings by Herod, chief seat of the Roman government under the Procurators, after the destruction of Jerusalem the capital of the country and chief community of Palestine, alongside of which nevertheless an essentially Gentile Christian community also arose in the new Jerusalem of Hadrian (Ælia Capitolina). The great Eastern chief town of the Empire, **Antioch** on the Orontes, early becomes one of the most important centres, and a medium for missionary efforts eastward, to inland Syria, Mesopotamia, and even to the Parthian kingdom. In the district of Garamæa, *i.e.* the neighbourhood east of the Tigris and south of Little Zab, therefore south-east from Mosul, there were Christians before 170 A.D.[1] In the dominion of Osrhoëne, which originated in Græco-Macedonian colonisation, the chief town **Edessa** early becomes the centre of a Syrian form of church and Syriac ecclesiastical literature. To the former testifies the legend of a correspondence between Christ and King Abgarus, and the work of Thaddæus, who appears in the character of one of the seventy disciples under this name, or (in Syriac) as Addai. According to Christ's promise he was sent after His ascension by the Apostle Thomas to the then king, Abgar (royal title) Uchomo. The legend, which was already known to Eusebius (from the Cæsarean library), now lies before us in the Syriac *Doctrina Addæi Apostoli*, which was edited by G. Phillips, Lond., 1876, from a St. Petersburg codex, a form of the legend which has been fixed at the latest about the middle of the fourth century (Lips.), perhaps even earlier (end of third century, Zahn) (Lipsius, *Die edess. Abgarsage*, Brunswick, 1880. Matthes, 1882. Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgeschichte u. Apostellegenden*, II. 2, p. 178. Th. Zahn, GGA. 77, no. 161. *Forschungen*, I., Erlangen, 1881, p. 350). Tatian has already been active in the Syrian East, and towards the end of the second century the Christian prince Abgar Bar Manu is in Edessa, and is the friend of the Christian Gnostic Bardesanes (cf. the works of Hilgenfeld and Merx on Bardesanes, and A. v. Gutschmid, *Die Königsnamen in den apokr. Apostelgeschichte*, Rhein. Mus. N.F. XIX. 171 sq.). We find Edessene coins of this period with the sign of the cross, and the Edessene chronicle ascribes to the year 202 the destruction of a Christian church.

[1] *Vid.* G. Hoffmann, Auszuge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer, Abh. f. K. d. M. VII. 3. p. 46. Noldeke: GGA. 1880, p. 873.

In Asia Minor the southern and western coast districts are specially prominent, and **Ephesus** and **Smyrna** assume important positions; but Christianity has already penetrated to the inland districts (Cappadocia: Cæsarea and Paphlagonia: Amastrys). In Greece **Corinth** continues to occupy the most important position, where in the time of Marcus Aurelius the Bishop Dionysius stands in alliance with other churches, of Athens, Lacedæmon, communities in Crete (Gortyna, Gnossus), etc. (Euseb., 4, 23).

Next to Antioch **Alexandria** ranks as the most important centre of the Hellenic oriental empire. Christianity first began its activity in the country among the Jewish and Greek population of the Delta, but gradually also among the Egyptians proper (the Copts) as may be inferred from the Coptic (Memphytic) translation of the N.T. (third century). In the second century, Gnosticism, which had its chief seat here as well as in Syria, and, secondly, towards the close of the century, the Alexandrian Catechetical School, show the importance of this centre of religious movement and Christian education. From Lower Egypt, Christianity passed upward to Middle and Upper Egypt—so that even by the time of the persecution of Septimus Severus we find Christians in the Thebaid.

In close connection with Hellenised Egypt stands the highly civilised western district of **Cyrenaica,** which had already however begun to retrograde, and in which Christians are to be found as early as the middle of the second century. On the other hand, with many points of relationship with Egypt, stands **Arabia,** where we may probably suppose that the apostles (Matthew and Bartholomew) made a beginning, furthered by the presence of numbers of Jews. Later it is probable that from Alexandria Christian influences went out to **Arabia Petræa** (from the time of Trajan a Roman province with Bostra [Nova Colonia Trajana] as its capital), a development in consequence of which we already find Christian synods here in the third century, in which Origen took part. The first known teacher of the Alexandrian Catechetical School at Alexandria, Pantænus (end of the second century) laboured as an evangelist, it is said, in **India;** probably Yemen = Arabia Felix is thereby meant. For at that time the designation India has many significations. Besides India proper, Arabia Felix is so-called, and indeed along with it the bordering Asiatic and neighbouring African districts: Ethiopia. (Besides also India Minor s. Æthiopica: the neighbourhood between the Euxine and the Caspian reaching to the Palus Mæotis.)

In the West, **Rome** remains and indeed becomes ever more and more the *sedes Apostolica*, by far the most important centre, where,

alongside of the Roman element, there are to be found elements streaming together from all points of the Empire. Greek names, and the long lasting (still dominant in the second century) maintenance of Greek as the written language of Roman Christianity, are here noteworthy; likewise the evidence of the discoveries in the catacombs that Christianity was not entirely confined to the lower strata of the populace, but even at an early period had obtained access to the very highest, and that members of families of rank became the supports of the Christian community in life and in death (*Coimeteria*) (Hasenclever in JpTh. 1882). Rome was the point of departure not only for Italy and the Western Provinces, but without doubt also for Proconsular **Africa,** where in turn Carthage becomes the centre of diffusion. Numidia and Mauretania are early attached. Tertullian, even if he does draw rather a long bow, testifies to a wide diffusion: Apol. 37: *Hesterni sumus, et vestra omnia implevimus, urbes, insulas, castella, municipia.* Ad. Scap. 15: Carthage would be decimated if a persecution of Christians were to be carried out. Under Agrippinus, the oldest known Bishop of Carthage, at the beginning of the next period (c. 200–220), we know of a synod of seventy African and Numidian bishops.

The tracing back of the Spanish Church to apostolic foundation (Gams, *K. G. Spaniens*, I.) has its one historical link in Paul's expressed purpose of visiting Spain (Rom. xv. 24), the fulfilment of which presupposes the very doubtful release of Paul from his first Roman imprisonment. At the same time the early spread of Christianity to the province which stood in lively intercourse with Rome, is testified to by Irenæus and Tertullian in the course of the second century.

In **Gaul** the first communities of historical importance met with are those in Gallia Lugdunensis, Lugdunum and Vienna (Provence), the aged bishop of which, Pothinus, suffered a martyr's death under Marcus Aurelius in 177, and over which the celebrated Irenæus subsequently presided. Its origin however points not so much to Rome as to Asia Minor (the home of Irenæus), with which (Smyrna) the communities stand in intimate relationship. For the other Roman Provinces (Britain, the Roman lands on the Danube, Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia), the possibility of Christian beginnings was afforded by the Roman legions and the Roman government, which had their fixed points there; nothing however can be certainly proved with regard to this period. As regards the lands on the Rhine, it perhaps may be to them that Irenæus refers when he speaks of Christian Germans; but the latter may perhaps rather be sought in single instances of Christian beginnings in Germania cis-Rhenana.

The declamations of the Christian authors, especially where they speak generally and rhetorically, are to be accepted with some caution. Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.*, c. 177) has specially in mind the entrance which the faith has found among barbarians, among the waggon-dwellers (Scythians), the nomads and dwellers in tents, amongst whom may be reckoned Arab Bedouins as well as Ethiopian and Numidian clans, on the whole in accordance with the facts; on the other hand, Tertullian's utterances (*Adv. Jud.*, 7. cf. *Apol.* 37) are of course held in a very rhetorical sense (*Britannorum* **inaccessa** *Romanis loca*). No value can be attached to the legend (Beda, *Hist. angl.*, I. 4) of the British king Lucius, who is said to have begged the Roman bishop Eleutherus for instruction in the gospel; it rests on the Felician sixth-century catalogue of the popes—(Eleutherus received letters from Lucius, *ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum*).

The diffusion in the Græco-Roman world as a whole goes first to the more important towns and from these gradually over the country. At the same time, the famous letter of the Younger Pliny to Trajan shows a pretty wide diffusion over the district of Bithynia. The instruments however of this mission are by no means exclusively apostolic men, who pursue missions as their calling, and subsequently become church presidents and bishops in their respective districts; every Christian becomes a witness in his own circle, and intercourse and trade bring Christians hither and thither, and along with them their Christian faith (cf. Th. Zahn, *Weltverkehr und Christenthum*, Hanover, 1878). Still there appear to have been, in the age of which we speak, not a few missionaries, designated **Apostles**, evangelists, who made the spread of the faith their life's task, as is shown by the *Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδ. ἀποστ.* which has lately been made known. **Apostle** here appears as the general designation for a whole class of people; they are the missionaries. When they come into already existing communities, they may remain one or at most two days, not longer (otherwise they are false prophets), and are to receive from the communities only bread sufficient till their next resting place, but no money. We recognise in them the evangelists of which Eusebius speaks (H.E. 3, 37, 2. 3).

4. The Literary Memorials of the Age, from which its Picture is to be drawn.

With respect to the question of the sources from which a living picture of that age is to be gained, regard must of course be had not only to contemporary documents, but to later writings also from which

we can infer the past age, and especially to Irenæus, Tertullian, Clemens Alex., etc.; but at the same time contemporary documents are of special value, even though they only give us pieces of information which require combination and completion.

I. The Apostolic Fathers.

Literature: Opp. ed. Cotelerius, Paris, 1672, 2nd ed. by Clericus, 1724; Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn. 3 vols. Leipsic, 1877–78. As a new ed. of Hefele's, ed.: F. X. Funk, Tübingen, 1878 (2nd ed. with the *Didache*, 1881 and 1886); A. Hilgenfeld, *Die apost. Väter*, Halle, 1853; J. Donaldson, London, 1874; A. Hausrath in the smaller writings, Leipsic, 1883; Zöckler in ZwTh. 1884; F. Overbeck, *Die Anfänge der christl. Lit.*, H.Z. 48 Bd.

The name presupposes a connection of the author with the apostles. It has however become a collective expression for a series of writings, which as a whole belong to the transition period between the apostolic literature and **theological** literature proper, which begins with the Greek Apologists. Its line of demarcation in the direction of religious writings of the N.T. which are not by the apostles themselves, such as the Epistle to the Hebrews (*vid.* p. 89), and other so-called Antilegomena, is a fluid one, even though in individual cases the difference of value is thoroughly recognisable; on the other hand the name is inexact, as personal relationship with the apostles cannot be proved.

As we shall here regard them purely as **sources** for the history of the church, let us take along with what are commonly called Apostolic Fathers, other documents which according to time must be classed along with them.

1. Clem. Rom., *vid. sup.* p. 88 sq.

2. Glimpses into the circumstances and views of Roman Christianity are also afforded by the remarkable **Shepherd** of Hermas. The author preaches a message of repentance to the Christians of his time, clothed in visions and prophecies. In the I. Book he makes first the church under the form of a vision of an aged woman, and then the angel of repentance who appears as a shepherd, give utterance to these revelations; hence the name of the book from this chief personage in it. The present division of the book into parts (5 Visions, 12 Mandates, 10 Similitudes), which moreover does not quite correspond to the contents, does not proceed from the author. The present, before the near approaching perfecting of the church, the appearance of the judgment and the kingdom of God, is still the time for repentance. Hence numerous exhortations of a moral sort are given, warnings against the love of pleasure and an earthly mind, and against apostasy in the persecutions. Inclination to ambition, dissension and insubordination among the leaders of the community are also reproved, and they are exhorted to distinguish between true and false prophecy. The author is not a Jew by birth, but a Gentile, and although showing in his Greek the influence of Biblical Hellenism (Jew-Greek), he is not a Judæo-Christian in the party sense; the former peculiarity is to be explained by the great influence of the Greek Bible of the O.T. The conviction of monotheism is maintained with great emphasis; Christ however is the pre-existent Son of God who has appeared in the flesh, or, the Divine Spirit. He is indeed preponderatingly regarded as a law-giver, not however in the sense of a giver of Mosaic rules, but of commands for the ethical, moral life, which are inculcated. The Christian community appears as the true **people of God** called to His kingdom and awaiting its rise, whose purification from sins Christ has

effected, in which baptism has taken the place of circumcision, and which must by repentance prepare itself for perfection.

The treatise was held in high esteem by the Fathers of the next age, who found nothing in it contradictory of the Catholic faith. Irenæus quotes it (*Adv. Hær.*, IV. 20, 2) as ἡ γραφή; Clemens Alex. and Tertullian, before he became Montanist, speak of it with great reverence (Eusebius places it among the Antilegomena along with the Apocalypse of John and the Epistle of Barnabas).

In Vision II. Hermas makes mention of a certain Clement, to whom the copying of the book is entrusted, and who in accordance with his office shall spread it among foreign towns. One seems compelled to think of the Roman Clement (the author of the I. Ep. to the Corinthians), and in that case either the book must be assigned to his time (Th. Zahn), or we must suppose that the author desired to be taken for a contemporary of the well-known Clement with whom he was closely connected, perhaps for the Apostolic Hermas (Rom. xvi. 14), although indeed the hypothesis of such a fiction is not absolutely necessary. An important ancient witness for a somewhat later date of authorship is that of the Canon of Muratori (belonging in any case to the second century), which names the brother of the Roman **Bishop** Pius as the author. According to the subsequent conception of the episcopate, tradition ascribes to Pius the period from 139 to 151 (? others, 144–156); as this however belongs to the later conception of the (monarchic) episcopate, we may unhesitatingly stretch somewhat further back the period in which Pius exercised a remarkable activity in Rome. The zeal against the secularisation of the church, the insistence upon a serious discipline of repentance with regard to the coming *Parousia*, even a certain irritation against the leaders of the church, finally the importance which is attached to prophetic revelations, are characteristic; similarly an opposition to the errors of the Gnostic sort by which individual teachers caused disturbance. The appearance of the great heads of the Gnostic schools at Rome and the splitting up into sects which followed therefrom cannot yet have lain within the author's horizon.

The original Greek text of the treatise, which was formerly only known in an ancient Latin translation, was in great part (as far as Mand. IV. 3, 6) made known by the Cod. Sin. discovered by Tischendorf. The three leaves of an Athos MS. of the fourteenth century stolen by the Greek Simonides, and a copy of the remaining part of the MS. prepared by the same person, gave the Greek text of the remainder also, with the exception of the close of Simil. IX. 30, 3. Lambros has himself collated the Athos Codex (*A collation of the Athos Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas, with an introduction;* translated and edited with a preface and appendices by J. Arm. Robinson, Cambridge, 1888) from which the three leaves were purloined, and has thus been able to correct it by Simonides' bad copy. On the other hand the pretended genuine close of the Greek Hermas (Joh. Draeseke in Hilgenfeld's ZwTh. 1887, p. 171 sqq., and Hilgenfeld, *ibid.*, 1885, and in the new edition of Hermas, 1887), is a forgery of Simonides. There were found besides a second Latin version, and one in Ethiopic. Text in Hilgenfeld (*N.T. extra. can. rec. Fasc.* 3. 2nd ed. 1881), in Harnack and Gebhardt.—Cf. Th. Zahn, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, 1868. The Introd. in Harnack and Gebhardt, Patr. Ap. III. and Harnack in ZKG. III., 79. P. Baumgärtner, *Die Einheit des Hermas-buchs. Gekrönte Preisschrift*, Friburg, 1889.

3. Perhaps also among Roman surroundings, but in any case pointing to similar views, is the so-called **II. Epistle of Clement,** more correctly the oldest known Christian homily, as is placed beyond doubt by the complete text made

known by Bryennios. It has been placed at Rome and about the time of Hermas (130–45) (Harnack); Zahn would prefer to transfer it to Corinth, but also regards it as very ancient. Hilgenfeld would ascribe it to the Alexandrian Clement, of the period about 180. It has been written down by the author and so delivered to the congregation. It contains moral exhortations to repentance and to good works (alms, fasting, prayer), with reference to the future judgment and the eternal life. Its high antiquity is attested by the unrestricted use of the apocryphal Gospel κατ' Αἰγυπτίους, subsequently rejected by the church, which surpasses the freedom in this respect which still prevailed in Clement of Alexandria; likewise his views bordering on Gnosticism which are still anterior to the sharp opposition between the Church and Gnosis. Alongside of the pre-mundane heavenly being, Christ the Son of God, there stands a kind of feminine æon, the ἐκκλησία ζῶσα as the σύζυγος of the heavenly man; no influence of the doctrine of the Logos. Cf. especially Harnack in ZKG. I. 264 sqq. 329 sqq. and Th. Zahn, *Das älteste Kirchengebet und die älteste kirchliche Predigt*, in ZPK. 1876, 4th Number.

4. The remarkable epistle, which bears the name of Barnabas, and has by many been really attributed to this apostolic companion of Paul, but which Eusebius already counted among the unauthentic writings. His aim (in the main portion of the epistle, as far as ch. 17) is to lead the Christian reader to perfect knowledge (γνῶσις), and to show how the O.T., especially the ceremonial law, had its true significance from the very beginning in its allusion to redemption by Christ; while in the second part (ch. 18–21) there is a representation only loosely attached to what goes before, of the two ways, of Life and Death, *i.e.* the following and the rejection of the pious Christian life. In the former and chief portion the pedagogic character of the law is not emphasised as it is with Paul, nor in the manner of the Epistle to the Hebrews is the relatively imperfect character of the Old Testament institutions, which as types point beyond themselves; but the whole literal explanation and observation of the Mosaic law by the Jews is boldly and fearlessly designated an error caused by the devil, and set aside by means of what is often a very bald allegorical exegesis, which claims to be profound wisdom. Christians are the true and only covenant people. The Jews are not the people of God at all, for, on account of their idolatry, a real conclusion of a covenant between God and them was never attained. On the other hand, the author insists, probably to meet pagan objections, that the Son of God, the Lord of the circle of the earth to whom God said, "*faciamus hominem*" (ch. 5), must have appeared in the flesh.

The time when it was written is hard to determine; while some exponents regard 4, 4. 5 (the 11th horn) as referring partly to Nerva (96–97) (Hilgenfeld) or Domitian, partly even to Vespasian, chap. 16 (prospect of the rebuilding of the Temple) seems to point to the early reign of Hadrian (Harnack), which seems to me to have the preponderating probability. Earlier attempts (Schenkel) to regard the epistle as made up of different parts, and also the more subtly advocated view of Heydecke (Brunswick, 1874) have not been able to establish themselves. Recent attempts have been instigated by the relation of the Epistle of Barnabas to the treatise on the Two Ways, which has been set in a new light by the discovery of the Didache. J. Weiss seeks to demonstrate sufficiently, not the excision of certain chapters, but a thorough revision (*Der Barnabasbrief, kritisch untersucht*, Berlin, 1888). (Cf. Lipsius, *Jenaer Lit.-Zeit*., 1875, No. 28; Weizsäcker in Schürer, *Theol. Lit.-Zeit*., 1876, No. 8.) On the other hand, the discovery of the Didache (see below) confirms

from another side in reference to chaps. 18–20 (the Two Ways), the theory that in our Epistle of Barnabas a composition of originally heterogeneous elements has taken place.

In the earlier known MSS. (all sprung from one) of the original Greek text, the beginning, including part of the fifth chap., was wanting, and so far was known only from the Latin translation. The **Cod. Sinaiticus,** a Greek MS. of the Bible, was the first to give the full Greek text, whereupon Volkmar. and especially Hilgenfeld in the *N.T. extra canonem receptum*, fasc. 2, Leipsic, 1866, published the Epistle, as also with a commentary, J. G. Müller, Bâle, 1869. In addition the exact revision of the old translation in Hilgenfeld, ZwTh. 1871. To these was added the knowledge of the **Constantinople MS.** (the same from which Bryennios published the Clement and, recently, the Didache), which was made use of by Hilgenfeld in his 2nd ed., Leipsic, 1877, and by Harnack and Gebhardt in the smaller ed. of the *Patres App.*, 1877, and in the second issue of the larger ed. (I. 2), 1878. Many treatises on particular points.

5. The Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων which is connected in a peculiar way with the Ep. of Barnabas, and for the knowledge of which we are also indebted to the Metropolitan (formerly of Serræ, now of Nicomedia) Philotheos Bryennios: Διδαχὴ κ.τ.λ. ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1883. Immediately issued in many forms. Hilgenfeld, *Nov. Test. extra com.*, fasc. 4: *Evangeliorum sec. Hebr.* etc., *quo supersunt. Addita doct. duod. apostol.*, Leipsic, 1884 (2nd ed. of the fasc.); A. Harnack, *Lehre der* 12 *Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts*: in Texte und Untersuchungen by Gebhardt and Harnack, vol. ii., pt. 1, a. u. b. Leipsic, 1884; Id. *Die Apostellehre und die jüdischen beiden Wege*, Leipsic, 1886. One of the most important modern discoveries. The treatise is first demonstrably made use of by Clem. Al., *Strom.* I. 20, and indeed quoted as scripture. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, 3, 25 mentions τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγομέναι διδαχαί in close connection with the Ep. of Barnabas, among the *Antilegomena* and indeed in the second class of them= the *νόθα*, and in the Canon of Athanasius (the list of sacred books appended to the 39th Festal Epistle of the year 367) where the scriptures which are, under II*a*, designated by Eusebius deutero-canonical, are entirely mixed up with the *κανονιζόμενα*, and the *ἀναγινωσκόμενα* distinguished from them. Here, among the scriptures which are destined to be read to those who desire to come near and to be instructed in the word of holiness, the **Teaching** (sing.) and the **Pastor** stand alongside of (apocryphal) O.T. scriptures, with the express remark that they contain nothing heretical. The treatise consists of 1) the ethical part, which treats of the most important precepts of Christian morality under the scheme of the **two Ways** (of Life and Death), but in addition of 2) important precepts regarding the worship of God and the regulation of the community.

In the *αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀπόστολων= Duæ viæ vel judicium Petri* (Hilgenfeld l.c. p. 111–119) or the so-called Apostolic discipline, first edited by Bickell (*Gesch. des Kirchenrechts*, I. 87 sq.) then by de Lagarde (*Reliq. juris eccl. antiquiss.*, Leipsic, 1856, p. 74–79), we now recognise a revision which produces the first part of the Didache (chap. 1–4, The Way of Life), freely treating the individual parts as sayings of the twelve individual apostles, and then—departing altogether from the Didache, making the different apostles—(Peter again indeed making a beginning) give directions for the discipline of the Church, which belong to a considerably later point of view. We likewise now recognise that in the **Apostolic Constitutions,** VII.

1–32 we have before us a free revision of the whole Didache, which set aside much which no longer corresponded with the subsequent conditions of church government, and replaced it with other matter.

The content of the first part of the Didache, the Two Ways, also meets us again however in the Epistle of Barnabas, chaps. 18–20. A. HARNACK and many others regarded Barnabas in the relative chapters as the source of the Didache, against which the mode in which these chapters are attached in the Epistle of Barnabas shows that they are here externally patched on: Μεταβῶμεν δε καὶ ἐπί ἑτέραν γνῶσιν καί διδαχήν (as though what followed contained in general further γνῶσις in the sense of what had gone before!) and it is obvious that here already a διδαχή had been made use of. Hence Th. ZAHN (*Forschungen*. III. 310 sqq.) and many others supposed the reverse relationship; as however not all the phenomena of the text could be explained without violence by the hypothesis, HOLTZMANN's way out of the difficulty seemed an obvious one, that both were based on a common foundation. Now KRAWUTSKY (ThQ. 1882, 359–445)—even before the publication of the Didache by Bryennios, had inferred from Barnabas and Ap. Const. VII. 1–21 the existence of an ancient book of ecclesiastical instruction, "The Two Ways." This appeared to be found in the Didache, *i.e.* in c. 1–6. It affords us the subject matter which must be supposed to have lain before both the author of our Didache and Barnabas. By comparison of the different forms, it became further probable that in the original form of the Two Ways the portion 1, 3–6, 2 must have been wanting, as is confirmed by the fragment of a Latin translation discovered by GEBHARDT (in HARNACK. *Texte*, etc., II. p. 275 sqq. 1884). This original form WARFIELD tried to restore (*Bibl. Sacra.*, 1886, p. 100–161). To it was again attached the still very uncertain hypothesis of C. TAYLOR (*The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles with illustrations from the Talmud*, Cambr., 1886) which regards the Two Ways as originally a Jewish writing, an instruction for proselytes. In 1, 5, and therefore according to the supposition in the portion of our Didache subsequently inserted in the original Two Ways, it touches on HERMAS, *Mand.* 2, 4–6. For the rest, whether the "Two Ways" in the sense of Did. 1–6 ever really existed separately as Harnack, Bratke (JprTh. 1886, 302 sqq.) and many others suppose, or much more probably from the very beginning was associated with the content of Did. 7–16 (as Warfield makes probable), remains doubtful. In the latter case Taylor's hypothesis would at once fall to the ground.

After the title above quoted διδ. τ. δ. ἀπ. the text in the MS. begins with the designation at length διδ. κυρίου διὰ τῶν δ. ἀπ. τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. In view of this it is at least doubtful, whether this treatise really pretends to be written by the apostles, and not rather to be merely a representation intended for Gentile Christians of the teaching of Jesus as it was transmitted by the apostles.

6. To Bishop Ignatius of Antioch, who, being condemned to fight with wild beasts under Trajan, was transported to Rome and martyred there (*vid. infra*), there are ascribed a great number of epistles, which were at first known in a Latin form, the majority of which (twelve; three known in Latin only) were subsequently discovered in Greek, and edited by Pacæus, Dillingen, 1557; according to another MS. by Andr. Gesner, Zurich, 1559. Lively controversies immediately arose as to their genuineness. The spuriousness of the three which were only known in Latin became plain at once: with regard to the others which appeared to favour hierarchical ideas, and to be of especial value to prove the high antiquity of the episcopate and its dignity, BELLARMIN, *e.g.* declared for genuineness, but the Jesuit HALLOIX against it, CALVIN dubious, the Magdeburg CENTURIATORS for interpolation, etc. etc. VEDELIUS already in his edition

(1623) separated the seven expressly mentioned by name by Eusebius (H. E. 3, 36), from the other five, but regarded them all as interpolated. There was now found and published by Ussher, Oxford, 1646, a shorter Latin text of seven Epistles, and just those called Ignatian by Eusebius. In the same year Isaac Vossius published six of these shorter Epistles after a Medicean Greek codex, Amsterdam, 1646; and the Greek text of the seventh, which was still wanting, was subsequently supplied by Ruinart (*Acta Martyr. sincera*, Paris, 1689). With the giving up of the five others, only extant in the longer recension, which apart from this had attracted the greatest suspicion, opinion turned entirely favourable to these seven in their shorter Greek text; so specially Pearson *Vindiciæ epist. St. Ignatii*, Cantabrig., 1672, against the attacks of Dallæus in: *De scriptis quæ sub Dionys. Areop. et Ignatii Ant. nomine circumferuntur*, Geneva, 1666. Only a few have since then attempted to maintain the longer recension of the seven Epistles (Meier, StKr. 1836), which is now universally given up. On grounds involved in their general view of the development of the ancient church, the seven epistles, even in the shorter recension, were attacked as spurious by Baur, Schwegler. and others. While R. Rothe (*Anfänge der christlichen Kirche*, 1837) very decidely, Düsterdiek (*De Ignat. ep. authentia*, Gött., 1844), Huther (in Niedner's ZhTh. 1851) and others declared for authenticity. Neander regarded them as essentially authentic, but would admit interpolations; others considered that in the shorter Greek recension (on behalf of which Arndt also appeared, StKr. 1839) they could recognise the form which stood nearest to the original text. A new turn of the controversy again arose through the discovery in the Nitrian Desert (in 1819 and 1843) of three Epistles in **Syriac** (Polyc., Eph. and Rom.), and preserved in a still **shorter** form (Cureton, *The ancient Syriac version of the epp. of S. Ign.*, Lond. and Berl., 1845, followed by the attempt of the same scholar to restore the Greek text accordingly in his Corpus Ignatianum, 1849; cf Petermann, *St. Ign. epp. collatis edd. Græcis versionibusque Syriaca, Armen. Latinis rec.*, Leipsic, 1849). While in general the form of the three epistles is still shorter, the epistle to the Romans only contains a few passages which are wanting in the Greek text. Bunsen (*Die drei echten und die vier unechten ignat. Briefe und Ignat. von Ant.*, Hamburg, 1847) thought he had discovered in them the genuine kernel of the Ignatian literature; and although Baur (*Die ignat. Briefe und ihr neuester Kritiker*, 1848) immediately contested the point, Lipsius also (*Niedner's Zeitschr.*, 1856, and in the *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, 1859), and Weiss (*Reuter's Repertor.*, 1852, and in *Hollenberg's deutscher Zeitschr. f. christl. Wissenschaft*, 1859, No. 47) maintained a greater originality for the Syriac text, and in support of their view held that a series of considerations against the Ignatian Epistles in general (developed conception of the episcopate, Christological conceptions and reference already to Gnostic Docetism) could be set aside by going back to the Syriac text of the three epistles as the original kernel. As however the latter is only too easily recognisable as an abstract, there only remains the expedient of regarding the three Syriac epistles as a direct abstract from the three genuine epistles, the seven (shorter) Greek epistles as an interpolated revision, originating about the middle of the second century in the interest of stricter hierarchical order and with some antiheretical references. But the whole attempt to fall back on the three Syriac epistles as the genuine kernel is now universally given up as impossible. Even Lipsius, *Ueber den Ursprung (und ältesten Gebrauch des Christenthums*, Jena 1873) has given the matter up; and so, on the one hand, a return has been made to Baur's hypothesis of the spuriousness of the Ignatian literature in general

(Merx, *Meletemata Ignatiana,* Halle, 1861, cf. Ewald, GöttGA., 1862, Hilgenfeld), on the other to a decided defence of the genuineness of the seven Epistles already mentioned by Eusebius, which is also maintained by Uhlhorn (*Niedner's Zeitschr.*, 1851), P. Vaucher (*Recherches sur les lettres d'Ignat.*, Geneva, 1856); Denzinger (*Über die Echtheit des bish. Textes*, etc., Würzburg, 1859). The most important contribution to this opinion is that offered by Th. Zahn in his most valuable monograph *Ign. von Antioch* (Gotha, 1873), and in his edition in the Apostolic Fathers of Harnack, Gebhardt and Zahn, vol. ii. Cf. also, Funk, *Die Echtheit der ignat. Briefe*, Tübingen, 1883, and in his edition of the Apostolic Fathers; and, more recently, especially Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, II. 1 and 2, London, 1886. As the objections, for the most part arising from the fact that the epistles seem to show a somewhat later time than the death of Ignatius under Trajan (circ. 115; various views, *vid. infra*), where it is placed by tradition, were admitted, and on the other hand very weighty points in favour of the genuineness of the epistles can be made good, A. Harnack attempted by investigation (*Die Zeit des Ignatius und die Chronologie der antiochenischen Bischöfe*, 1878) of the succession of the Bishops of Antioch to fix a later date for the martyrdom of Ignatius; the attempt however was hardly successful, and even if it obviated some difficulties, would create others. On the other hand, Völter (*Die Lösung der ignat. Frage*, ThT. 1886) would help matters by discarding as spurious the Epistle to the Romans, which gives rise to the greatest objections (since here the MS. tradition also varies), and by distinguishing from the man who died a martyr's death at Antioch (not at Rome), and placing in the middle of the second century, the Ignatius who is the writer of the epistles (who is characterised as Bishop of Syria only in the Epistle to the Romans—in the rest does not appear as a bishop). The latter hypothesis is very doubtful.

The epistles are compositions by Ignatius, written to various communities, with one to Polycarp, during his transport to Rome. They exhibit a very lofty desire for martyrdom, and forcibly exhort the communities to unity, and for its sake to decided subordination to the bishop as the representative of Christ. They exhibit the influence of Pauline and Johannine views, and argue polemically against Judaism as well as against Docetic views of Christ's sufferings and resurrection. The exaltation of the episcopate raises doubts—at the same time (*vid. infra*) the monarchic position of the bishop may have been arrived at earlier in one portion of the church than in others. So likewise it is thought that the polemic referred to above relates to Gnosticism, the emergence of which points to a somewhat later period; but it is not necessary to think of the later Gnostic systems, and Zahn in particular has shown the supposition of a reference to a specific Valentinian expression (*Sige*) (*vid.* Zahn on the passage *Ad Magnes.* 8, 2) to be erroneous; the beginnings of Gnosticism are also to be traced much further back on other grounds.

7. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, according to Irenæus who was closely associated as a youth with him in his old age, was still a disciple of the apostles, and according to the same authority the author of various epistles. Irenæus 3, 35 mentions of them one also to the **Philippians**. Such an epistle already known to and quoted by Eusebius (3, 36) has been preserved; in Italian by Faber Stapulensis in 1498, in Greek by Halloix, and afterwards by Ussher and others, and in all collections of the Apostolic Fathers. We have the epistle **complete** however only in the Latin text: in the Greek, chaps. 10–12 and the closing words of 13 and 14 are wanting. The epistle, an answer to the Philippians, full of moral exhortation, with numerous passages of scripture (Gospels

of Matthew and Luke, Acts, Pauline Epistles, including the Pastoral Epistles and numerous quotations from 1 Peter, etc.). Reference is made to the fact that a presbyter of Philippi has been guilty of fraud, and the reference shows that the position of a bishop, superior to the presbyter, is not here presupposed. Reference is made to the martyrdom of Ignatius, and in such a way that the epistle cannot be put at a great chronological distance from those of Ignatius.

The genuineness of this epistle, which is so well externally attested (by Irenæus), must be disputed by all who declare the Ignatian epistles to be unauthentic, seeing that it refers to them. Dallæus endeavoured to explain the difficulty by declaring chapter 13 to be interpolated; Bunsen recently fell back on this hypothesis along with his preference of the three Syriac Ignatian epistles; this hypothesis which shows itself to be so impossible of confirmation, was revived in a more far-seeing and comprehensive form by Ritschl, *Altkath. Kirche*, p. 584 sqq. of the 2nd ed., likewise in connection with preference of the Syriac epistles; according to it the forger of the Ignatian epistles must also have interpolated several passages into the Epistle to the Philippians. But the hypothesis also falls to the ground along with the exaggerated valuation of the Syriac epistles (cf. against them Zahn, *Ignatius*, p. 479 sqq.) and the question arises whether they are genuine, or in spite of such important testimony, spurious; indeed it may be said that the Epistle of Polycarp becomes a strong support for the genuineness of Ignatius. But Volkmar and Hilgenfeld (ZwTh. 1885, p. 180 sqq.) still hold on to the possibility of solving the difficulty by the excision of interpolations, inasmuch as thereby both the direct references to Ignatius and his fate, and the references to the ideas which Ignatius had at heart, are set aside.

II. Further Literary Fragments.

J. E. Grabe, Spicilegium Patrum, t. 1 and 2, Oxon., 1714; M. J. Routh, Reliquiæ Sacræ, 4 vols. 2nd ed., Oxon. 1846; Bunsen, Analecta Antenicæna, 4 vols. in his Christianity and Mankind, Lond., 1855 sqq.; the collections of apocryphal writings so far as they belong to this period: Fabricius, Codd. apocr. V.T., Hamb., 1722, and N.T., Hamb., 1719; Thilo, Cod. Apocr. N.T., I., Leipsic, 1832; C. Tischendorf, Ev. apocr., 2nd ed., Leipsic, 1876, Acta ap. Apocr., Leipsic, 1851, Syrische apokr. Apostelg., ed. by Wright, London, 1871, and several others.—Ceriani, Monumenta sacra et profana, Milan, 1861 sqq.; Ruinart, Acta martyrum sincera, Paris, 1689, 2nd ed. Amsterdam, 1713 and frequently.

All the treatises mentioned, with the exception of the Didache, and very frequently with, in addition, the so-called Epistle to Diognetus (*vid. infra*), are usually collected in the editions of the so-called Apostolic Fathers. We add however the following documents as analogous sources:—

8. The hitherto scanty fragments which have been preserved of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia Minor. He is designated ἀρχαῖος ἀνήρ by Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, V. 33, 4, as a hearer of John and companion, or friend (ἑταῖρος) of Polycarp; all the same it must always remain doubtful according to the view taken of his words in Euseb. 3, 39, whether he himself had heard one of the apostles, in particular the Apostle John; it certainly militates against the probability of this, that he zealously exerted himself to collect the expressions of the oldest apostolic generation from the mouths of their disciples by living tradition. Of his five books: Λογίων κυριακῶν Ἐξήγησις, there unfortunately remain only scanty fragments: the well-known saying as to the origin

of the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, a fantastic passage about the exuberance of natural blessings in the millennial kingdom quite in the style of Jewish apocalyptics, a fabulous delineation of the bodily condition of the traitor Judas, and several others. Fragments in ROUTH I. and in HARNACK, GEBHARDT and ZAHN's edition of the Apostolic Fathers, I. 2. The Papias problem has recently been much discussed by Th. Zahn, Steitz, Weiffenbach, Hilgenfeld, Leimbach, H. Lüdemann and many others; *vid.* art in RE. 2nd ed. (by Leimbach).

9. HEGESIPPUS, a Christian of Jewish descent (as Eusebius 4, 22 concludes from his quotations from the Gospel of the Hebrews, from Syriac and Hebrew and also from verbal Jewish tradition), about the middle of the second century visited various Christian churches, came to Rome by way of Corinth in the time of the Roman bishop Anicetus, and survived till the time of the Roman bishop ELEUTHERUS (—189). He already therefore belongs quite to the time of the Greek Apologists (*vid. infra*), and even to the beginning of the time of Irenæus, etc. He comes under consideration here as a witness to the older ecclesiastical tradition, and in any case remains quite uninfluenced by the theologico-philosophical style of the Apologists. He wrote a treatise, ὑπομνήματα, (5 Books), from which Eusebius has taken many valuable historical notes. In these annotations according to EUSEBIUS (4, 7 and 4, 21) Hegesippus defended the truth against numerous heretics, by opposing to them the true tradition of the apostolic preaching. He can therefore hardly have written a Church History (JEROME, but not according to his own view) or even memoirs on the circumstances of the church according to his own views, but a defensive treatise against heretics, which however obviously laid weight on the historical investigation of pure apostolic tradition, and accordingly on historical memories. On his journey to Rome he came into contact with many bishops, and in every *diadoche* and town found the condition of affairs in accordance with the teaching of the Law and the Prophets and the Lord (*i.e.* with the Holy Scriptures—the Old Testament—and evangelical tradition); with regard to the Corinthian community he attests in reference to the Epistle of Clement, that down to this time they had remained in the right doctrine (ὀρθὸς λόγος). Under the influence of BAUR'S presuppositions, Hegesippus was long regarded as disposed to Ebionism; and this was made to serve as voucher for the wide spread of the Ebionitic mode of thought in the church of the second century, seeing that the author who was familiar with the old Jewish Christian traditions found a similar attitude to the "Law" in wide circles of the church (whereas in the passage referred to nothing is expressed beyond the common Christian conviction of the age as to the authority of Old Testament Scripture [Law and Prophets] in their agreement with the preaching of our Lord). The Jewish Christian who designates the ecclesiastical agreement found in Corinth and elsewhere as that which had already been attested by the Epistle of CLEMENT of Rome to the Corinthians, could certainly not be of Ebionitic disposition. On the whole, there is nothing of an anti-Pauline character; for, the polemical reference to the saying 1 Cor. ii. 9 (Stephan. Gobar. ap. PHOT. Bibl. 232, p. 288 b) cannot possibly, with his relations to Corinth and Rome (Epistle of Clement) be designed for Paul, but must be aimed against a heretical and probably Gnostic estimate of him (according to Origen he was mentioned in a treatise attributed to ELIAS). Hegesippus accentuates quite the point of view which the Catholic church began to take up in presence of Gnosticism.—Fragments in ROUTH, *Reliq. sac.*, I. and HILGENFELD, ZwTh. 1876 (cf. the notice by Th. ZAHN in ZKG. II. 280 sqq.). For more recent discussions, *vid.* the literature in WEIZSÄCKER'S article, RE. 2nd ed.

Just as the Christians attached themselves to the celebrated Greek translation of the Seventy Interpreters, and willingly received what Hellenistic legend narrates concerning them, so also the literary activity of Jewish Hellenism in the province of religion exercised an important influence on Christian circles and began to excite imitations with a Christian colour and tendency. In direct relation to Jewish apocalyptics (Daniel), Christian apocalyptics had arisen in the Revelation of John. Jewish products of the apocalyptic tendency and treatment of the world, of much less religious value, were read or used by Christians; thus the **Book of Enoch** (published in Ethiopic, Leipsic, 1851, next ibid. 1853 in a German translation by DILLMAN—for its literary character *vid.* Schürer, *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes*, p. 616), which originated in the first century B.C., is quoted by the author of the Epistle of Jude ver. 14, who in ver. 9 appeals to legendary matter, which Origen still found in the Jewish apocalyptic treatise, the **Assumptio** (*ἀνάληψις*) **Mosis**, which certainly originated in, the first Christian century; of the latter we have only a portion in an old Latin translation, derived from a Greek one (the question whether the original was in Hebrew or Aramaic is open). (Text first in CERIANI, *Monum.*, fac. I. 1861, next in HILGENFELD, *N. Test. extra can.*, 1, 1866; VOLKMAR, 1867; MERX' *Archiv*, 1868; FRITZSCHE, *Libri apost.*, 1871. Attempted retranslation in HILGENFELD, *Messias Judæorum*, 1869; the literature *ap.* Schürer, p. 630). Here too must be mentioned the 4th Book of Ezra (SCHÜRER, 560), about the time of Domitian, and the Book of Jubilees (the so-called little Genesis) which must have originated not long after the middle of the first century, originally in Hebrew; the latter (SCHÜRER, p. 677) is the oldest known Midrasch, which explains and fabulously continues the Biblical primitive history in the spirit of later Judaism.

From the stem of such Jewish literature there sprang the **Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs** (*testamentum duodecim patriarcharum;* in GRABE and FABRICIUS and frequently, most recently by SINKER, Cambridge, 1869) which has received a Christian impress, at least in its present form. After the example of Genesis xlix. it puts prophetic words into the mouths of the sons of Jacob, to which are added moral exhortations and glances at Christian perfection, at Christ's appearance and His atoning death, at Baptism and the Lord's Supper, at the conversion of the heathen by Paul and the entry of the Christians into the position of the O. T. Covenant People, at the destruction of Jerusalem and the incoming of the kingdom of God. The book, which was already known to Origen, is ascribed to the end of the first Christian century or the first half of the second (*vid.* the older literature in RE. 12, 361 sq.). SCHNAPP (*Die Test. der 12 Patr.*, Halle, 1884) and similarly BALJOU (*De testamenten*, etc., ThJ. 1887, 208 sqq.) attempt to prove various hands, and would point to the hypothesis that a Jewish writing had been subjected first to Jewish and then to Christian interpolations.

Alongside of the fixing of the evangelical tradition and of those Gospels which attain universal recognition in the church, there already emerge **Apocryphal Gospels**, which in part merely answer to the need of the expansion of pious tradition and its *naif* and miraculous adornment, but in part follow out certain tendencies of belief. Among the oldest and most widely spread is the **Protevangelium Jacobi minoris**, which goes from the birth of Mary down to the massacre at Bethlehem, and was perhaps already known to Justin and Clement, but certainly to Origen. Likewise belonging to the oldest pieces are the **Acta** or **Gesta Pilati** (Just. Mart., Apol., I. 35) which was subsequently amalgamated with the later *Descensus Christi ad inferos* under the title of the **Evangelium Nicodemi.** A Jewish-Christian author seeks to confirm the

history of Christ by the testimony of those of His enemies who took part in His death (text in TISCHENDORF; cf. LIPSIUS, *Die Pilatusakten*, Kiel, 1870). This sort of writing, however, wantons most luxuriously in the hands of heretical, and especially of Gnostic, sects, which took possession of the early emerging notion of the division of the different countries among the apostles (CLEM., *Recogn.* 1, 43. 9, 29; Apollonius *ap.* EUSEB. H.E. 5, 18, 14) and now sought to obtain admission for their speculations in legends about the wanderings, deeds and doctrines of the apostles. That writings of this sort proceeded from the side of **Ebionism** is attested by EPIPHANIUS, *Hær.*, 30, 23, and proof is added by their further romantic development in the Clementine literature (*vid. supra*); with them however the *κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, frequently quoted by Clem. of Alex. (*vid.* passages in Hilgenfeld, *Evv. sec. Hebr.*, etc., 2nd ed., Leipsic, 1884, 55 sqq.), has nothing to do.

The documents which were produced by the rise of Gnosticism ought further to be mentioned here, but they will be better touched on in their place; also several apocryphal and pseudepigraphical phenomena which will be more suitably referred to in a larger connection. To the accounts and acts of martyrs, for which there is a conjecture of their greater credibility (genuineness) and which are distinguished above the crowd of later fabrications, there belong chiefly, the letter of the Christians of **Lyons** and **Vienne** on the persecution under Marcus Aurelius (177) in Euseb., H.E. 5, 1, and the **Martyrdom of S. Polycarp** (RUINART, and now ZAHN, *App. Väter*, II. p. 133 sq.) in the form of an epistle from the community at Smyrna to that at Philomelium, which already lay before Eusebius and of which he has embodied the essential part in his Church History (4, 15), and especially a considerable portion on the martyrdom of Polycarp. In spite of the attacks of LIPSIUS (ZwTh. 1874) and especially of KEIM (*Aus dem Urchristenthum*, 1870, p. 90 sqq.) it is essentially to be regarded as a narrative by the community of Smyrna, written soon after the event; although comparison with Eusebius leads to the supposition of several additions interpolated later. and the chronological addition is frequently doubted by those who otherwise support the martyrdom (cf. in general ZAHN in the Proll., p. XLVIII. sqq., and WIESELER, *Christenverfolgungen der Cäs.*, 1878, 34 sqq.). Finally for the martyrdom of JUSTIN, *vid. infra.*

III. A new sort of Christian literature now begins gradually from the close of the time of Hadrian and develops under the Antonines, conditioned on the one hand by the encroachments of the state power, and on the other by the interest which Hellenistic culture begins to take in Christianity,—that of the Christian Apologists. Before treating of this subject, we must attempt to gain, from what has already been discussed, a picture of the views and circumstances of the Christian communities, as formed while still essentially untouched by this new element.

5. Condition and Prospects of the Christian Communities in the Gentile World down to the middle of the Second Century.

1. Pliny, in the well known letter to Trajan (X. 96, or rather 97), found the Christians in his province of Bithynia widely spread even over the rural districts, and among them some declared that they had already been Christians for twenty years. Country and towns, villages and palaces were full of Christians; all ranks participated, nobles and slaves, women and children. The temples began to

stand empty, the sacrificial animals were no longer bought. And although it is true that here pagan indifference was a co-operating cause, Pliny must have had reason to recognise in Christianity a powerful and dangerous ferment. Of such as, on occasion of their being denounced, allowed themselves to be intimidated and confessed that they had been Christians but were so no longer, it was asserted that their whole guilt or error consisted in the fact that they were in the habit of meeting together early, before sunrise, on a particular day (*stato die*), and singing together (*secum invicem*) songs to Christ as God, and taking sacred vows (*sacramento*) not with any criminal purpose, but to commit no crime such as theft, robbery or adultery, and to guard themselves against unfaithfulness; and then they again assembled for an innocent common meal. Pliny, in order to get at the truth, further subjected two female slaves confessedly Christians (who were *ministræ*, *i.e.* deaconesses *vid. infra*), to examination by torture, but could discover nothing further to incriminate them except evil and immoderate superstition. But at least the obstinacy of the confessors, those who did not allow themselves to be frightened into denial, seems to him worthy of punishment. We recognise Christian worship of God with divine reverence paid to Christ and a strong moral purpose; we get a glimpse of the holding of love-feasts, and in the superstition we may see an allusion to the **representations of the belief and expectations** of the Christians (in this connection it is to be remarked, however, that at the time Christians would observe reticence in their expressions as to important and decisive points). Of what sort these latter may on the average have been, we may surmise from hints in the literary works described in the previous chapter. They give us little that is purely Judaic, and belong preponderatingly rather to the Gentile Christian tendency; but at the same time show how much the peculiarly Pauline ideas have retreated and how much, even where the influence of Pauline writings has been active (*e.g.* Clem. Rom., Ignatius, Polycarp), his ideas have been obliterated. Even in his decisive exposition of the O. T., Paul is not understood, but not at all because the Christians were drawn into Judaistic (Ebionitic) prejudices,—much rather because Gentile Christianity in general accepts the Greek Bible of the O. T. as a Sacred Book and makes use of it, but on the whole is not able to conceive it organically. Inasmuch as they have accepted the preaching of the coming kingdom of God, of Christ as Him who shall come to **judge** the world and establish His **glory,** the faith in **one God of heaven and earth** as one who wills to seek men in grace, who calls them to His kingdom as the kingdom

of future glory, immortality and resurrection, appealed powerfully to their sympathies (Herm. *Mand.* 1). As Christians they feel themselves entitled, without any further qualification, to apply to themselves the Biblical (O. T.) notion of the chosen and called people of God (Clem. I. *ad Cor.* 29); here and there (Barnabas), even to the ignoring of the historical redemptive place and task in history of Israel (excluding the latter); and moreover this idea is so turned, that the notion is rather that of the future condition of *ἀφθαρσία*, the future life glorified in the resurrection in opposition to this world of evanescence and decay, whether the representation be now formed on Judæo-chiliastic (Barnabas) or again rather on transcendental lines. Christ, to whom according to Pliny the Christians already sung songs *quasi deo*, appears in divine dignity, as is universally held, although the ideas which according to apostolic example were developed on this basis as to the ante-mundane kernel of His being remain somewhat fluid. Practical motives come plainly to the front in the beginning of the second Ep. of Clement (II. Clement 1); "He who thinks little of Christ the judge of life and death, also hopes and expects little from Him, and forgets from what condition, and by whom, and for what place we are called, and how much Jesus Christ has suffered on our account."

Now although the redemption and forgiveness of sins brought by Christ appear in the character of a possession of salvation won by Him and especially by His death, and which is to be received in **faith,** yet the Pauline idea of justification by faith is nowhere to be found pure and clear, because the presuppositions necessary for it in Paul's disagreement on principle with the O. T. law are lacking. Inasmuch as faith is founded on Christ as the divine revealer, and on the call to the kingdom promised by Christ—the eternal life which is received in baptism, there emerges alongside of it the consequent demand to obey His will, the new law, and to renounce this world and its works in repentance and conversion and in faith in the promise of the future world and eternal life. Faith in the revelation of God in Christ comes under consideration only as a religious motive for the moral strife, and as that which makes that strife a surrender of the world for the sake of the (future) kingdom of God. There thus arises what, as compared with Paul, is a decided tendency to favour the **works of the law,** not at all however a Judaistic-legal tendency, but one which is purely of the **moral law.** In the moral conception, however, there operates on the one hand an ascetic tendency to flee from the world and accentuate freedom from sensual things (*ἁγνεία*), the struggle with the sensual.

especially with sexual lust, covetousness, etc., on the other hand the mighty commandment of love in its evangelical expansion to the love of enemies, and on the other hand its inward intensification to brotherly love; in consequence of both, self-denial, contentedness, humility and patience encouraged by the prospect of future glory, as well as a perpetually ready almsgiving. In this way the precepts of morality, following the ideal demands of the Sermon on the Mount as well as other sayings of our Lord, and evangelical precepts, are set up in the Didache 1–5 as the **Way of Life,** and contrasted with the Way of Death in transgressions, and moreover with special reference to such as should be undertaken at Baptism and as its obligations (Did., 7, 1, ταῦτα πάντα προειπόντες βαπτίσατε of Just. M., Apol., I. 61: "those who have been convinced and believe that what we teach is true, and promise to live in accordance with it;" on the contrary Herm. *Vis.* III. 7. 3, "those who have heard the words and desire to be baptized, but then let them remember the ἁγνεία of the truth and become of another mind!") From the fact that the Didache only contemplates evangelical instruction in morals, but not a similarly extended instruction in articles of faith, before baptism, the inference naturally is not to be made that **no such form** of instruction took place; the desire for baptism could only arise in such heathens as, being generally convinced in faith in the one God and His son Jesus Christ and the salvation brought and revealed by Him, were anxious to participate in the spirit which lived in the community (cf. the words of Justin above). They must therefore in some way or another have come under the determining impression of the convictions of Christians, but nevertheless a definite dogmatic instruction on the basis of the confession of the faith does not appear as yet to be presupposed. It was just the confession of faith itself however which here formed a firm support, and which in the trinitarian baptismal formula gradually took on more fixed forms (cf. *Vetustissimum ecclesiæ Romanæ Symbolum e Scriptis virorum Christianorum qui primo et altero p. Chr. n. sæculo vixerunt illustratum* in HARN. et GEBHARDT. *Patr. apost.*, opp. I. 2, p. 115 sqq. and BORNEMANN, *Das Taufsymbol Justins d. M.*, in ZKG. III. 1–29) and as the precipitate of which the oldest form of the Apostles' Creed is to be presupposed with probability from about the middle of the second century. In general from this standpoint, religious satisfaction proper is less to be sought in learned disquisitions than in the forms of devotional life, in the acts of which also the conceptions of the faith, in many still so fluid ways, assume a definite conformation. Thus

the Didache already exhibits the baptismal formula in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost (7, 1) and shows by 9, 5, that this baptismal formula may also be present where (as in Herm. l.c.) baptism in the name of Jesus only is spoken of, while Hermas l.c. still speaks of baptism in the name of the Lord and therefore seems to presuppose this primitive original Christian form. So also especially, the sacred meals (*vid. sup.* Ep. of Plin.), with their **eucharistic prayers,** are the specific expression of the highest religious life of the community, only accessible to believers ; with regard to this subject, the eucharistic prayer before the Agape (Did. 9), and before the eucharistic act in the narrower sense, which follows the Agape (16, 19, so also Zahn agst. Harnack), may possibly be the oldest memorials which we possess. In the prayers of thanksgiving before the Agape, first of all in reference to the cup (cf. Gosp. Luke), God the Father is thanked for the Holy Vine, "David Thy servant (παιδός) which Thou hast made known unto us by Thy servant Jesus;" then in reference to the bread, thanks are given for the life and knowledge which " Thou hast made known to us by Thy servant Jesus," quite in accord with the manner in which in II. Clem. 20, 5, at the close of the homily, God the Father is praised as the Father of truth, who has sent us His Son as Saviour and bringer of immortality (ἀφθαρσ.), through whom He has made **truth** and **eternal life** known to us. But again: "As this broken bread was scattered on the hills (as grain) and was gathered together into one, so may Thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth; for Thine is the honour and the power through Jesus Christ for ever." This meal is already called Eucharist (as a meal of thank-offering) of which only the baptized may partake, so that what is holy may not be given to dogs. But next, after hunger is **satisfied** (ἐμπλησθῆναι) the prayer of **thanksgiving** follows once more (εὐχαριστεῖν): " We thank Thee, Holy Father, for Thy holy name for which Thou hast made a dwelling-place in our hearts, and for the knowledge of faith and immortality which Thou hast made known unto us by Thy servant (παῖς) Jesus; to Thee be the honour for ever. Thou Almighty Ruler hast created all things for Thy name's sake, food and drink Thou hast given men to enjoy in order that they may give Thee thanks, but on us Thou hast graciously bestowed **spiritual food and drink and eternal life.** Above all things we praise Thee because Thou art mighty. To Thee be the honour for ever. Remember, Lord, Thy Church, to redeem her from all evil and perfect her in Thy love and bring her together from the four winds, her the holy one, into Thy Kingdom which Thou hast prepared for

her. For Thine is the power and the honour for ever. May Thy **Grace** come and may the world pass away. Hosannah to the God of David (*const.* Θεῷ, or according to an obvious conjecture *νἱῷ*, to the Son of David), *i.e.* Christ. He that is holy let him come hither, he that is not let him repent. Maran Atha! Amen."

The author, who gives these prayers as patterns, says expressly that the prophets shall be at liberty to offer thanks freely as much as they wish, as indeed Justin also alludes to a certain freedom of the leader (ὅση δύναμις).

If we here get a glimpse into the celebration of the Eucharist, in the close of the I. Ep. of Clement to Cor. 59, 2–61 3, we catch sight of a church prayer, which at least lets us see on general lines what sort of a thing it was. Conspicuous is a great fulness of expression in praise of God the Creator, who exalts the lowly, and casts down the lofty, slays and makes alive, who from among the multitudes of the peoples He has brought forth has chosen those who love Him through His Son Jesus Christ, "by whom Thou hast taught, sanctified, and adorned us with honour." He is entreated for help in affliction, for the raising up of the fallen, healing of the weak, etc., "that all the world may know that Thou art the only true God and that Jesus Christ is Thy παῖς and that we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture." Further, God is besought for the forgiveness of sins and failures, for purification through this truth, and for strengthening in the good, for peace and concord "for us and all the inhabitants of the earth;" on that account there follow also petitions for ruler and governments, with acknowledgment of the Christian duty of obedience to them, and prayers that He will turn their hearts towards good.

Finally, II. Clement appears to be the oldest homily used in public worship which has been preserved, although it cannot be decided whether or no it presupposes the choice of a particular biblical text (Zahn: Acts x., Cornelius; a conjecture which cannot be proved; in any case the saying of Isaiah liv. 1 quoted in chap. ii. cannot be looked upon as a regular sermon-text). Characteristic on the one hand is the strong accentuation of the fact that it is not the saying of "Lord, Lord" which is of consequence, but the earnest doing of the will of God; at the same time the whole exhortation rests on the consideration of the greatness of what has been received through and promised by Christ, hence also the whole object of life is to maintain baptism, which is the seal of it, holy and inviolate; on the other hand the author expatiates with a certain freedom, which reminds us of Gnostic speculations, on the represen-

tation of the eternal pneumatic church (as it were the female Æon, corresponding to Christ as the male).

For the representation of the religious life which was nourished in the Christian communities and of the **instruments** by means of which it was nourished, we also receive remarkable disclosures as to what we may designate the survival of the charismatic teaching officers, namely the **Apostles, Prophets and Teachers** (cf. 1 Cor. xii. 28 sq., Eph. iv. 11, 13). The former now essentially coincide with the Evangelists, the first apostles being withdrawn; the name Apostle, which even originally was quite a general appellation, remains in use for all evangelists (cf. Euseb. 3, 37, men, who according to the Lord's command had given up their goods to the poor and now everywhere laid the foundation of the faith, but after doing so passed on elsewhere, *vid. sup.* p. 107 sq).

Alongside of them however stand the **prophets**, who partly (like the apostles—only in already existing communities) travel about from place to place and are also without possessions, partly however settle down in their communities, and in that case have a claim on the communities, like other teachers, to receive a support in **tithes**, "for they are your High Priests." As little as the apostles and also other teachers are these prophets elected officials, but come in the strength of a divine vocation and charismatic endowment, either temporarily or (Prophets and Teachers) for permanent stay in the communities. And so seriously does the author take the matter of their divine claim, that he will have it regarded as a sin against the Holy Ghost if these prophets are subjected to any test regarding the matter of their preaching; they are to be judged entirely by their life, whether they have the τρόπος of Jesus or are led away by selfish aims. It has been sought to discover in this very exaltation of the prophets a sign of Montanism, and thereby considerably to bring down the date of the treatise, but incorrectly so. In Hermas also, *Mand.* 11, 7 sqq., we have a perfectly similar point of view (that a prophet is to be judged by his life). The point of distinction between the Prophets and Teachers is found in the speaking ἐν πνεύματι, therefore in an inspiration which goes beyond the degree of ordinary intelligible speech—without thereby implying speaking with tongues. The teachers also are partly regarded as travelling teachers, partly as settling in communities, and in that case entitled to their subsistence. These form an important factor in the intercourse and connection of the communities which as yet were not bound together by any adequate form of systematic organization, but they also afforded an element of mutability and subjectivity in the conception of

Christian ideas, which might become sufficiently influential in the time of the Gnosticism which was now preparing.

What was the manner of organization in these communities? (cf. *sup.* p. 62 sqq.–89 sq.) It is obvious how important an influence these prophets and teachers (the charismatic teaching-office) must have exercised upon the communities, as a very important authority; on the other hand however, it is also obvious that fixed official organs of **leadership** and **government** were not thereby made superfluous. As such we have hitherto seen on the one hand **Presbyters**, and on the other **Bishops** with the **Deacons**; and important instances are known to prove the original identity of Bishops and Presbyters. In favour of this latter, the Didache supplements the evidence of the Pastoral Epistles and Clem. Rom., inasmuch as it does not once name presbyters, but only Bishops and Deacons, to which offices, according to ch. 13, capable and approved men are to be chosen; Hermas may be understood in a like sense, inasmuch as he presupposes a college of Presbyters at the head of the community (*Vis.* II. 4, 2 and 3, III. 1, 8), and on the other hand names the ἐπίσκοπος along with Apostle, Prophet and Teacher (*Vis.* III. 5, 1) without naming **Presbyters along with** them, as on the presupposition of their difference one would necessarily expect. At the same time the different titles may be so explained that Presbyter, in accordance with the meaning of the word, designates rather their position of honour as the representatives of the community, bishops (a Greek designation) rather their official professional activity. Hatch (p. 62) decides otherwise, and also Harnack, who follows up his view. They make out that the functions of the two were originally different: the college of presbyters for the **leadership** or **government proper of the community,** with jurisdiction and disciplinary power, and bishops with assisting deacons as officials for the **administration** of the communities, including the leadership of worship, but whose chief occupation was the care of the poor, the sick and strangers, with the management and administration of finance. Gradually however both kinds of congregational organization were amalgamated, as the bishops with their practical influence and importance received seats and votes in the presbytery, and finally indeed (*vid. sup.*) the presidency and casting vote. Many circumstances seem to favour this view, among others the early and frequent close collocation of ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι, and where the bishop's name appears, the frequent reference exactly to care of the community, hospitality, services to the poor and widows, etc. (cf. Herm. *Sim.* IX. 27, 2). At the same time, there are still weighty considerations against this view.

In any case there appears at this time the beginning of that development which led to the promotion of the bishop to the headship of the college of presbyters, at first in the sense of a president in conducting business (*primus inter pares*), but gradually in a more monarchical sense. To this, along with the growing need of comprehensive unity in the leadership of the community, there may also have specially contributed the fact that it was hardly possible to avoid friction between the leaders of the community and the charismatic office of teacher and prophet, which might very easily have made use of its entirely free authority in a manner calculated to bring about confusion, and which might be dangerous to the simple apostolic faith of the communities. Now, although the office of presbyter and bishop as such, originally and officially had nothing to do with teaching, the need was soon experienced, and accordingly expressed in the Pastoral Epistles, that the bishops designate should, where it was possible, be also apt to teach (Titus i. 9), and that a double honour was due to governing presbyters when they also laboured in the **word** and **teaching**. Inasmuch as the bishops who were already leaders now also united the leading authority with their office, and thereby limited the disturbing influences of free prophecy and teaching, there hereby accrued to them a greater authority.

For this development at this period the decisive witnesses are the **Ignatian Epistles**—if they are genuine. They testify to the very early entry of this development into one part of the Church (the Syrian Asian), while elsewhere the old relationship continued longer; if they are not genuine, still in any case they testify to a period about the middle of the second century. They are never tired of most expressly emphasising subordination to the bishop, and thereby guarding the unity of the community. Whoever does anything without the bishop, the presbytery and the deacon, is not pure in his conscience (*Trall.* 7). Divisions are presupposed, inasmuch as parts of the community separate themselves and celebrate the Eucharist for themselves (*Philad.* 3 sq.), and as the causes of division we are without doubt to infer specially, diverging (heretical) opinions as they gain ground through the efforts of individuals who come forward as teachers (prophets). Without the bishop it is not allowed to baptize or hold the agape (*Smyrn.* 8; cf. *Phil.* 4). Whoever does not go along with the decision (γνώμη) of the bishop, strives against the decision of God (*Eph.* 3 sq.). The bishop stands in the place of Christ, the presbyters in that of the Apostles (cf. Clem., *Hom.* 3, 60: "the bishop sitting in the chair of Christ").

Discipline. For those who had entered the church, who were called to the kingdom of the coming Lord, baptism abolished the sins of their previous life, but also laid upon them the obligation never again to forsake the "Way of Life," the commands of the Lord. But high-pitched moral demands, particularly on the side of asceticism and self-denial, early created a vivid impression of the fact that there were many, even apart from scandalous cases of graver sins, who lagged behind the ideal of the legally conceived commands of the gospel: so there begins, even thus early—a result of the legal tendency—the view, which in its further development was so full of consequences, that it is necessary to distinguish between a higher degree of perfection and a lower which is sufficient for the greater multitude. Thus, Did. 6: "If thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, then do at least what thou canst"; and II. Clem. 7, 3; "Let us strive, that we may be crowned, and if we cannot all be crowned, at least that we may come near the crown." So especially with reference to what is often regarded as alone properly corresponding to Christian perfection—absolute sexual abstinence (*vid.* the passages in Harnack's Commentary on the Didache), or, in the case of milder and more considerate views on this subject, at least from second marriage (Herm. *Mand.* 4, 4).

Moreover the strength is in the end admitted of the sound feeling that all Christians, even in their Christian capacity, err in many ways, and so, in spite of the fundamental conception that **to fall into sin separates** the sinner from the Christian community, we hear the impressive recommendation of *μετάνοια* (corresponding to the fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer), and the emphasizing of its power for those who stand within the Christian community, in I. Clement, and II. Clement, and many others; the exercise of continual intercession for forgiveness of sins becomes usual in **divine worship**, *e.g.* in the "Church-prayer" at the close of I. Clem.; even the Didache already places at the close of its positive moral precepts: "In the congregation confess thy transgressions and go not to thy prayer with an evil conscience," and sets up the demand, which for this period cannot be elsewhere expressly verified, that when the Christians come together on the **Lord's Day** to break bread and to give thanks, they should beforehand confess their sins, and especially in the case of any misunderstanding with their neighbours, should seek reconciliation in order that their offering may be **pure** (14, 1). But the more that there now come into conflict a strict conception of the community of Christ as a community of saints on

the one hand, and a greater moral laxity on the other, so much the more does the view prevail that at the coming of the Lord, which is now so soon to be expected, only he who is found to be pure can participate in the hoped-for salvation, and that there is still time for repentance, though not for long. In this sense the **Shepherd of Hermas** proclaims that the Church is in need of repentance and that repentance is still possible, that God has yet appointed a delay until the completion of the spiritual building of the Church; soon however, it will be too late. Accordingly an earnest appeal is made for repentance, in view of the near return of the Lord and the severe persecutions which are to be expected. But at this point there emerges the particular question, how to deal with those who have fallen into notorious sin. The exclusion of such from the Christian community as from a forfeited privilege rested upon apostolic ordinance. Can such an one, who has not preserved pure the seal of his baptism, again find acceptance? The example of Paul at Corinth seemed to say, Yes. In particular, alongside of gross excesses of other kinds, it is sexual sins and the case of denial of the faith which here give rise to deliberation. And here (case of adultery) Hermas admits that such fallen Christians should be permitted **once** more to return by repentance (*Mand.* 4, 1, 8).

In the circumstances so far depicted there lie the points of attachment for various phenomena in the life of the Church. 1) In a time of religious excitement, the most various religious ideas could seek attachment to the faith of the Christian communities, which was still present in very fluid forms of presentation, and thereby reduce the communities, which as yet had no firmly founded system of organization, to a state of confusion and great internal strife (Gnosis). 2) The free authority of the prophets which was so highly prized, the burning expectation of the coming of the Lord, and in view of it, increasing demands for the maintenance of the purity of the communities in legal strictness, lead to phenomena of ecstasy and eccentricity (Montanism). 3) In proportion as the religiously directed and interested philosophic culture of the time is attracted, and acquires a love for Christianity, it transforms the belief of the community which it represents before the world, while holding fast by its historical tradition and its connection with the O.T., into a religious philosophy and view of the world, and gives to the Church **Theology** (Apologists).

6. Gnosticism.

Sources: IRENÆUS, Adv. haer. ll. 5; HIPPOLYTUS, Refutatio omnium haeres. ll. 10 (ἔλεγχος κτλ.=the so-called *Philosophumena*). The lost Syntagma of Hippolytus (*σύνταγμα κ. π. αἱρ.*) is recognised in the appendix to TERTULLIAN, De præscript. hæret. (usually: Pseudotertullian, Lib. adv. omnes hæreses [also in OEHLER, Corpus hæres. I., Berlin 1856]); CLEMENT of Alexandria, Strom.; ORIGEN, Opp. in many passages, especially in the tomi in Ioannem. TERTULLIAN'S antignostic writings: De præscr. hæret.; Adv. Valent.; Adv. Marcionem; De carne Christi; De resurrectione carnis; De anima, also De baptismo. EUSEBIUS, H. E. *passim*; PHILASTRI BRIX. L. de hæresibus (in OEHLER l.c.); and EPIPHANIUS, Adv. hæres. (*πανάριον*). The pseudo-Origenist Dialogue ADAMANTIUS, De rectu in Deum fide in the Works of Origen (*Lat.* by RUFINUS in CASPARI, Kirchenhistor. Anecdota I., Christiania 1883); cf. Th. ZAHN in ZKG. 1887, 193 sqq.; THEODORETI. Fabul. hæret. comp. and the later Hæresiologists; PLOTINI Ennead. II., 9 (ed. Kirchh., Leipsic 1856 II., pp. 33–60).—LIPSIUS, *Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanius* 1865; Ejdm. *Die Quellen der ält. Ketzergeschichte*, Leipsic 1873; A. HARNACK, *Zur Quell. der Gesch. des Gnostic.*, Leipsic 1873, and ZhTh. 1874. — Of Gnostic writings only very numerous fragments are extant besides the comparatively late Pistis Sophia (ed. Petermann, Berlin 1853); the most complete collection is that of HILGENFELD in the *Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums*, Leipsic 1884.—Of the most extensive literature on Gnosticism the following are specially to be mentioned among the older writers: MASSUET, Dissert. prævіæ, in his edition of Irenæus, and MOSHEIM (Comment. de rebus Christ. ante Const. M. Helmstadt 1753); among the more modern NEANDER, *Entw. des gnost. Syst.*, Berlin 1818; MÖHLER, *Ursprung des Gnostic.*, 1831 (collected writings I.); MUTTER, *Hist. crit. du gnost.*, and in German by DÖRNER, Heilbronn 1833, 2nd French ed. Paris 1843; BAUR, *Die christliche Gnosis*, Tübingen 1835; LIPSIUS, Der Gnost., Leipsic 1860 (Article out of Ersch and Gruber's ENC. s.v.); MÖLLER, *Gesch. der Kosmol.*, Halle 1860; JACOBI in RE.² V. 204, where, as in NITZSCH, *Dogmengesch.* I., 1870, numerous special literature; THOMAS MANSEL, *The Gnostic Heresies*, ed. Lightfoot, London 1875; HILGENFELD in the above mentioned works; A. HARNACK, *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.* I., 1886, p. 158–197 (2nd ed. 1888); JOEL, *Blicke in die Religionsgesch.*, I., 1883, p. 161–170.

Gnosticism.

A. General.

Christianity had made its appearance as the gospel, the proclamation of the kingdom of God, and of Jesus Christ, the Lord and Mediator of this kingdom, and had developed itself chiefly in the practical preaching of salvation on the basis of the O.T. belief in God (unity of God the Creator, His purposes and arrangements for salvation with a chosen people, His moral demands on men, etc.). However, from the beginning, it always involved the necessity for theological reflection on the positive principles of belief contained in this proclamation. Hence, just as, on the basis of the religious ideas of the O.T., there had already been developed a Jewish theology

which sought to develop the conceptions of God, His relation to the world and to men, His demands upon them, as well as His purposes of salvation with them, into a kind of religio-philosophic view of the world,—and as these attempts had taken a peculiar flight through connection with Greek philosophy in Hellenistic Judaism (Philo), and claimed to reveal to those who were adapted or called thereto a deeper knowledge of religious truths and religious institutions, so also the N.T. proclamation, so far as it was forced to enter upon a dialectical analysis in vindication of itself (as in Paul), had at the same time entered upon a theological (notional) conception of itself, so as to distinguish from the simple, popular or undeveloped standpoint of mere Christian faith, that of a higher or deeper insight into religious truth and its secrets. So it was with Paul (cf. the charisma of *gnosis*, 1 Cor. xii. 8, distinguished from that of σοφία, in which the element of practical wisdom of life rather predominates, 1 Cor. viii. 1 sq.: knowledge of the secrets of God, Col. ii. 8). So also the Gospel of John, in the speculative doctrine of the Divine Logos become flesh, had developed the ground lines of a higher gnosis out of the immediate religious impression of the revelation of God in Jesus. But as the question is of religious knowledge, which develops itself from positive religion, the effort of this gnosis in general (*e.g.* in Philo) is directed towards the grasping of the deeper sense (the ideal worth) of its histories or myths, its mysteries and commands, and to getting behind the **letter** of the religious records. Hence we find in the Christian sphere too, that the name Gnosis is used with special preference for this investigation of the deeper sense of the positive religious commands, and the development of the deeper meaning of Scripture, for which (in the Christian sphere) in the recognition of the O.T. as the record of revelation, the opportunity was so much the more suggested as the conditions for historical interpretation were lacking (cf. the expressions of Barnabas on τελεία γνῶσις as allegorical explanation of the Mosaic ceremonial law, but also Clem. Rom. *Ad Cor.* 36. 40, and passim. Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* 112). In the Christian sphere, however, the evangelical proclamation itself, the evangelical history of salvation in connection with the Israelitish history of salvation (the gospel in its connection with the O.T.) had itself also to become the object of this gnosis, with a view to the apprehension of its ideal worth and to the development of the substance of belief, with the help of other religious conceptions and elements, into a religious cosmology. Of wide-reaching significance for this purpose was Jewish Hellenism (Philo) on account of its **blending of the views of Jewish religion**

with the conceptions of Greek philosophy, which also prepared the ground for the Christian attempts to develop the simple Christian saving faith into a religio-philosophical view of the world. This purpose was most favourably met by the tendency in the Hellenic world to seek out the deeper religio-philosophical content under the mask of mythological religious forms and mysteries (cf. the Stoic explanation of myths, as also that of Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, and others), and to give to those very oriental cults, which appeared in the light of a revelation of primitive antiquity, an interpretation in the sense of the religious philosophy of the time. In the great religious ferment of the time there was further contained the tendency to seek similar religious ideas amid the different mythological religious forms and to mingle them syncretistically. This religious ferment was still further increased by the original content of Christianity, that mighty leaven, which announced a religion destined to the redemption and perfecting of the world, and by this means a like direction and tendency was imparted to various other religious views likewise. The exciting and moving effect of Gnosticism on the Church depended at the same time on the fact, that its representatives **practically** apprehended Christianity in the manner of the antique religious mysteries, and in so doing sought to lean upon the Christian communities and make themselves at home in them, according as their religious life and usages seemed to invite them, and to establish in them a community of the initiated and perfect (Weingarten, HZ. 45. Bd., 441 sq. Koffmane, *Die Gnosis nach ihrer Tendenz und Organization*, 1881); an endeavour which the powerful ascetic tendency in the church exploited and augmented in its own sense, and for which the institution of prophecy, which was so highly respected and powerful in the communities, afforded a handle. In this way the initiated were able to make for themselves a basis in the community on which they could depend, while the religio-philosophical speculations, which are always intelligible only to a few, at the same time propagated themselves and branched out scholastically.

B. The Systems.

Christianity was met quite early in its career by phenomena, which proposed to themselves to reach the same end by other means, and thus came into a certain rivalry with it. Of such are especially the phenomena in the field of **Samaritan** religion, where, from the very beginning, there had been added to the Jewish element a strong mixture of the heathen. Simon Magus (Acts viii.) had here played a prominent part as a pretender to the Samaritan Messiahship. Chronologically, however, he is preceded by Dositheus, a contemporary of Jesus and the apostles, according to the Clementines a disciple and follower of John the Baptist, who gave himself out as the Hestos (divine manifestation),

but was destined to be set aside by Simon by dint of his higher skill in magic (Homil. II. 23; Recogn. III. 8 sq.). According to ORIGEN (c. Cels. I. 57) he gave himself out as the Christ promised by Moses (Deut. xviii. 15. 18), or the Son of God (c. Cels. 6, 11), and left writings behind him. His adherents believed that he was not dead (*In Io.* t. 13, 27). Later Arabic sources know the **Dustan** or **Dostan** as a Samaritan sect (distinguished from the Kuschtan), who differ from the rest of the Samaritans in the reckoning of the calendar (every month has thirty days) and the corresponding fixing of the feasts, and, for the rest, are remarkable for their exaggerated strictness in observing the Sabbath and strict fasting (as is asserted in both points by the Christian writers of their Dositheus). That sect however seems to have had its origin in the time of the Maccabees; for which reason the existence of Dositheus at the time of Christ becomes somewhat doubtful, and the relation of Simon to him may perhaps be explained from a reminiscence of the former's connection with this already older Samaritan sect. A confirmation of Dositheus as a Samaritan Messiah or miracle worker (of which the above Arabic sources seem to know nothing) would be found in the ὅρος ἐκφωνηθὲὶς τοῖς Σαμαρείταις of EULOGIUS, if we were here to suppose a real disputation with existing Dositheans, and not merely the literary fiction of such a thing.

SIMON appears in Acts viii. as a man who by his magical arts had procured a great following among the Samaritans, and passed for "the great power of God," (or [?] the power of revelation of God—the Μεγάλη=מגלא or מגלי, *vid.* KLOSTERMANN, *Probleme im Apostoltext*, 1885, p. 18). The Christian preaching of Jesus the Messiah here comes into contact with the Samaritan sorcerer, and from this contact appears to have been developed and perfected his pseudo- or anti-Messianic position. That as such it must have played an important part, is attested by Justin Martyr, himself born on Samaritan soil at Flavia Neapolis (the ancient Sichem), according to whose account (*Apol.* I. 26. 56; *Dial. c. Tryph.* 120) the greater number of the Samaritans honoured him as the highest God, and his companion Helena as God's first (world-creating) thought (ἔννοια); *i.e.* in the worship of many of the Samaritans the whilom miracle worker, who in the course of his professional travels came also to Rome in the time of the emperor Claudius, became not only the Messiah, but the incarnation of the Godhead, and moreover, under the influence of the syncretism which was so powerful in the Samaritan field, Simon and Helena were treated as incarnations of a male and a female divine principle in the manner of the Syro-Phœnician mythology (the Syrian sun-god Baal, Melkart, and the moon-goddess, though also in a Hellenic transformation, cf. JUSTIN. *Apol.* I. 26, 64. p. 97 B. Zeus and Athene). To this was added the further gnostic utilization of these figures, the descent or appearance of the divine powers in human form for the purpose of **Redemption**, which effects exaltation and emancipation from the world-powers which enslave the soul. This redemption however is here sought through the caricature of religion, magic, for which the higher knowledge (γνῶσις) renders fit.

Like Simon, his disciple MENANDER is above everything else a **sorcerer**, who by his magical means and magical baptism desires to give freedom from the world-powers, the **world-creative angels** (Iren. I. 23, 5), and from **death**.

Having entered into the stream of Christian Gnosticism in the second century, the doctrine of the **Simonians** took such a form as to result in a syncretistic amalgamation with Christian thought, a disposition to tolerate the worship of Christ. SIMON is the highest power, *i.e.* the Father existing over all things, who allows himself to be named by men by whatever name they may call him

(*i.e.* in all divine manifestations there is the same Godhead under different names). Helena however, his Ennoia, is the mother of all, by whose means he seizes the the conception of creating angels and archangels. Descending into the lower regions, she brought forth angels and powers, which then formed the world, but also, being ignorant of their father, out of envy kept Ennoia a prisoner in the lower sphere so that she should not exalt herself and return; they themselves would much rather have appeared as independent world-powers. She appeared in successive female incarnations, at one time in that of Grecian Helen but now in that of her whom Simon took from a brothel at Tyre. Accordingly the highest *dynamis* appeared in Simon for the purpose of freeing the lost sheep in this his Ennoia. He has passed unrecognised through the different spheres of the world, assimilating himself to them, and has appeared as man, and apparently suffered in Judea. In this way he has conquered the world-powers which strive after supreme power, has freed the Ennoia, and with her mankind, to whom he gave salvation by the knowledge of himself.

Thus in Simon and Helena there is mythically or typically set forth the emancipation of the human spirit (which is of divine origin) from the bonds of finitude, which fundamentally completes itself everywhere under different names. It is said that Simon gave himself forth as that principle which appeared among the Jews as the Son, among the Samaritans as the Father, among the rest of the nations as the Holy Ghost.

As regards morality, contempt for the moral law—which proceeded from the world-ruling angels and not from the highest God—and unclean magic are ascribed to these Simonians.

These Simonian ideas appear entirely transformed (sublimated) into a speculative theory of the renunciation of the world by the spirit, its unfolding in the world process, and its return to itself in gnostic knowledge, in the later, ostensibly Simonian treatise ἀπόφασις μεγάλη in HIPPOLYTUS, *Refut.* VI. 12 sq.; cf. my *Kosmologie in der griechischen Kirche*, p. 284–317.

2. In the doctrine of Simon and Menander there already appear in combination with the thought of the Incarnation or phase of revelation: *a*) the conceptions of heathen, and especially Syro-Phœnician **Cosmogony**, *b*) the factor of the **astrological** view at that time widely spread and rooted in the East, which had also found willing acceptance and use in the Hellenic sphere. Under the influence of this astrological point of view, man and all the lower sphere of creation appear under the ruling influence of the stars, *i.e.* of the stars conceived as world-ruling spirits standing higher and yet deeper than the Godhead, and the religious notion of redemption here receives the colour of emancipation from the force and oppression of the finitude in which these world-ruling powers would fain keep the spirit. From another quarter there come into activity here also *c*) ideas of **Jewish** origin, particularly from the world of the Jewish sects of the time touched with the spirit of syncretism. To them belong the conceptions of Jewish theology and the doctrine of wisdom, of the mediation of all God's world-creative and revealing action by divine powers of revelation, behind which the Godhead itself remains in secret, and in particular the conception that the creation of the world and the giving of the law was brought about by the mediation of the **angels**, a conception which may very easily enter into combination with the above astrological ideas. It is thus possible that the secret wisdom having to do with the names of the angels, ascribed to the Essenes, also that ascetic Judæo-Christianity at Colossæ, there exhibiting a certain worship of angels in combination with strict Jewish celebration of feasts, an addiction to the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου with which Paul had already had to do,

may have been one of the co-efficient factors. The conception, familiar in Jewish and Judæo-Christian circles, of **Adam Kadmon,** the first man, as the returning bearer of revelation (*vid. sup.* Clem. Homil.) does not gain less in importance as a factor in Gnostic speculation. In a general way the Elkesaitism depicted above, with its mingling of Jewish and heathen elements, is one of the important phenomena of this period. Also in probably near connection with the Essenes are the **Hemerobaptists** (*i.e.* daily baptizers), designated as a Jewish sect by JUSTIN (Baptists), as Samaritan by HEGESIPPUS, with whom the legend of the Clementines connects John the Baptist (ἡμεροβαπτιστής), in order thereby to connect the story of Dositheus and Simon Magus.

Of special importance for the genesis of Christian Gnosticism and also its Jewish roots is CERINTHUS, who according to the account of Irenæus, based upon Polycarp's narrative, was in personal relationship with the Apostle John, and therefore goes as far back at least as the time of Trajan and the close of the first century, and who therefore also wrought in Asia Minor. John, visiting a bath in Ephesus, heard that Cerinthus was there, and immediately rushed forth without bathing, filled with horror, and calling out: "Let us flee, the bath might fall in, since the enemy of truth is inside." (Iren. III. 3, 4). Justin and Hegesippus seem not to know him. Hippolytus makes him get his wisdom out of Egypt, which does not conflict with his activity in Asia Minor. The **distinguishing feature of his doctrine** is[1] that the world was not created by the highest God, but is the work of a much inferior power represented as an **angelic being** (connection with the Jewish doctrine of wisdom, the *Theologumenon* of creation and giving of the law through the mediation of angels as divine revealers; the gnostic tendency however consists in this, that the world-creating angel shall not know the highest God). Jesus was a man naturally begotten, but distinguished by righteousness and wisdom, and therefore very powerful, into whom, after the baptism, Christ (=the Holy Ghost, Epiph.) descended in the form of a dove from the highest Godhead (divine power), to proclaim the unknown Father and work miracles. Finally however Christ again separates from Jesus; the latter suffers in order to rise again,[2] the former, as a pure spiritual being, is free from suffering. Nevertheless Cerinthus (according to PSEUDO-TERT.=HIPPOL.?) maintained a Judæo-legal standpoint (circumcision and the Sabbath) and (according to CAIUS. ROM. who attributes the Johannine Apocalypse to him) a sensuous chiliastic conception, rejected the Apostle Paul and made use of a garbled Gospel according to Matthew (on account of the history of the infancy, the supernatural birth). If this be correct (and not an inference from his rejection of the supernatural birth) it is an important proof of a transference of originally Jewish views into Gnostic ideas, and has already been so regarded by Lipsius. But the subject is by no means free from doubt. The story about the Apostle John bears the distinct stamp of deep hostility to the DOCETIC element in Cerinthus.

---

[1] According to IRENÆUS I. 26, 1, and the *σύνταγμα* to be inferred from PSEUDO-TERTULLIAN 10 and EPIPHANIUS, Irenæus III. 2, 1 is not to be applied to him, but to the 'Gnostics' who have only received their origin from him as from the Nicolaitane. We have no right to refer what is said of the Monogenes and the Logos in the sense of Irenæus to Cerinthus.

[2] The latter is also asserted by HIPPOL. (VII. 33) with IREN., but omits it in EPIT. X. 21, and the representation of EPIPHANIUS going back to HIPPOL. I. asserts that Cerinthus only made Jesus rise again at the general resurrection, probably correctly.

3. SATURNINUS of Antioch. By IRENÆUS and TERTULLIAN, *De Anima* 23, definitely traced back to the influence of MENANDER the disciple of Simon, and therefore to that of the Judæo-Samaritan mixed sphere, which afforded in any case an important intermediary. The relationship with Menander would lead back to about the same period as in the case of Cerinthus, possibly also to the age of Hadrian, to which also the Alexandrian Clement attributes the rise of the heresies (specially also Basilides, who in like manner is linked on to Menander and designated by Hippolytus as a contemporary of Saturninus), and THEODORET expressly that of Saturninus.

Like Menander, Saturninus teaches that the highest God, the One Father unknown to all, created angels, archangels, powers, and dominions. By seven of them, of whom the God of the Jews was one—the number 7 has astrological significance (planets)—the (visible) world was made; man also is their creature. An image which radiated down from the highest God, which the angels could not retain since it immediately escaped above again, occasioned the creation of men after this image, to which they emboldened themselves in the words: Let us make man, *κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν* (without *ἡμετέραν*!). But they were not able to set up the human image; then the higher power took pity of that which was formed after his own image, and sent a spark of life, by means of which it lives, but which after the death of the man returns thither whence it sprung, whilst the other component parts resolve themselves into their elements. Over against the world-creating angels and the God of the Jews at their head stands Satan in hostility who also however is an angel (fallen?); opposed to the good race of mankind which cherishes the divine spark in itself, there stands an evil race supported by the demons. In the prophecies (of the O. T. indeed?) the one is descended from the world-creating angels, the other from Satan. Marriage and begetting of children are of the devil, the eating of flesh likewise, according to one party of these Saturninians. Although however Satan is the opponent of the God of the Jews, and the latter therefore stands on the side of the relatively good, redemption must raise man above these oppositions of the finite life; God desires to do away with (lead up above the dominion of the limited world-powers) the God of the Jews along with the other angels, and for that end sends the uncreated, bodiless and formless Soter, Christ, who is only in appearance man, and frees those who believe in Him from the dominion of the demons.

The principle of dualism is not taught; the conception of the subordinated world-creating angels may be at least connected with similar doctrines in Cerinthus and likewise with a Jewish schema (at the same time Parsee influence is not excluded).

4. While in Simon Magus the spirit of Samaritan syncretism attached itself to Christianity, and in Cerinthus there was completed the development of gnostic ideas out of Judaism, in the **Carpocratians** we see similar Gnostic ideas develop themselves from Hellenic heathenism in contact—although very external—with Christian thought. Here also, as in the case of the Simonians, an historical personality, *viz.* EPIPHANES, the son of the Platonist Carpocrates, early mature, already at seventeen years dead, is deified as exalting himself gnostically above the world-powers, the originator of **monadistic Gnosticism**. Clement of Alexandria knows the extraction of Carpocrates and the mother of Epiphanes, and narrates that in his maternal home of Same, on the island of Cephalonia, a sanctuary (sacred house and museum) was dedicated to Epiphanes and an offering made and hymns sung by the inhabitants at the new moon (which cannot be referred, as it is by VOLKMAR and LIPSIUS, to a mere misunder-

standing of a moon-goddess). In his treatise "On Righteousness" a communistic antinomianism is taught, and based on the community and equality in goods and enjoyments vouchsafed to all by the God and Father of all; the prohibitions of the laws (the legal morality) are regarded as arbitrary-unrighteous-limitations, cuttings down of the eternal divine law of nature and foolish rebellion against all-powerful natural tendencies. (Fragments of Clement of Alexandria.)

Nothing can here be perceived of the Gnostic theory which Irenæus ascribes to Carpocrates (not to Epiphanes), but Irenæus also attests the antinomianism; the law does not bind the gnostic, he has to transgress it; nothing is in itself good or evil, but only according to the limited standpoint of an arbitrary commandment; the gnostics are redeemed not by works, but by faith and love only. These commandments however are here referred—and this may be the sense in Epiphanes also—to the world-creating and world-ruling angels who stand far beneath the unbegotten God. So likewise it is quite possible that Carpocrates, who apotheosised his son, may have completed that combination of gnostic ideas with the practical tenets of Epiphanes and at the same time a relation to Jesus as a spirit of religious emancipation. Jesus, a man like other men, but of greater elasticity and purity, remembers what he had seen in the divine circle of souls (PLATO, *Phædrus*). Therefore a power is sent him from above in order that his soul may escape the formers of the world, and passing through all things and having become free in all, may attain to God. The higher flight of Jesus is seen in the fact, that, educated in Jewish morality, he despised it (as commandments of the world-powers), from which very fact there accrued to him powers to annihilate the sufferings of men which were laid on them as punishment (the miracles of healing). All souls which, remembering their heavenly origin, take the same direction as Jesus, and like him despise the world-powers, receive also like capacity, indeed it is possible in this respect to surpass Jesus and his apostles (the alleged magical effects a parallel with Jesus' miracles of healing!). But the world-powers have the right not to let the souls out of their power before "they have also paid the uttermost farthing," *i.e.* have passed through every experience on earth. For this purpose the accuser (the ἀντίδικος, Mark v. 25), leads departed souls before the first of the world-formers, who condemns them to re-incarnation until they have accomplished every action, when at length they are able to exalt themselves in freedom above all the world-powers. Powerful souls however, are also able, by unlimited abandonment to the life of world, to raise themselves at once to freedom from the law and to avoid the transmigration through many bodies. But as Jesus is only the ideal type of this exaltation of the spirit above the limits of the law, other great spirits also stand alongside of him, and the image of Christ, alleged to have been restored by Pilate, is set up for worship along with the images of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle—just as Epiphanes also receives divine honours.

5. OPHITES.—*Literature:* L. MOSHEIM, *Gesch. der Schlangenbrüder*, Helmstadt, 2nd ed. 1748; FULDNER, *De Ophitis*, Rudolstadt 1834; J. A. LIPSIUS in ZwTh. 1863; HILGENFELD, *Ibid.* 1862; J. N. GRUBER, *Die Ophiten*, Wurzburg 1864.

By those who found on the Syntagma of Hippolytus, the **name** is based on the fact that these Gnostics worship the **serpent** as the being to whom we owe the knowledge of good and evil, hence they even prefer it to Christ. On account of its might and majesty Moses set up the brazen serpent to look on which brings healing, for which reason Christ also makes reference to it and imitates

its sacred power. Hence also the use of the serpent for the consecration of the eucharist. Nevertheless, the motto of Gnosticism: *eritis sicut deus scientes bonum et malum*,—the saying of the serpent in paradise,—is evidence in favour of derivation from the biblical figure. But the figure is at least very soon immersed in the spirit of cosmological syncretistic speculation, which decidedly gains the greater power, and indeed only makes use of the biblical serpent as a welcome connecting link. In the mythological sphere the serpent appears in widespread cosmogonic significance on the one hand as Agathodæmon, on the other as Cacodæmon, and according to the turn given to it both sides in the speculation explained could be referred to the common idea of the **world-soul.** In the construction of the Ophite system Syro-Phœnician as well as Chaldæo-Babylonian ideas of cosmogony come plainly to the front, but there is also linked with them the spirit of Hellenic syncretistic speculation, which overmasters them, and other mythological elements, doctrines of the Orphic mysteries and especially of the mysteries of Asia Minor.

The **Gnostic** doctrines, given by IRENÆUS (I. 30, 1–31, 2) without further particular designation, must by universal consent be regarded as **Ophite.**

Fundamental ideas: The original being, the primal light, without limit, is at the same time designated and addressed as **Man** (original man); his thought (ἔννοια) as his son proceeding from him; **Son of Man** or **Second Man.** After them, as a third, there exists the **Holy Ghost** above the Elements, Water, Darkness, the Abyss, Chaos. The latter however is conceived as female, is the **first Woman.** The first and second man illuminate her with their light, and so beget in her, the Mother of Life, the third male principle, Christ who as the **right** power is exalted on high with his mother, the eternal Æon, and with the Father and Son forms the Holy Community (*ecclesia*).

But the overflow of the Mother of Life with the Light has also deposited a *left* product, the male-female Sophia, **Prunikos**; it passes down into the depth and from it assumes a body; inasmuch as everything throngs about the light-dew or Semen, it is detained. It strives backward, but is unable to attain, yet raises itself, and by expansion forms the heavens out of its body (and so conceals at the same time the higher light in order that it may not become the object of attack). Finally she exalts herself to her Mother. However she also produces a son (perhaps to be identified with the outstretched heavens), who now also begets other beings; thus there arises a set of seven, a sacred **Hebdomas,** with which the Mother forms an eight (**Ogdoas**); the first is **Jaldabaoth,** then Jao, Sabaoth, Adoneus etc. (Heavens, powers, Angels, Creator, the seven spirits of the planets). Jaldabaoth despises his mother, but is himself opposed by his sons; for which reason he looks in dejection upon the lowest matter and begets in it a serpent-formed son (ὀφιόμορφος), Νοῦς twisted in the form of a serpent, from whom are descended spirit and soul, and all worldly things, but also all forgetfulness, wickedness, rivalry, envy, and death. Under his influence Jaldabaoth regards himself as the highest God, but by a word from the Mother from above is reminded of the Father of all, Man and the Son of Man, and thereby ashamed, and now endeavours to draw away the attention of the world-powers thereby excited, by the invitation: Let us make man in our image. The six world-powers, under the influence of their Mother make an immensely large man, who however is only able to crawl till Jaldabaoth breathes into him the breath of life; he by doing so however empties himself of his power, while man, now endowed with spirit and *Enthumesis*, addresses himself and his thanks above his creators away up to the first Man. In jealousy Jaldabaoth seeks to empty the man by means of the woman, who

however is deprived of her power by Prunikos. But with the woman created by Jaldabaoth, whom the world-powers call Eve, these sons beget angels. By contrivance of the Mother, the serpent now seduces Eve and Adam to transgress the commands of Jaldabaoth, and Eve accepts the seduction as from the "Son of God." Adam and Eve acknowledge the higher power, and turn away from those who made them, to the joy of the Mother, who sees the Father above whom Jaldabaoth had denied, acknowledged, and the woman at the same time become an adulteress.

Jaldabaoth casts Adam and Eve out of Paradise, his mother withdraws from them the light-dew from above, in order that the spirit sprung from the world above may not be touched by the curse and rejection of Jaldabaoth. The serpent also, because it does not answer to the aims of Jaldabaoth, is cast down into the lower world, here makes itself master of the angels (begotten by the sons of Jaldabaoth with Eve), himself begets six sons, so that a lower Hebdomas, that of the seven world-demons, with himself at its head, is opposed to the upper sacred Hebdomas (the seven planet-spirits). The overthrown serpent is called by the double name Michael (as the representative and son of Jaldabaoth, particularly = the God of the Jews, the guardian angel of God's people) and Sammael (as the diabolic adversary). Adam and Eve now bear heavy dark bodies; Prunikos however has compassion on the powerless souls and gives them again a breath of the grace of the withdrawn light-dew, so that they come to remembrance of themselves. The opposition of Jaldabaoth and the sacred Hebdomas to the demonic world now moves through the history of mankind, but in such a manner that the silent influence of the Mother is directed to the maintenance of the light-dew in the souls, and dominates the relative opposition of the world-powers. The Law is attributed to Jaldabaoth, at the same time however the seven-planetary powers, corresponding to the seven days of the week, have each choice of their special worshippers and preachers (Jaldabaoth: Moses, Joshua, and others; Jao: Samuel and Nathan etc.). In prophecy also, however, Sophia gains expression and proclaims the imperishable light, the Man from above, and the descent of the Christ to the terror of the princes. To their influence on Jaldabaoth is to be referred the birth of John from the barren, and that of Jesus from a virgin. On the supplication of Prunikos, who has rest neither in earth nor in heaven, her mother, the first woman, takes pity and requests of the first man that Christ may be sent to her help. Observing this, the lower Sophia announces his advent by John and prepares a pure vessel for him in Mary. Christ descends through the seven heavens, assimilating himself to their sons and drawing their power to himself (the whole *humectatio luminis*), then married with his lower sister, he comes in the baptism of John to the pure son of Mary, proclaims the unknown Father and himself as the Son of the First Man. Thereupon Jaldabaoth and his sons bring about the crucifixion of Jesus, Christ however and Sophia ascend to the eternal world. But the crucified is awaked by Christ in a psychic or pneumatic body (seemingly consisting of that which Christ had assumed at his descent from the Hebdomas). He now for eighteen months reveals the mysteries of Gnosis by enduing those who are Christ-worthy with Sophia, and is then exalted to heaven, where Christ (unrecognised) sits at the right hand of Jaldabaoth, in order to draw the souls of all knowers to himself and thereby enter Jaldabaoth, till he has no more holy (pneumatic) souls to send into the world, but only such as are of his own substance. Perfection arrives at the moment when the whole light-dew of the spirit is gathered together and withdrawn into the Æon of eternity.

The observation of IRENÆUS, that according to several of these gnostics, Sophia herself became the serpent, met the former of Adam with hostility, and imparted gnosis to men, is worthy of observation.

Immediately connected therewith is the doctrine of the **Cainites,** who regarded Cain, Esau, Cora, and even Judas as the true pneumatics. They exhort to the destruction of the works of the Hystera (the demi-urgic power), and introduce universal libertinism.

b) Amongst those who are depicted by Hippolytus (*Refutatio*) there appear as the first priests of the serpent-doctrine:

The **Naassenes.** With them there appears alongside of the spiritual formless *οὐσία*, the original principle or primitive seed: the **Primitive Man** in whom everything is potentially conceived beforehand, the root of all Æons, powers, thoughts, in short of all objective being. This form is itself here conceived under the figure of the **serpent,** chiefly as a nature principle (as a moist substance), that which penetrates everywhere (mythically as Attis, Osiris, Hermes Ithyphallicus). Creation is transformation; the seven robes of Isis are the seven planetary spheres. The original Man (Adamas) has everything potentially in himself (therefore also the *χοϊκόν*) and is conceived as hermaphrodite; from him proceeds the great stream of becoming. As, in virtue of the **chaos poured out at first,** he is the substantial presupposition of all being, so, in virtue of psychical potentiality, he is the condition of all concrete being. As Demi-urge of the finite world there appears the **fiery** God, Esaldaios (El-Schaddai or Jaldabaoth?), the god of generation, as the fourth (the third participator=Chaos? HILGENFELD seeks the third and fourth among the planetary spirits).

Here also we have the unfolding of a world rich in Æons, Powers, Ideas, Gods, resting however on the original evolution out of Chaos. Man proceeding from the earth, formed by many powers, like a statue, but according to the image of the Adamas above; the endowing him with a soul is to a certain extent a retention of the Adamas above, the essence of the soul being derived from the Adamas above, in the world of lower mixture and generation. Here, as it were, Adamas himself is detained; but on the other hand he introduces the return backward, emancipation, which is at the same time the surrender of community of sex. The original Man at first realises the material and psychical potencies in order through them to attain to pneumatic, concrete spirit as the proper aim of the world. Here the process of the spirit is looked on from the universal point of view; however, although loosely (illogically) Jesus is at the same time left his redeeming position as the microcosmic man.

c) The **Peratæ** distinguish the **Father** as the comprehensive principle, the uncreated, the **Son** as *αὐτογέννητον*=**Logos,** as the compend of the ideas, and the quality-less and formless **Hyle.** The **Son** appears here as the **Serpent** which now in mediating movement turns to the Father and receives power, and again turns to the Hyle on which it impresses the ideas which it has received. It is the Archon or Demiourgos which receives these forms from the Son and generates the Finite, that which is subject to death (he is the murderer of man from the beginning).

Gnostic consciousness gives exaltation above the necessity of becoming and decaying; the gnostic recognises himself as the Father's stamp, and thereby, as of the same essence as the Father, returning to the heavenly home. It is the Logos (Serpent) who brought down the Idea, who also raises the "Awakened," who have become hypostatic copies of the Father, out of the *ἀνυπόστατον.* Here the Logos is not even a material principle, but only the principle of the essence

of things lying in the ideas and forms; for this reason it is not here conceived as hermaphrodite.

The **life of the world** is essentially referred to the Logos, the great ἀρχή; in him was Life, Eve (the Mother of Life); on the other hand however, in so far as it is transitory, it is referred to Kronos, Water as the destructive principle. The (true) gnostics are the Peratæ, who out of Egypt pass through the Red Sea, who escape the sidereal powers of destruction, the biting serpents of the wilderness, in virtue of the great universal Serpent (καθολικὸς ὄφις) of Moses, who also by means of Eve, the Mother of Life (Edem?) incites man to the Fall from the lower God of creation (*vid.* the author's *Kosmologie*, p. 230).

The God of this world (as the God of perishable generation), the murderer of man, who receives Abel's **bloody** offering, but not Cain's bloodless one, is the God of the O. T.; Cain and Esau are representatives of Gnostic rebellion against the God of this world. Jesus is conceived as a microcosmic phenomenon, an instrument for carrying out the separation, *i.e.* the rescue, of those who are from above and the destruction of the lower powers (cf. R. Baxmann, ZhTh. 1860).

d) In the system as represented by the **Sethites** there appears a roughly impressed Dualism of **Light** and **Darkness,** from the mingling of which all things arise, and whose first meeting generated heaven and earth as the first great seal-impress. A threefoldness however is maintained here also, inasmuch as a middle principle, **pure spirit** (πνεῦμα ἀκέραιον)—a kind of world-soul—mediates between light and darkness. But the serpent here appears on a lower plane as the lower generative principle which moves chaos. It is the **Father from beneath** to whom, as the corresponding female principle, the lower φύσις stands opposed, which is also capable of receiving the Light which streams down from above (the mingling of the principles is indeed the primary presupposition). The formed νοῦς or perfect God is the spiritual element in things which reaches concentration in **man.** Thus the Father from beneath is father of νοῦς, a more perfect being, which is not his own according to its proper essence.

The perfect Logos of the upper Light, however, imitated the (lower) Serpent in order to free the νοῦς from the captivity of the body and the dominion of the lower Father, and entered into the material body of impure generation (the impure mysteries) in the Virgin, came out of her, washed itself (baptism) and drank the cup of the living spring water, and this each one must do who desires to take on the form of a servant and the heavenly robe.

Here therefore enters the highest Light in the concentrated form of the Logos, and his task is to loose the spiritual from intermixture, that each may come to its own place.

Finally, *e*) with Justus there appear three principles: 1) the **Good,** the final or highest originator of all things, foreseeing all things; 2) and 3) a couple standing in the relation of man and wife, **Elohim,** the Father of all things that have come into being, the cosmogonic potency, and the corresponding female principle, **Edem,** half-virgin, half-serpent; from their union have proceeded twelve father and twelve mother angels, who form Paradise. In man, who is brought forth as the symbol of unity and harmony, the soul is by Edem, the spirit by Elohim.

After the completion of creation, Elohim exalts himself with his angels into the higher regions, here looks upon the Light which is preferable to that which he has brought forth, recognises that he is not himself the highest Lord, and, although without his angels, is received by the Good and set on his right hand. The Good restrains Elohim from again destroying the world (in order, as he

desired, to free his spirit which is in man); the process is not to be violently broken. Edem in vain adorns herself with her angels in order to entice Elohim to herself; for this end she now persecutes the spirit of Elohim in man, seduces men by her angel Babel-Aphrodite to adultery, and causes them to be tormented by her third angel **Naas**; the latter represents antinomianism, while the other female angels are only representatives of passion. Her activity is opposed by the male angel **Baruch,** sent by Elohim to the help of men, who in Paradise (=in the midst of the motherly angels) forbids to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil (=Naas), *i.e.* they may obey the other mother angels (representing the *πάθη*) but not Naas. Baruch is now continuously active in the organs of the revelation of Elohim, who applies himself to the human **spirit,** while the serpent angel on the other hand influences the **souls** which proceed from Edem, and to such an extent that even in Moses and all the prophets he overshadows "the command of Baruch" and makes his own effective. In like manner the prophet **Heracles,** chosen from the foreskin of Elohim for the struggle with the mother-angels of creation, who in his twelve deeds combats the angels which rule the peoples, is seduced by Omphale (=Babel and Aphrodite) and subjected to the might of the lower potency. Finally Baruch is sent to **Jesus** the son of Joseph and Mary, who in his twelfth year feeds the sheep, reveals to him all about Edem and Elohim, and Jesus follows him, the first of all the prophets—steadfastly in spite of all the enticements of Naas, who in the end crucifies him; Jesus however bequeaths his body to Edem ("Woman, behold thy son"), but he himself, his spiritual nature, ascends to the Good. Him all follow who obtain initiation into this mystery, and take the oath to keep it, and not again to turn round from the Good to the creature. They look on that which no eye has seen, no ear has heard, etc., and receive the spirit-baptism, not with earthly water.

6. Basilides.—*Literature*: The treatises of J. L. Jacobi on the Basilidean System, Berl. 1852, and ZKG. I., 4; G. Uhlhorn, Göttingen 1855; Gundert in ZlK. 1855 sq.; X. Funk, ThQS. 1881.

In the Ophite system it is already evident that the spirit of Greek philosophy had been modified under Oriental influence, had taken hold of cosmological ideas and transformed them into the bearers of speculative ideas more in accordance with Hellenic philosophy. This is the case in a still higher degree with the following gnostic names of distinction, which make an important impression on the Church: Basilides and Valentinus.

Basilides, whom Justin (*Dial. c. Tr.* 35, p. 253 D) knows as head of a sect, and mentions between Marcion and Valentinus on the one side and Saturninus on the other, is by Irenæus attached to Menander along with Saturninus, and indeed in such a manner that he makes Basilides appear in Alexandria while Saturninus appears in Antioch (the fact that Basilides was a disciple of Menander does not involve his Syrian birth and only subsequent arrival at Alexandria).

The common relation of Basilides and Saturninus to Menander lays, as cannot be denied, a certain weight into the scale for that form of the doctrine ascribed to them, given by Irenæus I. 24, 3–7, essentially agreeing with the (lost) *σύνταγμα* of Hippolytus, from which the Pseudo-Tertullian (*De Hæres.* in the addition to the preface), Theodoret, Philastr., or rather Epiphanius have drawn, and which is exactly based on Irenæus; for a certain affinity in the fundamental lines between this doctrine and that of Saturninus may still be recognised. This would be of still greater importance if it could be proved

that IRENÆUS, in his representation of the Basilidean doctrine, had made use of the (lost) *σύνταγμα* of Justin, which however is by no means certain, as LIPSIUS himself has perceived.

But the genuineness of *this* Basilides is already made suspicious by the circumstance, that HIPPOLYTUS (*Refutatio*), who elsewhere, alongside of the gnostic source which he uses (as according to the hypothesis in the *σύνταγμα*), also makes use of the tradition represented by Irenæus (according to conjecture going back to Justin), here in contradistinction sets the latter entirely aside; still further, the fragments and criticisms in CLEM. AL. (according to universal opinion the source of our most certain knowledge of Basilides) can only with difficulty be harmonised with the presentation of Irenæus, on the contrary in characteristic expressions they directly connect themselves with the Basilides of Hippolytus (II.). According to the presentation of Irenæus, the scheme, which is related to that of Saturninus, is expanded by the astrological extension of the series of world-creating star-princes or angels and their heavenly spheres to 365 heavens, indicated in the mystic word Ἀβρασάξ (Ἀβράξας) by means of the numerical value of the letters, and by the fact that the creation of these world-powers is brought about by an immanent self-evolution of the highest unnameable Godhead into the five Potencies: *Nous*, *Logos*, *Phronesis*, *Dynamis*, and *Sophia*,[1] which represent the transition of the Godhead from absolute rest through thought to action, and to a certain extent allow themselves to reveal the closed primeval cause. These so-called primitive æons however do not yet at all belong to the world-spheres proper, but are mere immanent potencies of the absolute personality. It is only by Dynamis and Sophia that "the first" princes and angels and "the first heaven" are brought forth.

Abrasax is the mystical name not of the highest Godhead (PSEUDO-TERTULLIAN and JEROME erroneous), but as Irenæus quite plainly shows, of the *princeps cœlorum* of the 365 world spheres (the highest Archon of these world-spheres, as is confirmed by HIPPOLYTUS II. [*Ref.* 7, 26]). Here also are the seven last angels or star-spirits, which comprehend the lowest heaven (corresponding to the Planets) the originators of the visible and of the human world. Here also stands at their head the God of the Jews, the angels having divided the peoples up among themselves; here also the opposition and strife of the angels representing the different nations with the God of the Jews, who seeks to bring the other nations into subjection. Here also this deadly strife of the subordinate world-powers is overcome by the inexpressible Father, who sends his first-born *Nous* as Christ, to free those who believe on him from the dominion of the world-powers. His appearance on earth is purely docetic, in accordance with which also Simon of Cyrene, to whom he had given his form, was crucified in his stead, while he himself, in Simon's form stood by and then ascended to the Father, smiling at those who thought to keep him; hence the gnostic exalts himself above knowledge of the Crucified.

Taking the presentation of IRENÆUS without blending it with other data (from Clem. and Orig.) Basilides appears to be almost the double of Saturninus.

A fundamental conception of quite another sort dominates in the Basilides of the *Elenchus* of Hippolytus. He starts from the primitive and original Nothing, above all names and determinations, which is not matter, not substance, not spiritual, not sensuous, not human, not God, but pure Nothing.

---

[1] Dikaiosune and Eirene (CLEM. Strom. IV. 539) are wrongly adduced here by Neander; they belong to another connection altogether, *vid. infra*.

Since then Nothing existed, the non-existing God desired to create a world—but willing itself is already an improper figure, he willed without reason, will or mind—and brought forth a **World-seed,** which being itself nothing definite, yet contained everything potentially and in unseparated mixture in itself, *i.e.* the primitive beginning is here conceived entirely cosmo- and theo-gonically; the opposition of God and the World itself emerges from the primitive and original Nothing, which is potentially all things, but also in such a manner that God still appears as not-being (pure potentiality of the content), the World as the universal seed (*πανσπερμία*).

In conscious opposition to the notions of emanations (no *προβολή*!), Basilides on this first foundation makes everything strive from below upwards, from the worse to the better, since nothing is so foolish as contrariwise to strive from the better to the worse (downwards). The principle of development is hence not emanation, but evolution, the **separation** of the undistinguished mixture of the original *πανσπερμία*, the separation and restoration of each to its definite place (*εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα*) (Hipp. VII. 27, p. 244, Id. p. 378, 33 sq., cf. Clem., *Strom.* II. 8, p. 448 P. 20, p. 488 P.). The all-seed also contains the tripartite sonship (*υἱότης*) which is entirely of one and the same essence (*ὁμοούσιος*) with the non-existing God, and aspires to the latter on account of his superlative beauty and grace (the non-existing God—pure potentiality—at the same time represented as the Final Cause). First the finest part of the sonship releases itself from the mixture, and with the speed of thought exalts itself to the non-existing (in him, therefore, the divine potentiality is already become actual). The second and coarser sonship requires for its exaltation, as it were, one of the wings of the Holy (ministering) Spirit, which, self-raising, is yet at the same time exalted by the second sonship, yet can only attain to the border of the non-existing God and free sonship, and hence is left in the vicinity of sonship and that blessed and unnameable place, but as it were retains an odour of sonship in itself. The Spirit as *πνεῦμα μεθόριον* forms the limit between the supramundane and the mundane, for the highest division of all things is this between *κόσμος* and *ὑπερκόσμια* (VII. 22, p. 364, 8; 27, 33, p. 378, 33; cf. Clem., *Strom.* IV. 26, p. 639 P.). The third sonship, that which requires purification, remains behind, giving and receiving benefits. Out of the *πανσπερμία* the Great Archon, the Head of the world, now exalts himself up to the firmament, and forms, without knowing that there exists what is even higher than himself (the supramundane, as the pneumatic element in the all-seed), the visible world. He begets for himself first (always out of the mass of the world-seed) a son, who is greater and wiser than himself—this takes place according to the pre-determined counsel of the non-existing God—and places him, in admiration of his beauty, at his right hand in the Ogdoas (the sphere of eight—above the spheres of the seven planets—as the upward limit). In the formation of the entire heavenly (ethereal) world, his whole creative activity as Archon or Demiurge, is inspired and guided by the wiser Son. Then there ascends a second Archon, lower, but still to be designated as unnameable, whose place is the Hebdomas (the highest of the planet spheres, including the latter in itself) and who likewise forms a Son out of what is subject to him, who is greater than himself (at this point may be attached the amplifying of the heavenly worlds to 365, and the designation of the highest Archon as Abrasax, with regard to which it remains doubtful whether HIPPOLYTUS took it from Irenæus or his sources, or found it himself in his own sources; in any case it is incidentally brought in). The real kernel of the exposition consists in the redemption and restoration of the third Sonship, which still remained behind in the *πανσπερμία* (the human and

pneumatic in distinction from the Divine and sidereal), the groaning creation. The latter has hitherto remained in the earthly world-sphere (*διάστημα*) in order to do good, to inform and perfect those souls which, according to their nature are destined to remain here below. It has also remained here below to receive benefit, which may be sought in the upward wrestling of the spirit towards things or souls (cf. my *Kosmol.*, p. 364). The restoration, however, takes place by means of the gospel, which introduces a new world-period, after the period of the Great Archon, the Ogdoas, has lasted from Adam to Moses, that of the lesser, the Hebdomas, from Moses to the Gospel, to which latter the revelation to Moses and all the Prophets down to the Soter is referred. The Gospel came into the world and passed through all (heavenly) dominions and powers, but not in such a way that a real descent of the blessed Sonship took place, but in such manner that a spiritually distinct influence proceeded from the non-existing God and the First Sonship (as the gleam of the distant fire lighted the Indian Naphta). Hence the Gospel is exactly explained as *ἡ τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων γνῶσις, ἣν ὁ μέγας ἄρχων οὐκ ἠπίστατο* (VII. 27, p. 376, 7). It is first grasped by the Son of the Great Archon, who reveals it to the latter (he is here also designated as the Christ who sits beside him), so that the Archon in astonishment and fear repents (Hipp. VII. 26, p. 372; in agreement with Clem., *Strom.* II. 8, p. 448 P. *ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου*!). In like manner the procedure is reproduced in the Hebdomas. Finally the restoration of the still unformed Sonship in the earthly sphere is made good. The illumination comes down from the Hebdomas on Jesus, the son of Mary, whose life is related in accordance with the gospels. The alleged crass Docetism of Basilides, which is quite incompatible with this teaching, is also excluded by the reference to the Baptism in Clement (*Strom.* I .21, p. 408 P.; cf. Exc. Theod. 16, p. 922 P., the Spirit as *διάκονος*). By the illumination of Jesus there is perfected in and by him the separation and purification of the remaining Sonship, and the clear separation of those destined to the different spheres. He is the first-fruit of the *φυλοκρίνησις τῶν συγκεχομένων* (378, 16 sq.). In the microcosmic being of Jesus the corporeal suffered and was sacrificed to the earthly world (the *ἀμορφία*): the psychical arose from death and was led to the Hebdomas as its sphere. The rest belongs to the sphere of the Great Archon and the dominion of the limiting Spirit, and falls to them; the real Sonship attains to blessed Sonship above. But from Jesus as the first-fruit the separation goes farther, till the whole Sonship is exalted and transplanted into the Heavenly, and each thing comes to its own place. And this latter is the finest and the most powerful, so that it, strengthened by the light which shines from above, can of itself exalt itself like the first.

Corresponding to the fundamental type of the system is its aim, not of a dissolution of the world, from which the Spirit has been withdrawn, but an eternal calming of the Kosmos which has been completely developed from seminality, after everything has come to its own place and thus all world pangs have been overcome. Over every degree of the Kosmos a great uncertainty is poured out, by means of which no degree aspires beyond that which is natural to it. Cf. the corresponding discussion of Basilides *ap.* Clement, *Strom.* II. 3, p. 433 P. as to the *ἐκλογὴ ὑπερκόσμιος* and the degree of faith and hope corresponding to every cosmical degree in nature.

To this I believe may be referred Clem., *Strom.* IV. 25, p. 637 P.; *Βασ. ὑποστατὰς δικαιοσύνην τε καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῆς τὴν εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει ἐν ὀγδοάδι μένειν ἐνδιατεταγμένας.* For it is said of the Ogdoad, VII. 27, p. 376, 90 sqq., that the Great Archon also and all the creations subject to him will be seized by Agnoia, that nothing strives after that which is against nature (*δικαιοσ.*!) and nothing is attracted to suffering (*εἰρήνη*).

7. Valentinus and his School.—*Literature:* Rossel in his Theol. Schriften II. 1847; Heinrici, *Die Val. Gn. u. die hl. Schr.*, Berlin, 1871; Lipsius in JprTh., 1887.

This it is which Irenæus has specially in view in his refutation of the false Gnosis and which became specially dangerous to the church, so much the more that in spite of its false speculation, in regard to religion it was more just to the spirit of Christianity. Irenæus regarded the doctrine of Valentinus as a higher resumé (*recapitulatio, i.e.* ἀνακεφαλαίωσις) of all heresy—he who refutes it refutes them all (*Adv. Hæres.* IV. præf.)—and Valentinus as the first who took the principles of the sects of the so-called Gnostici and transformed them into a scholastic doctrine of a peculiar stamp (Iren., *Adv. Hær.* IV., præf. 2; cf. the similar expression regarding Tatian, *Adv. hæres.* I. 28, 1).

According to Epiphanius, who still found Valentinians remaining in Egypt in his time, Valentinus came from the sea-coast of Egypt and had received Hellenic culture in Alexandria. Under Bishop Hyginus (c. 140) he came to Rome and also remained till the time of Anicetus (155–166); his complete and definite break with the church however is said only to have taken place subsequently, in Cyprus (cf. also Philastr.). At the same time Justin already adduces the Valentinians as heretical (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 35), and according to Tertull., *Adv. Val.* 5, combated Valentinus himself as a heretic (in the Syntagma, written *before* the first Apology—before 147?), according to which the above notice of Epiphanius must rest on an error. It seems rather that Valentinian must even in Rome have come to a real break with the community of the church; it may have been here that Valentinus, in any case an important personality, was near to becoming bishop (Tertull., *Adv. Val.* 4), though another who was respected as a confessor was preferred to him (perhaps Pius?).

In an artistic and profound manner Valentinus makes the hidden and unfathomable original essence (Bythos) open and unfold itself into a fulness (into a πλήρωμα) of divine potencies (Æons), and moreover according to the law of the syzygies of male and female, pairs of mutually related æons. The conception of the syzygies goes back to the naturalistic cosmogonies, which make the procreation of all things proceed from the male and female elements; this conception however is here sublimated, carried over into transcendental speculation on the ontological and metaphysical moments of the self-unfolding of the Godhead, which plainly shows the influence of Pythagoreo-Platonic philosophy.

From the Bythos (=προαρχή, προπάτωρ), alongside of which stands Sige or Ennoia as syzygos, there proceed, by the mediation of the latter, Nous (=Monogenes or Pater) and Aletheia, and form with the former the **primitive quaternity,** the original parent or root of all things. From Nous and Aletheia there now proceed the pairs Logos and Zoe, Anthropos and Ecclesia, and further sets of 10 to 12 (5 and 6 pairs), as to whose derivation from the previous pairs, somewhat different accounts are found in the narratives. According to the representation ascribed to Valentinus himself (Iren. I. 11, 1 sq.) **one of these Æons** (doubtless the last female æon, Sophia) fell out of the Pleroma: the **Mother,** and now gave birth in remembrance of the higher world, to the Christ, but with a shadow (moment of defect, of finitude). Christ, of male nature, frees himself from this shadow and hastens back into the Pleroma (cf. the second Hyiotes of Basil.). The Mother, however, left behind with the shadow

and emptied of pneumatic substance, gives birth to the Demiurge or universal ruler (*παντοκράτωρ*) of lower things, and at the same time to another, the Left (just as with the Gnostics, i.e. the Ophites, or rather Barbelognostics, = Cosmocrator). These two, as the Right and the Left (psychic and hylic) rule the lower world. One Horos separates the Bythos from the other Æons, a second Horos the Mother from the Pleroma. The decisive evidence for the Valentinian conception lies in the case of Sophia. The latter however, in the view which is to be traced back to PTOLEMÆUS (Iren. I. 2, 8) is somewhat differently conceived, and here the Valentinian view is completed in the following manner, so that there arises the form of a duplicated Sophia, upper and lower.

The female æon of the lowest syzygy, Sophia, strives with unrestrained desire, by leaping over limits to throw herself headlong into the Bythos (to unite herself with him in knowledge), which in its infinite greatness Nous desired to reveal to all æons, but was prevented by Sige. The movement called forth by *σοφία* is opposed by Horos (the principle of the maintenance of legal limits); he restrains Sophia from her mischievous beginnings, separates her exceptionable thoughts (*ἔννοια*) by his *πάθος*, and this Ennoia now sinks down from the divine Pleroma into the *κένωμα*. In the Pleroma however the harmony thus disturbed is restored by two new æons begotten by Nous, the Higher Christ, and the (female) Holy Ghost. In this restoration there is involved at the same time the explanation of the limits of the individual æons, the knowledge that their duration (their eternal persistence) is founded on the incomprehensible element of the Father, but their individual existence and shape on his comprehensible element. In gratitude therefore the entire world of æons now bring forth—at the same time as the highest glory of the divine life—the common product, Soter, or Jesus. The unfolding of the divine life has therefore here already led to a process of an ideal sort, in which the moment of the finite, of destruction is already placed alongside the other, and to a restoration and completion mediated by this moment of finitude, which now at the same time places the beginning of the real world-process in the extrusion of the unripe fruit (*ἔκτρωμα*) of Sophia.

This, the lower Sophia or Achamoth (חָכְמוֹת Prov. ix. 1, but the meaning transposed? vid. Lips.) is formed by Horos, but left behind in the Kenoma in a condition of consuming yearning. The Soter Jesus is then sent to her as helper (*παράκλητος*), he separates from her her suffering conditions (sorrow, fear, recklessness); from them there arises the sensuous (hylic) world. Her supplication takes on the form of psychical nature, but is itself at once pneumatically impregnated by the angels which accompany the Soter. In this way she comes to the head of the visible development of the world. Her unconscious instrument is the (essentially psychical) **Demiurge** (= God of the Teros), the former of the psychic and hylic (right and left). who creates seven heavens or spirits (angels), for that reason is also himself called Hebdomas, so that the Sophia Achamoth, who is enthroned above him, is also called Ogdoas. From the psychic and the hylic he forms men, into whom, through Sophia, the pneumatic also enters. On the whole Heathenism represents the Hylic, Judaism the Psychic, but in both, under the influence of Sophia Achamoth, there occur pneumatically gifted natures, such as the kings and the prophets set over his people by the Demiurge. The Demiurge sends to his people the Messiah who is of a psychical nature (for the rest secretly pneumatically equipped by Achamoth), with whom the heavenly Soter is united in baptism (till the crucifixion). The latter unites with himself the pneumatic (gnostic) natures, separates them and the psychic from the hylic, and leads the emancipated Sophia

Achamoth as his syzygos into the Pleroma, followed by the Pneumatic natures, while the psychic souls along with the Demiurge are exalted to the middle place, but Hyle falls victim to consumption by fire. Pneumatic and psychic souls are related to each other as the higher gnosis and simple faith.

The outstanding importance of Valentinus shows itself in the branching out of his school. A distinction is made between an Italian and an Anatolian school, whose most important doctrinal difference consists in the maintenance of the original doctrine of Valentinus of one Sophia, and the supposition that the Soter only descends to redemption in a pneumatic body on the part of the Anatolian school, and in the maintenance on the part of the Italian school of the distinction of the Higher and Lower Sophia, and the supposition that the Soter also assumed a psychical body (union with the psychical Redeemer of the Demiurge). This Italian school is chiefly represented by a PTOLEMÆUS, from whom the above construction of gnosticism is derived, but who also shows in the Epistle to Flora on the conception of the Old Testament (in EPIPH., *Hær.* 33, 3 sqq., also in STIEREN'S Irenæus I. 922 sqq.; in GRABE, *Spicilegium Patr.* II. 692 sqq., and in HILGENFELD, ZwTh., 1887, 214–230), as do also the fragments of Valentinus himself (in STIEREN I. 209–921; HILGENFELD, *Ketzergeschichte*, 293–305), how in practical religious literature the speculative construction retires more into the background; and by HERACLEON (according to HIPPOL., *Ref.* V. 35), of whom we possess important fragments in Origen's Commentary on the Gospel according to John.

To the Anatolian school belong the excerpts from Theodotus (*ἐκ τῶν Θεοδότου καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς καλουμένης διδασκαλίας κατὰ τοὺς Οὐαλεντίνου χρόνους ἐπιτομαί* Opp. p. 966–989) preserved in the works of Clemens Alex., as also the otherwise unknown Axionicus in Antioch. (TERTULL., *Adv. Val.* 4; HIPPOL., l. 1,) and Ardesianes (Bardesianes?). In these excerpts §§ 29–42 especially give a connected representation, which seems to approach more closely than the Ptolemaic expansion to the original system of Valentinus (cf. Lipsius in JprTh., 1887, 629 sqq.).

Among (Italian) Valentinians are also to be reckoned Marcus and his school (Marcosians) who (according to the view of IRENÆUS based on personal observation) on the one hand run off into abstruse play upon numbers, and on the other and practical side into wild and impure magical arts. Others also, without strictly maintaining the Valentinian doctrine, show the fructifying influence of Valentinus, e.g., the Docetists (vid. my *Kosmol.* p. 323–335).

8. CERDON AND MARCION.—*Literature*: A. HAHN, *De gnos. M. antin.*, Regiom. 1820–25; A. HARNACK in ZwTh. 1876 and *Dogmengeschichte* I. 197–214.

The distinction of the creator and God of the visible world as a being subordinated to the highest God, and the revelation of this hitherto hidden God in Christianity is a thought which universally occurs in Gnosticism. It occurs however in an entirely new practical light in **Marcionitism**, in which it is made the support of faith in the redeeming love of God revealed in Christ, as something entirely new, individual, and hitherto concealed. In vivid consciousness of how little the Gospel in the Gospel was recognised in the common ecclesiastical moral-legal Christianity of the time, it is sought to found the Pauline opposition of the Gospel and the Law on the above metaphysical opposition.

At the same time the derivative character of even this highly original and practically important phenomenon of the gnostic spirit must not on that account be ignored. It finds expression in the relation (entirely credibly

attested by IRENÆUS and TERTULLIAN) of Marcion to the **Syrian** Gnostic CERDON, who came to Rome in the time of Bishop Hyginus (c. 136–140) (Iren. I. 29, 1) and there at one time raised offence in the community by his doctrines, and again attempted to maintain his connection with it (IREN., *Adv. Hær.* III. 4, 3). He already taught that the God proclaimed by the Law and the Prophets, was not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to him must be ascribed the architectonic of the system which Marcion appropriated as the basis on which to make good his religious ideas.

MARCION, born at Sinope in Pontus, designated the ship-master (*ναύκληρος*), came to Rome under Antoninus Pius in the time of the Roman Bishop Pius (c. 140–155, *sub Pio impius* [Tert.] probably in the beginning of the forties; perhaps he first became a Christian here, at all events "In the first glow of faith (Tert.) he presented a considerable sum to the Roman community." Other, but probably less certain ancient accounts, make him in fact the son of a bishop in Sinope, and make out that he was there expelled the community on account of the seduction of a maiden.) In Rome, having come under the influence of Cerdon, he fell out with the Roman community, which is said to have given him back his money. In the end he is said to have been ready to be reconciled to the Church, which however demanded, as the condition of his readmission, that he should bring back those whom he had been the means of leading astray and to have been overtaken by death before it was fulfilled (?).

Marcion was still flourishing under Anicetus (c. —163). The words of CLEMENT (*Strom.* IV. 8, 66, p. 593) do not absolutely require us to think of him as still living when the passage was written, although this sense seems at first to suggest itself.

The God of the Old Testament, of Creation and the Law, appeared to him not only as the hard, righteous, passionately angry God, but only as the producer of evils (*ego sum qui condo malum*, he says himself in the O.T.), as finding pleasure in war, as petty in his regulations and contradictory in his purposes (he can repent), as the creator of a by no means perfect world (*nimirum grande opus et deo dignum mundus!* scoff the Marcionites).

This God of the Jews and the Law does not stand opposed as the absolutely evil principle to the highest and good God, but as the smaller and more limited (*κοσμοκράτωρ*, IRENÆUS, corresponding to the meaning of this expression in Syrian Gnosticism, cf. also JUSTIN's scheme) to the higher (purely supra-mundane) God, and on the other hand he stands in close connection with matter, or Hyle, out of which he forms the world (the female cosmogonic principle; CLEM. *Strom.* III. 3, 3, p. 515; TERT., *Adv. Marc.* I. 15; HIPPOL., *Ref. Epit.* X. 19; later writers: EPHRAEM, THEODORET; ESNIG (*vid.* my *Kosmol.* 378) perhaps colours the latter view mythically also). Both, as the chiefly world-forming powers, have behind and above them the highest, good, hidden God, who persists in eternal rest, who besides has also (likewise corresponding to the general Gnostic scheme) a higher heavenly world about and under him (the greater God has also brought forth greater things than the world; JUST., *Apol.* I. 26; cf. TERT., *Adv. Marc.* I. 15). Suddenly and without preparation (for the O.T. belongs to the God of the Jews, and does not even contain scattered revelations of the higher God) the good, loving, gracious God sends down his Son Christ, the *spiritus salutaris* (TERT., *Adv. Marc.* I. 19) in an apparent body, who appears in Judæa, in the time of Pontius Pilate, reveals the good God and attests himself by his miracles. As he undid the Law and the Prophets and all the works of the World-Creator, he was crucified by the princes of this world (1 Cor. ii. 8), the angelic powers of the Creator: he himself however, as in-

corporeal, was not affected. He announces the religion of love and freedom from the Law of the Creator, not however in the sense of antinomian libertinism. On account of the strictness of his life, Marcion is called by TERTULLIAN *stoicæ studiosus*, by HIPPOLYTUS a Cynic. Believers to whom the good God is revealed must, so far as possible, refrain themselves from the good things and enjoyment of this world of the Creator, especially from intercourse of the sexes and the eating of flesh, as again the body has no part in salvation, but only souls, of those, namely, who attach themselves to the Gospel. Weight being mainly laid on faith in Divine love, he makes Cain and all the evil-doers of the O.T. and all the heathen to be redeemed by the Saviour who descends into Hades, as they all turn with desire towards him, while all the legally pious of the Old Covenant who are accustomed to be led into temptation by their God, can reach no trust in the preaching of the Gospel, and therefore remain in Hades.

The Gospel, which was early falsified by Judaists, is to be restored in its purity. He sets up the Gospel of Luke, purified from the alleged falsification, as the genuine Gospel (in which all that treats of the birth of Jesus and whatever in the words of our Lord, makes the Creator appear as the Father of Jesus, is set aside) along with the epistles of Paul similarly amended (*ἀπόστολος*, the ten Pauline without the Pastoral Epistles), accompanying them with his **Antitheses** which are intended to point out the contradiction between Gospel and Law. (Attempt to restore the **Gospel** and **Apostolos** of Marcion in HILGENFELD, *Krit. Unters. über das Evangelium Justin's, der clem. Hom. u. Marcion's*, 1850, pp. 389–475, and *ejusd. Theol. Jahrbb.*, 1853, 192–244, and ZTh., 1854, 426–484, of the **Antitheses** also in A. HAHN, *Antitheses M.*, Regiom. 1823. Of a commentary of Marcion's on the Gospel we find probable traces in EPHRAEM, *Evangelii concordantis expositio in Lat. trans. a.* J. B. AUCHER, ed. Moesinger, Venice 1876; cf. A. HARNACK in ZKG. IV. 471 sqq.)

For the determination of Marcion's special position in Gnosticism his rejection of the allegorial exegesis of the O.T. is very important (Orig. in Matth. tom. 15, 3), and the fact that in opposition to the rising *disciplina arcani* he allowed the catechumens to pray along with the believers, and admitted them to the celebration of the mysteries (*vid.* the passages in Hilgenfeld, 530).

Marcion had a considerable number of disciples, who however, as it appears, while at one with him in their fundamental religious tendency, permitted themselves many variations in the theological constructions which were brought to the aid of the former (as a matter of fact they were here quite secondary matters, theoretical substructure for the practical religious attitude); the fact that several of them expressly spoke of three principles (the Good, the Righteous, and the Hyle—so Syneros) was, according to the above, no really essential variation, only another mode of expression; so likewise when Prepon spoke of a good and an evil principle, and of the just as an intermediate one. On the contrary, one of the most outstanding disciples, Apelles, who for the rest recognised the unattainability of human conceptions just of the highest divine things, desired to hold on to the voice of faith, to avoid strife, and to concede salvation to all those who set their hopes on the Crucified, if only they were found occupied in good works, and emphasized the fact that for his part he maintained the unity of the divine principle. This he sought to attain as follows: while Marcion opposed the righteous God as Creator to the highest God without any reflection on their original relation of derivation, on his part in analogy to other Gnostic conceptions, he expressly makes the creator of the world an angel (indirectly derived from the higher world of the highest God)

(*angelus inclytus*, Tert.) who has created the visible world according to the pattern of the heavenly world, but in an imperfect manner only, and hence experiences regret over its failings; from this latter, the Creator, however, he distinguishes the God of Israel as the fiery God of lower generation, who has enticed souls down into sensuality from the higher (he is probably identical with the πνεῦμα ἀντικείμενον in Rhodo). If to him there is besides ascribed a cause of evil, therefore, in spite of the assertion of Apelles (in Rhodo) of the maintenance of the unity of the principle, there are here taken into account four principles (of Hippolytus), yet three of these principles fall back into the category of derived (angelic) world-powers, somewhat after the type of Saturninus or the Ophites.[1] The great importance of Marcionitism is shown also in the specially solicitous opposition offered to it by the teachers of the Church, who, just because of its much richer religious-ethical and practical content, recognised in it a specially dangerous enemy, as **blasphemia creatoris,** threatening to shake the foundation of the Christian religious view of the world. JUSTIN MARTYR already combated it in a special work: Bishop Dionysius of Corinth (from c. 177) warned the community of Nicomedia against it; Theophilus of Antioch, Philip of Gortyna and Modestus wrote against it (also, against Marcion's Docetism, Melito of Sardes, περὶ σαρκώσεως Χριστοῦ, according to Anast. Sinait. *Hodeg. in Acephalos*, c. 13), so likewise Rhodo (fragm. in Euseb.). Alongside of IRENÆUS, TERTULLIAN (*Adv. Marcion.* 5 books) is specially valuable (*Later works:* the PSEUDO-TERTULLIAN'S poem against Marcion, cf. on it HÜCKSTADT 1875, and thereon HILGENFELD, ZfwTh. 1876, apparently a production of the third century; the pseudo-Origen. *Dial. Adamantii de orthod. fide*, cf. now CASPARI, *Kirchenhist. Anecdota* I. 1883 and 1875; ZAHN, ZKG. IX, 193). ESNIG, Armenian Bishop, *Destruction of the Heretics*, translated by Neumann, ZhTh. 1834, and W. WINDISCHMANN in the *Bayr. Annalen für Vaterlandskunde*, 1834 (25. Jan.); in French: LE VAILLANT DE FLORIVAL, Paris 1853; emendations on the latter by HÜBSCHMANN. *ap.* Hilgenfeld, ZwTh. 1876, p. 84 sq.).

THE LAST FORMS OF GNOSTICISM.

1. In the Syrian East of the Church, under yet imperfect ecclesiastical conditions, the apologist TATIAN, a disciple of Justin Martyr (in the East since 172) had gained entrance with his Harmony of the Gospels, although in the West he had already given offence by his Gnostic opinions, which were connected with his **Encratite** (*vid. infra*), *i.e.* harshly ascetic attitude (rejection of marriage and the use of flesh and wine), depreciating the visible material creation and not referring it to God Himself. He taught the existence of a Demiurge, distinct from the highest God, and who in the work of creation spoke the word: Let there be light! not as a command, but as a supplication or desire. Moreover he denied salvation to fallen Adam, whom even his Apology regards as having lost the higher spirit and along with it the divine image. All the same his Harmony of the Gospels remained for centuries uninterruptedly in use in the Syrian Church (and was only entirely set aside in the first half of the fifth century).

2. (HILGENFELD, *Bardes., der letzte Gnost.*, Leipsic 1884.) So likewise some-

[1] I am unable to adopt the conception of Apelles by A. HARNACK, *De Apellis gnosi monarchica*, 1874.

what later on, BARDESANES in Edessa, while holding undoubtedly Gnostic ideas, takes a decidedly influential position in the Church. Born at Edessa in 154, and probably brought up at the court of the Prince as a man of the world, he survived the overthrow of his friend Abgarus VIII. (A. bar Manu) by Caracalla (217), and the rule of Antoninus of Emesa, called Elagabalus (218–222), and died at a great age. (The confusion of this Antoninus with Marcus Aurel. Ant. will explain how it was that, according to EUSEBIUS, the Greek sources put back to some extent the date of Bardesanes and made him flourish c. 170, while the correct date is to be gathered from the Edessene chronicle [ASSEM. *Bibl. Or.* I. 389], with which Porphyry and the Armenian chronicler Moses of Chorene agree; cf. A. v. GUTSCHMID in the *Rhein. Mus.* N. F. XIX.). Bardesanes exercised an important activity in the Church, and preached Christianity in Armenia also, although without result, and for a time withdrew himself into the fortress of Ani near Kars. HIPPOL., *Ref.* VII. 31, hence calls this contemporary of his an Armenian. He became the father of Syrian Church-song, and his hymns had such vitality, that even in the fourth century Ephraem Syrus sought to replace them by orthodox compositions, on account of their Gnostic colouring; he wrote a treatise against idols, an epistle to the Emperor (in the interest of Christianity), and likewise a treatise against the Marcionites (the Marcionite Prepon wrote to him, *vid.* HIPPOL. l.c.), but also one on the Secrets and on Light and Darkness. In his Gnostic views, which found a hardly demonstrable expression in the hymns above referred to (*vid.* A. HAHN, *Bardesanes Gnost. Syrorum primus hymnologus* 1819; cf. MACKE in ThQS. 1874), may be recognised a doctrine of Æons and Syzygies, which the ancients regard as Valentinian (but THEODORET, *Hær. fab. comp.* 22 as very simplified Valentinian doctrine), and many modern scholars as rather based on Syrian Ophitism; further, a Docetic view of Christ; his opposition to Marcion however is based on his harsh rejection of the Old Testament. The extensive fragment of a treatise ascribed to Bardesanes which is handed down in Greek by EUSEBIUS (*Præp. Ev.* VI. 10), and which treats of Fate, belongs to the treatise which has been discovered complete in Syriac, the Book of the Laws of the Countries (CURETON, *Spicil. Syr.* 1855, translated and explained by MERX, *Bardesanes*, Halle 1863), which, speaking of Bardesanes in the third person, proceeds from his school, and which, while it maintains the view of a certain influence of the stars on human acts and fortunes, is yet anxious to guard human freedom. It probably indicates the part of his school which approximated to the monotheistic and ecclesiastical conception, while another appears to have heightened his dualism, and subsequently to have taken on Manichee influences. The sect appears in later times to have extended far eastward, even as far as China (cf. Schahrastani and Fihrist, the latter in FLÜGEL, Mani 192 sqq.).

3. The original formative power of Gnosticism proper expires with the close of the second century, but Gnostic ideas flourished on exuberantly for a longer time. A witness to this is the only complete Gnostic production which has been preserved (apart from the gnostically coloured Apocryphal Gospels), the Pistis Sophia belonging to the third century (*P.S. opus gnosticum Valentino adjudicatum, e Cod. Ms. Coptico Londin. descriptum latine vertit* M. G. SCHWARTZE, ed. J. H. PETERMANN, Berlin 1853), in which the fall and redemption of Sophia were set forth on an Ophite-Valentinian basis. A richly amplified doctrine of emanations is pre-supposed, and yet the interest turns rather on the practical doctrines of Sin and Repentance, and the different degrees of the purification of the soul.

C. The Distinctive Fundamental Conceptions of the Gnostic Philosophy.

These may be comprised in the following principles:—

1. Christianity, which is a practical doctrine of salvation, is interpreted in the sense of a religious speculative view of the world, as religious knowledge of the world-process, which leads to the redemption of the spirit.

2. With the separation of the world-creator (and law-giver) from the Highest God, the essential basis of the Old Testament revealed religion, on which Christianity rests, is destroyed: the **blasphemia creatoris!** In place of the Old Testament conception of **creation**, which was foreign to all the rest of the ancient world, their comes that of a world-process of a theo- and cosmogonic sort, which starts with **evolutions** and **emanations** of the divine original basis, and whereby the present world is reached mostly by a catastrophe, which is always somewhat of the nature of a fall of the spirit into the material, or of an original destiny, in which subdivine or anti-divine powers bring about the world as it presently subsists, in which that which is of divine origin is held in alienation from the divine, as it were against its will.

3. Accordingly the Christian thought of redemption (exaltation above the world and emancipation from the world) appears under the point of view of the dissolution of the world-process, the conquest of cosmical powers and emancipation of the spirit from matter.

4. Hence a **dualistic** trait is universally to be observed, although the two primitive principles are not by any means everywhere distinguished in the same manner. Rather, we find a whole gradation from a coarsely conceived material dualism up to one which is philosophically sublimed, and which conceals the dualistic moment in the unfolding of the divine powers themselves, and in particular up to a pantheistically coloured derivation of the opposites from the indifference of the original basis of things. The purely religious contrasts of the world and the kingdom of God, of the flesh and the spirit, are enlarged and transformed into oppositions of cosmic powers; thereby they are on the one hand transferred from the ethical to the physical, on the other hand the idea of redemption is on the point of being dissolved into the coming to itself of the spirit.

5. Christ is placed in the turning point of the religious history of mankind, but the latter is raised to the turning point of the whole cosmic development. Christ indicates the entry and revelation of the divine spiritual principle into the visible world, and so the

revelation of the hitherto hidden God, and therewith the rise of the new life for all who accept this revelation (or are able to comprehend it) and subject themselves to the necessary ascetic and mysterious conditions.

6. As the Godhead (although in various manners in the different systems) unfolds itself in different divine potencies (Æons), so in Christ one of these potencies appears in the visible world, or rather is conceived as flashing up from the intermixture; but this heavenly potency is universally in some way distinguished as redeeming agent from its visible appearance—whether it be that the latter is conceived as a real man who is a transient bearer of the heavenly Christ, or that Christ's own bodily appearance is only a heavenly (psychical, not properly material) image, or finally in such a way that the human appearance is a mere phantom—**Docetism**.

7. The distinction between the *pneumatic* as the true community of those who by nature are capable of receiving the revelation of the spirit and the divine life, and the *hylic* who are doomed to extinction, and finally with Valentinus and also others, the *psychic*, as those who indeed are not suited for the proper revelation of the spirit, but for whom in the popular belief (*pistis* as the preparatory step to *gnosis*), a certain knowledge of the divine, and the corresponding felicity, are attainable.

8. Gnosticism turns itself away entirely from the whole realism of the original Christian eschatological hopes (visible return of Christ, resurrection of the body and Christ's glorious kingdom). To it the final aim is the emancipation of the spirit from the sensuous and the pangs of finitude.

9. The dualism of the fundamental conception is reflected in the ethical views; the opposition of spirit and sense is metaphysically made absolute. The powerful, practical-ascetic tendency of ancient Christianity receives a theoretical (metaphysical) foundation, and is thereby intensified and driven to a head. The alternative is that spirit regarded in contrast with the material, as the essential, causes the sphere of sensuous expressions of life to appear as indifferent; thus there arises a libertinism on principle, or at least a tendency to conformity to the world.

D. General Remarks on the Significance of Gnosticism for the Church.

1. The Gnostics sought in the first place to obtain recognition and adherents for themselves and their doctrines in the **communities**, and were partly able in the Eastern districts even to give to the young Christianity of the communities a Gnostic colouring, or to get themselves respected in them (Tatian and Bardesanes in the Syrian Church). In the Græco-Roman sphere they sought to

work in the communities as esoterics, and formed schools or conventicles (*nostra suffodiunt ut sua ædificent*, TERT. *De Præscr.* 42), so that their adherents still sought to maintain a certain connection with the communities, and regarded themselves as the pneumatic *élite* of the church. But the great representatives of the Gnostic schools are here early rejected from the church as intruders, and their sects from now till far on in the third century form a continual source of disturbance for the church. Yet, with the growing discordance of their opinions, and the individual arbitrariness of their speculations, they show on the whole little stability and power of resistance. On the other hand, MARCION comes forward with the demand for **reformation of the church** itself and its restoration to its true original foundation, and the **Marcionite Anti-Church**, in which the Gnostic theory only appears as a support for a **religious evangel,** develops a much more tenacious power of life. On both sides however, as well against the above threatening internal decomposition as against this attack from without, the church is compelled to gather itself together more stringently, on a more definite foundation than heretofore, and to secure itself against falling away into discordant opinions and the dissolution of the firm stability of the community.

2. The Gnostics see themselves obliged to seek a support for their ideas, which were contradictory to the common Christian views, and which yet they wished to establish as the higher sense of Christianity, in express resort to the **sources of ecclesiastical tradition.** They appeal to alleged apostolic men, who had transmitted to them genuine religious truths from Jesus, as BASILIDES appealed to Glaukias, an interpreter of Peter (CLEM. *Strom.* VII. 106 sq.), or to Matthias (HIPP. *Ref. Hær.* 7, 20), Valentinus to Theodas, an acquaintance of Paul (CLEM. ALEX. l.c.), the Ophites to Mariamne and through the latter to James the brother of the Lord (HIPP. *Ref.* 5, 7. 10, 9) and many others. They make appeal to a secret tradition from Jesus himself till now, which did not impart everything to all, but only certain things to a few chosen persons (TERT. *De Præscr.* p. 25; IRENÆUS frequently). But they had to come to an understanding with the existing written memorials of the Apostolic age. They begin to explain the existing written fixation of the **evangelical** tradition according to their own ideas by means of allegorical interpretation, which in the case of the Old Testament was indeed in universal use among Christians. Hence the **Gnostics are the first** in the church who apply exegetical methods to New Testament scriptures (BASILIDES' 24 Books of ἐξηγητικά on the Gospel, HERACLEON's Commentary on the Gospel of John, Marcion's Explanations of the Gospels, *v.* HARNACK in ZKG. 4, 500 sqq.) and who appeal to **Apostolic writings as authoritative** (*vid.* the use and explanation of apostolic passages along with those from the Gospels in the extracts from Gnostic writings referred to by HIPPOLYTUS, *Refutatio*, the *excerpta ex scriptis Theodoti* in Clem. Alex. and the Epistle of the Valentinian Ptolemæus to Flora, Epiph., *Hær.* 33). Both are treated with extreme arbitrariness (cf. JACOBI in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift f. chr. W.* 1851, 28 sq. 1853, 24 sq.; SCHOLTEN, *Die ältesten Zeugen betr. die Schriften des N.T. übers. von*, Munchst. 1867; HOFSTEDE DE GROOT, *Basilides als erster Zeuge* etc. 1863, and especially G. HEINRICI, *Die Valentinianische Gnosis und die heilige Schrift*, 1871). Therewith there is connected further the falsification of scripture with which they are charged, particularly the alteration of the Gospels by omissions and additions (TERT. *Præscr.* 17, 38; DIONYS. COR. in Eusebius 4, 23; CLEM. *Strom.* 4, 6; ORIG. *c. Cels.* 2, 27). By the transformation of the evangelical tradition the heretical tendency gains credence.

To this period, along with the so-called **Gospel of the Hebrews** (vid. WEISS,

Einleitung ins N.T. p. 495 sq.). which pretended to have been written by Matthew in the name of the twelve Apostles, there belongs especially the εὐαγγέλιον κατ' Αἰγυπτίους of which the Naassenes (Hipp. *Ref.* 6, 7) and the Encratites (Clem. Al. 3, 13, 93; 3, 9, 63) made use, the **Gospel of Thomas** among the Peratæ (Hipp. *Ref.* 5, 7)[1] the **Gospel of Peter** (Euseb. 6, 12) and others. In general the practice of apocryphal authorship flourished (p. 118; cf. Iren 1, 20, 1). Along with the **Ebionitic Apostolic legend**, which glorifies James and Peter at the expense of Paul (p. 102 sq.), and the heretical tendency of which afterwards appears neutralised in the church interest in the *Acta Petri et Pauli*, there now arise Apocryphal histories of acts of the Apostles of a **Gnostic-ascetic** tendency; such are the Gnostic **Acts of John** (Th. Zahn, *Acta Joannis*, Erlangen 1880, 193–252), which found on the authority of John's disciple Leucius, to whom subsequently were ascribed the περίοδοι τῶν ἀποστόλων (Acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul) which were highly regarded by Gnostics and Manichees.

The **Acts of Thomas**, which has been preserved in a Catholic redaction (M. Bonnet, *Supplement. cod. apocr.* I. Acta Thomæ, græce etc. Leipsic 1803) in which A. von Gutschmied (Rhein. Mus. N.F. 19. Bd.) thinks that a Buddhist legend has been made use of, still permits recognition of the Gnostic-encratite character of the original Leucian document, as also the Acts of Andrew, which is extant in many different revisions. For the rest, this sort of writing passes over into luxuriant legends and romantic tales of miracles, in which the determining sentiments are the desire for the miraculous and the glorification of ascetic holiness. In one case we know that the pious fraud was unmasked by the church; a presbyter was deposed as the admitted author of the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* (*vid.* F. Schlau, *Die Akten des Paulus und der Thekla*, Leipz. 1877).—In general *vid.* Lipsius, *Die apokr. Apostelgg.* Leipsic 1883, 2 vols.

Moreover the Gnostics appealed to prophetic authority (Euseb. H. E. 4, 7; Iren. 1, 14, 1). But lastly they applied **criticism** to the **Apostolic authorities.** Like the heretical Judæo-Christians, so also Cerinthus, and later the Encratite Severians (Euseb. 4, 29) rejected the Apostle Paul. But Marcion in particular, taking his ground indeed on Paul as the genuine Apostle, rejected the original Apostles and the Gospels which proceeded from the circle of the original Apostles, and desired to hold by "**the Gospel**" of which Paul alone had knowledge (p. 149). **He for the first time set up a closed canon of Apostolic writings** in the 10, though expurgated, epistles of Paul.

The whole procedure of Gnosticism with the Apostolic legacy drove the church on to the closing of the canon of inspired Scriptures, and to the definite delimitation of ecclesiastical tradition.

3. With regard however to its content, the religious-philosophic speculation of Gnosticism compelled the church to enter upon a redaction of the simple practical belief of the community in accordance with the scientific ideas of the time, and to form it into a theology, to oppose to the heretical Gnosticism a church Gnosticism, while preserving the positive historical character of Christianity.

---

[1] In the known Gospel of Thomas (Tischendorf, *Ev. Apocr.* p. 134 sqq.), which seems already to be made use of by the Marcosians, and which is known to Origen, the expression here quoted is not to be found.

7. Montanism as it first appeared.

Literature: Euseb., H.E. 5. 14, and 16-19; Hippol., Ref. Hæres. 9, 9. 10, 25 sq.; Epiph., Hær. 48. 49, and the writings of Tertullian (*vid. infra*); Pseudotert., Adv. Hær. 21; Philastr., De Hær. 49; Didymus, De Trin. 3, 41 Mgr. 39, 984 sqq. Collection of the sayings of Montanist prophets in Bonwetsch, *Gesch. des Mont.*, Erlangen 1881, p. 197–200, and in Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch.* p. 591–595. Of the general literature: Schwegler, *Der Mont.* 1841; Ritschl, *Altkathol. Kirche.* 2nd Ed. 1837; Bonwetsch, l. c.; Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* 2nd Ed. I. 353–367.

While on the one hand Christianity is subject to the danger of being dissolved in the exuberant variety of religious speculation and mysteriosophy, and of being dragged down into the wastes of mystery-trafficking and magic, but, on the other hand, stands ready to come to terms with the interest in religion and morality in Greek culture, wherein in its careful preservation of its historical tradition it gains a sort of rational theology (*vid.* the following chapters), in Montanism there arises an elementary religious movement, which advances the claim to exhibit a new and higher degree of the spiritual life of the church, but in truth appears at the same time as a reaction of the coarse, supranaturalist, ecstatic spirit of ancient Christianity against the beginning which Christianity had made in sharing in the culture and life of the world.

Immediately after the middle of the second century (*vid.* Bonwetsch, p. 140 sqq. according to others (Soyres) considerably earlier, according to Völter in ZfwTh. 1814, 23–36, and Hilgenfeld, not till 172, which certainly cannot be upheld and cannot be confirmed from Eusebius), Montanus, a new convert, who seems formerly to have been a heathen priest, made his appearance in Phrygia (Ardabanum on the borders of Mysia), in the character of an ecstatic prophet, the originator of a powerful movement (Montanists or Cataphrygians). Inspired prophetesses attached themselves to him: Prisca or Priscilla and Maximilla. In this **new prophecy** of an ecstatic and visionary sort (in which the man sleeps and the spirit wakes, the man is likened to the lyre and the Holy Ghost to the plectrum) the promises of the **Paraclete** in the Gospel according to John were to be fulfilled, in whom the Father and Son shall make dwellings in the believers. This was to be the final and highest appearance of the revelation of the Spirit, although linking on to the survival of the apostolic *charismata* and the continuous chain of prophets, from the time of Agabus (Acts xi. 28, xxi. 10) and the daughter of Philip (xxi. 9) down to Quadratus (Euseb. H. E. 3, 37. 5, 17).

In Montanus the Paraclete proclaims the immediate proximity of the return of Christ and that the heavenly Jerusalem will descend at Pepuza in Phrygia, and calls on believers to gather themselves together from all the world to this kingdom; Montanus, indeed, already lays hold of practical regulations for organising this society of those retiring from the world, and knows how to make money flow (gifts of believers) for this purpose, as well as for the maintenance of his preachers. To the highest revelation of the Paraclete there correspond heightened demands upon spiritual Christians, sharpened ascetic strictness of life, virginity or the dissolution of already existing marriage, or, among the admirers of the virgin prophets at least, disdain of second marriages, increase and legal fixation of the use of fasting, which up till now had been left pretty free in the church. The discipline of repentance, however, particularly accords with the last time,—a discipline which will have nothing to do with the beginnings of regard to human weakness, and will not vouchsafe to the fallen re-admission into the society of the church —*ne et alii delinquant*. Where such prophets are listened to as immediate organs of God, they (the Spirit in them) must naturally form an authority essentially equal to that of the traditional words of the Apostles, and in its presence all authorities constructed by human ordinances and in human forms must fall back.

The movement seized upon large sections of the Church in Asia Minor, and kindled also elsewhere, as in Thrace, but necessarily also awakened opposition. **Synods** about and against Montanism were held, the first ecclesiastical synods known. In presence of the uncontrollable authority of the prophets, the universal priesthood of the free spirit, the need began to be experienced of finding protection and support in the *constitutional and institutional* forms of church representation by the bishops and an objective standard in the fixed word of scripture, which justified a criticism of this "*spirit*"; hence now also a strong change arose in the direction of sobriety in judgment of the value of the ecstatic form of prophecy, so that people were now inclined to see in this ecstatic prophecy not a divine but a **demonic** inspiration (possession), which was to be combated by exorcism. Men of eminence, Claudius Apollinaris, and Miltiades (both among the earliest apologists of the Church, *vid. infra* Ch. 10) opposed Montanism in literature, the latter in the treatise: "That the (true) prophet may not speak in ecstasy". (*περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλεῖν*, Euseb. H.E. 5, 17). As their extremest opponents, there appeared the sect subsequently known by

the nickname **Alogi** (Epiph. *Hær.* 51), who, in opposition to Montanist prophecy and dualism, rejected the Johannine Apocalypse, and along with it the Gospel of John on account of its promise of the Paraclete (Iren. III. 11, 9). The question of the authority of these prophets, who, however, in the further progress of the movement moderated their claims, occupied the church in large circles. The communities of Southern Gaul, which stood in close relationship with Asia Minor, and which informed the communities of Asia Minor of their persecutions under Marcus Aurelius (177) by letter, also wrote to Asia Minor and Phrygia on this question of the new prophecy, and on account of the same matter sent their hitherto Presbyter (subsequently Bishop), Irenæus, to Rome. We have ground for supposing that their judgment was not unfavourable, at least very mild, that on account of the extravagances of the new prophets they would not give up their belief in the spiritual gift with which Christianity had in these, its last times (Iren. l.c.), been endowed. In Rome however, Bishop Soter (c. 166–174) had already declared against the Phrygian phenomenon (*Prædestin.* 26), Later on there appears to have been a desire there to judge more favourably, perhaps under the influence of the Gallic embassy under Bishop Eleutheros, but perhaps not till the time of Victor, when the Monarchian Praxeas came to the capital from Asia Minor and revealed the aspects of Montanism which were of importance to the church, so that the Roman bishop (according to convincing hypothesis Eleutheros, but perhaps Victor, cf. Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch.* 568 sq.) retracted the already finished letter of peace, and the Roman presbyter Gaius decidedly opposed in Rome the Montanist Proclus (Proculus). On the other hand Montanism was met by a very sympathetic disposition in the province of North Africa, so far as regards the predominance of certain views and dispositions in common with Montanism : namely, exaltation of ecstatic prophecy and visions, the explanation of these recently increased proofs of the Spirit by reference to the nearness of the end of the world, and insistence on sharpening of church discipline in combat with the growth of relaxation in Christian *morale;* a source of information on this subject is afforded by the Acts of the martyrs Perpetua and Felicitas (Ruinart, *Acta Mart. Sincera*, p. 90 sqq., also in Münter, *Primordia Eccl. Afr.* 227 sq.). On this soil Montanism made its greatest conquest in Tertullian, to whom we return later on. And this happened at a time when it was already (from the end of the 70 years) more and more forced back into its own home, and finally, amid constant opposition (by Serapion and Apollonius who

wrote in the fortieth year (Euseb. 5, 18, 12) after Montanus' appearance [about 196]) had been separated from the church, and had become a special schismatic community in itself.

8. The Position of the Christians under the Roman Government.

A. General.

Literature: A. Schmidt, *Gesch. der Denk- und Glaubensfreiheit im erster Jahrh. der Kirchenherrschaft* 1847; Thiel, *Röm. Rechtsansch. etc. etc.* in ThQ. 1855; Le Blant, *Les bases juridiques etc.* in the Comtes rendus de l'académie des inscript., Paris 1868; Fr. Maassen, *Grunde des Kampfs* etc. etc., Vienna 1882; Overbeck in the *Studien zur Gesch. der alt. Kirche* I. 1875 p. 93–157; Keim, *Rom u. d. Christenthum* 1881.

1. Hitherto the internal conditions of Christianity have been kept in view. But even from the time of Trajan the Roman authorities began to take up a legal position against these new religious societies which began to cause a stir among the heathen population. The impression must have been a mixed one. On the one hand the cheerful, confident, religious conviction must have exerted its power of attraction in a time when religions were uprooted, and which was eaten away with doubt and yet ever desiring religious satisfaction; and it was a religious conviction of moral force, which guarded itself in reformation of life, in self-mastery, dominion over sensuality, and in Christian heroism under the persecutions, and at the same time came forward in support of human worth, and the dignity of woman, and bridged over the strongest social differences by the family spirit of the Christians among themselves. At the same time this faith contained, although in accessible popular forms, the loftiest problems of an intellectual kind.

These tendencies were met by the analytical process going on in heathenism, the decayed condition of the old popular religions, partly even in the West where they had relatively greater tenacity, and by the widespread tendency to monotheism and other influences adduced above, p. 26 sqq.

But there were also no slight limiting influences by which it was met; the barbaric origin and world-fleeing morals amid the prevailing laxity and dissoluteness; the absence of many noble and wise according to the flesh, even although such were by no means entirely wanting; the contradiction of this barbarian superstition with the whole existing form of life in the ancient world; political disrepute and the appearance of having an unnational disposition. The imageless worship having the appearance of *ἀθεότης*, the withdrawn and mysterious character of the Christian assemblies which gave occasion

to odious rumours: Thyestean feasts and Œdipodean unions! Tales, which were laid upon them as they had previously been upon the Jews and in which they, as it were, inherited the hatred and antipathy of the heathen against the Jews, such as the alleged **worship of an ass** (cf. as to the mock crucifix found on the Palatine in 1857, Becker *Das Spottcrucifix im römischen Kaiserpalast*, 1866). Necessarily also the claim of the Christians—without which however the world-conquering energy of Christianity would not have been possible—to have the **absolute** religion, which carries in itself the absolute truth, was a cause of offence to educated heathens. That appeared as narrow arrogance.

2. Roman views and legislation gave a handle for administrative procedure against the Christians as soon as the importance of this strange phenomenon had attracted notice and mistrust to itself, and public sentiment had thereby been excited. Such was the ancient Roman principle of the XII. Tables which held good for Roman citizens, Cic. *De Legg.* II. 8; *separatim nemo habessit deos neque novos sive advenas nisi publice ascitos* (as sometimes happened in the case of individual foreign gods in time of war and public famine, after solemn resolution of the College of Pontiffs) *privatim colunto.* Naturally this has nothing to do with religious or irreligious **opinions,** views,—of these matters the Roman State took no account whatever—but only with worship and religious societies. On the analogy of this principle it was possible to oppose the introduction of foreign worships into the Roman dominion, where state interests seemed to require it, and this took place on the part of Augustus and his successors against the increasing invasion of foreign worships, such as that of Isis and Serapis and others (already in the time of the Republic there was suppression of the voluptuous mysteries of Bacchus) although with very slight success.

When, in consequence of the Jewish War, the toleration, which had hitherto been extended to the Jewish religion, which so far had been for Jews a *religio licita*, was interrupted, this also influenced disadvantageously the church living *sub umbraculo religionis licitae* (Tertull. *Apol.* 21). And not only the difference from the Jews, which soon revealed itself to the heathen also, but also the conversion of Roman subjects and Roman citizens must early have aroused complaints against a *superstitio externa et illicita.*

At the same time other laws also might afford ground for legal procedure, such as the *lex Julia majestatis;* the *crimen læsæ majestatis* could be incurred not only by actual rebellion, but also by *verbis impiis, murmuratione contra felicitatem temporum*, and also

by secret nightly assemblies. The penalty for this *crimen* was decapitation in the case of the *honestiores*, the stake or death in combat with wild beasts in that of the *humiliores*. Finally also there was the *sacrilegium* by refusal of the offering due to the gods or the genius of the Emperor. Both crimes place the freeman on the same footing as the slave; hence the applicability of the torture, fire, crucifixion. The prohibition of magic and the possession of books of magic might also, with reference to the healing of demoniacs in the church and the importance of the sacred books, be applied against the Christians.

B. The Procedure of the Individual Emperors.

Literature: Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs* 1690 sqq. and freqtly; Merivale, *Hist. of the Emperors*, 8 vols. London 1865: E. Döhler *Die Antonine, nach Champigny bearbeitet*, Halle 1876. Aubé, *Hist. des Persec. de l'église jusqu'à la fin des Antonins*, 9 vols. 1875, 78; Uhlhorn, *Der Kampf des Christenthums mit dem Heidenthum.* 4th edition 1886.

Of Nero's conduct and the measures of Domitian we have spoken above, p. 74 and p. 87. But it was only **from the time of Trajan** (98–117) the Spaniard, taken out of the army by Nerva, of distinguished qualities and an antique Roman sense for law, right, and the interest of the State, that the Roman State first took up a **definite legal position** towards the new phenomenon. On the basis of the law against Hetairiai which were dangerous to the State, which had been renewed by Trajan (Plin. Ep. X. 92 sq.) his friend Pliny the Younger, the Procurator of Bithynia, haled before the courts Christians, whose sect had in quite recent times made great progress even in the country districts, gained information as to their gatherings (p. 118) through renegades from Christianity, and by torture of two female slaves (*ministræ!*) procured confessions, but found no crime but only objectionable and immoderate superstition (*prava et immodica superstitio*). Pliny, however, caused those who would not depart from their confession as Christians (who would not deny it) to be executed, those whom he found to be in possession of Roman citizenship he arrested in order to send them to Rome for judgment. Those who denied however, he did not further persecute. Trajan's decision declines all universally applicable and specially legal definitions, in particular takes no notice whatever of Pliny's **question** whether the mere Christian confession in itself, or the *flagitia* which were associated with it, was to be punished. In the main he approves Pliny's procedure, but reminds him that the Christians are not to be sought out (by government or police). The Roman authority is to await legal complaint, but persons who have

been given up as Christians are to be judged (as Pliny had done); but whoever denies the charge (practically, by sacrifice) is to go free. Anonymous denunciations were also declared to be unallowable and unworthy of the spirit of the time (Plin. Ep. 96 sq.). (Considerations advanced against the genuineness of this correspondence, which is already referred to by Tertull. *Apol.* 2, have no serious weight. Cf. in general C. F Arnold, *Studien zur Geschichte der plinian. Christenverf.* in *Th. Stud. u. Skizz. aus. Ostpr.* 1887, p. 229.)

In Trajan's reign (according to Euseb. *Chron.* about the ninth year of Trajan, *i.e.* 106–107) falls the martyrdom of Simeon, the son of Clopas (Alphæus), in any case a **relation** of the Lord, who after the death of James and the destruction of Jerusalem must have taken a preeminent leading position among the Palestinian Jews (p. 97). He was (Euseb. H. E. 3, 32; according to Hegesippus) denounced to the Consular Atticus as "Davidide and Christian," and after prolonged torture was crucified as an aged man of 120 years; here again the political point of view was not distant.

The martyrdom also of Ignatius of Antioch, the account of whom, as given in the "Acts," is based upon the well known **Epistles,** is placed under Trajan by ecclesiastical tradition. According to the latter, persecution suddenly broke out in Antioch against the Christians; Christians were taken prisoners, tortured, and finally sent to Rome for the games; finally, Ignatius was also sent for the same purpose. During his transport thither by soldiers, to whom he is chained, he receives messengers from Christian communities, writes to them, etc. Some fact at the basis of all this is to be depended upon, even if the shorter Greek recension of the famous Epistles should be spurious. (As to Trajan's mad love of beast fights *vid.* Dion Cassius 68, 15. The Provincial Procurators made themselves popular, *i.e.* with the Emperor, by sending on men and beasts for use at the games. According to Harnack's hypothesis, which however raises serious considerations, one could only think of placing the event and in consequence the Epistles (considered genuine) somewhat later.

Hadrian (117–138), a Spaniard like his predecessor, and brought over and finally adopted by the latter (if not by his widow), a rich and many-sided character, capricious however, Plutarch's pupil, a friend of all artists and scholars, distinguished in the first part of his reign by wise political self-restraint, the furthering of material interests and those of culture, and a humane tendency in government and law, later on, in his restless wanderings through the whole empire, interested in everything, and particularly in the most

various religious phenomena (*omnium curiositatum explorator* Tertull.) and in the end, unsatisfied with all things, closing his life in melancholy depression and passionate severity and caprice (Gregorius, Hadrian. 2nd edition 1884).

He took note of Christianity also; it appeared to him in the troubled medley of religions, especially of Egypt, as not essentially different from the worship of Serapis, and from the lofty standpoint of his pale philosophical monotheism, which saw in all divine worships only different forms of the same thing, he judged it somewhat trivially (*Ep. ad Servianum* ap. Vopisc. *Vita Sat.* 8, *Script. Hist. Aug.* Ed. Peter II. 209). All these representatives of the different religions pursue at bottom only earthly interests, *unus illis deus nummus* (not *nullus*) *est.*

Under him persecutions undoubtedly occurred, as the Apologies of Quadratus and Aristides handed to him at Athens show (*vid. infra*); we must suppose essentially in accordance with the legal principles which had obtained since the time of Trajan. But the martyrdoms, which by the legends are placed under his reign, are mostly without **demonstrable** historical kernel, even if there should be an actual fact underlying the martyrdom of the Roman "Bishop Telesphorus," which however possibly belongs only to the first year of his successor Antoninus Pius. An important rescript under his name has been preserved in Justin Martyr (Apol. I. at the end), therefore in the work of a younger contemporary. The Proconsul Serennius Granianus (properly Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus, who in A.D. 106 was *Consul suff.*) addressed representations to Hadrian on occasion of popular commotions, in which the execution of Christians at the games was requested; his rescript to Minucius (Minicius) Fundanus (Justin l.c. Euseb. H. E. 4, 26. Rufin. 4, 9) who had meantime succeeded to the office, declares that procedure shall be undertaken against Christians only on regular complaint, and not *precibus solis et acclamationibus.* Following Justin's example, the ecclesiastical writers see in the rescript the decision that condemnation shall result not on the mere ground of confession of Christianity, but only after proof of crime. If that were the meaning, the doubt as to its genuiness which has has in recent times been raised by Baur, and with special emphasis by Keim (Tüb. Theol. Jahrb. 1856), Aubé, also Overbeck and others would be justified. But the words "*ut pro tribunali eos in aliquo arguant*" by no means necessitate this Christian interpretation; they may be essentially apprehended according to Trajan's point of view, and in such a sense that the main weight is placed on the exclusion of the tumultuary element;

and Justin's testimony as to the rescript itself (not his comprehension of it) brings down the scale (*vid.* specially Funk, ThQ. 1879, and Uhlhorn, l.c. p. 240 and note). Ranke also maintains the genuineness.

The same standpoint on principles is essentially maintained under the Antonines. Individual tumultuary persecutions, dictated by popular passion (to such probably belong the events in Athens referred to by Bishop Dionysius of Corinth, Euseb. H. E. 4, 23), gave occasion for rescripts of Antoninus Pius (adopted son of Hadrian, 138–161), which enjoin the continuance of the legal processes hitherto in use (Melito in Euseb. H. E. 4, 26. The pretended rescript *πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας* Euseb. 4, 13, appears to be a later Christian interpolation appended to Justin, Apol. I. 70 by a later hand). Under the philosophic Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus (161–180), co-regent since 147 with Antoninus Pius, who had adopted him at the command of Hadrian (Co-Regent: L. Verus as Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus) this remained the recognised basis; but under him accidentally excited popular passions threatened to lead to transgression of the legal limits. In his reign, and indeed in the period of the city-prefect Junius Rusticus (*i.e.* between 163–167: according to the consular lists of the Chron. Alex. we should have to suppose 165), there falls the martyrdom in Rome of the Christian philosopher Justin and a number of Christians regarded as his disciples (The Acts of the Martyrs—in Otto, Just. Opp. III. p. 266 sqq.—give, along with a later introduction and final remarks, a simple and credible narrative). Eusebius also places in the time of Marcus Aurelius the very impressive martyrdom of Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna (Martyr. Polyc. given in its essential content by Eusebius, H. E. 4, 15, come down to us in an independent form, *vid.* in P.P. App. Opp. ed. Harnack, Gebhardt and Zahn, vol. II. 133 sqq., not of course in a perfectly original form, but essentially to be regarded [against Lipsius and Keim] as credible and genuine, a narrative report which soon after the death of Polycarp the community made for the community at Philomelium in Phrygia, but also for communication to other communities). At the games which were given (by the Asiarch Philip the Trallian, the priest of the Asiatic corporation of towns) in Smyrna in the presence of the Proconsul, eleven or twelve Christians from Philadelphia were also martyred and partly thrown to the beasts, partly burnt. Whereupon the populace in the amphitheatre demanded the death of Polycarp, "away with the godless, cause Polycarp to be sought out." The latter, now in his

hoary old age, at first allowed himself to be urged by the Christians to withdraw to the country, but was there tracked out, brought back to Smyrna, challenged to offer sacrifice and, on his open confession of Christianity, burnt at the desire of the people. His death stilled the persecution.

Eusebius expressly places the martyrdom in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Chron. and H. E. 166; Jerome 167; Ussher by his calculation makes it 169) and scholars calculated the year of office of Statius Quadratus mentioned in the beginning of the martyrdom as 165–166 (so also Clinton), till Waddington, *Mémoire sur la chronologie de la vie du rhéteur Aelius Aristide* (Mém. de l'Institut imp. de France, 1867, t. XXVI.), on the basis of inscriptions and with the help of hypotheses reckoned his proconsulate at 155, 156, and hence Polycarp's martyrdom on the 23 February, 155, and thereby made a great impression (*vid.* Lipsius, ZwTh. 1874, and JprTh. 1878; Hilgenfeld, ZwTh. 1874 and 1879; Gebhardt, ZwTh. 1875). The supposition recently received a certain confirmation through the discovery of the Olympic inscription which shows the 232 Olympiad, A.D. 149, as already the year of the appearance of Caius Julius Philippus Trallianus as **Asiarch.** There indeed still remain very weighty considerations, not merely in the express evidence of Eusebius, but especially also in relation to the presence of Polycarp in Rome under Anicetus, since probably in 155 his predecessor, Pius I., was still the Bishop of Rome. Nor does the setting back of the death of Polycarp according to other calculations to 156 (Lipsius and others) set aside all difficulties. Thus doubt will here also be permitted, especially as the chronological close of the martyrdom is in general very open to attack and was still unknown to Eusebius. It may have come to be added to the *Acta* on account of the fact that the narrative was combined with other martyrdoms, which, according to Eusebius, H. E. 4, 15, took place in Smyrna at the time of the death of Polycarp. Cf. Keim, *Urchristenthum*, p. 90; also Völter, *Entstehung der Apocal.* 2 ed. p. 31 sq.

In the further course of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, under the impression of the growing power of Christianity on the one hand, and of public misfortunes and excitements on the other, an increased occurrence of persecutions in different provinces of the empire is to be admitted as certain, as is shown by the Apology of Athenagoras and, for the province of Asia Minor, by Melito of Sardes. He makes lament over new unfavourable edicts against the Christians (*ap.* Euseb. 4, 26), the genuineness of which he would like to doubt, and which in comparison with those of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, to which he appeals, must have contained an **aggravation**, *viz.* the **seeking out** of the Christians (not the awaiting of regular complaints) and enticements to denunciation by means of reward in the confiscated goods of the condemned Christians therewith the complaint as to the covetous sycophants in Athenagoras (*Apol.* 1, 2) would agree. The question whether we are here concerned with new steps in imperial legislation or with measures of the provincial officials, may be postponed.

While therefore in the East the procedure against the Christians is aggravated,[1] about 177 there issues forth over the flourishing communities in Southern Gaul (Lugdunum and Vienna) a particularly severe persecution, of which the communities give an account by letter to those in Asia and Phrygia (Euseb. 5, 1 sqq.). The affair begins with the defamation of the Christians by the populace; they are collected together and examined, when use is also made of expressions against the Christians obtained from slaves by torture; and the attempt is made to drive the Christians by torture to the acknowledgment of the secret horrors of which they were accused (the slave Blandina, Ponticus, the hoary Bishop Pothinus himself). On inquiry being made, a rescript is sent from Rome to the effect that the prisoners are to be put to death, those who deny to be set free. The former are in part thrown to the wild beasts, the Roman citizens executed by the sword, the ashes of those who were burnt strewn in the Rhone in ridicule of the hope of resurrection.

Proceeding from the same tendency of Christian tradition which, as distinguished from that of later times, was interested in putting the most favourable appearance possible on the relation of the Emperors to the Christians, there is, besides Antonine's rescript *πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν Ἀσίας*, the alleged Epistle of Marcus Aurelius to the Senate (in the year 174) (both appended to Justin's Apology in ancient times), according to which Marcus Aurelius, in a perilous position in the German war, surrounded by enemies, was rescued through the prayer of the numerous Christians in the army, by means of a storm which refreshed the thirsty Romans and frightened the Germans by fire. Tertullian (*Apol.* 5, *Ad Scap.* 4) is already acquainted with such a writing, which, according to Keim, is to be regarded as the kernel of the subsequently expanded rescript known to us. Christians and heathens have explained in their respective styles an event which affords foundation for both stories, and falsely connected it with the name of the *legio fulminatrix*, which already bore this designation in the time of Augustus, as though it had received its name from this event (Apollin. Hierap. in Euseb. H. E. 5, 5).

Legally the position of the Christians under the aggravated edicts of Marcus Aurelius continues in the main the same under Commodus also (180–192), in whose last year falls the persecution of

[1] To this period the Procurator Arrius Antoninus in Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam* 5, probably also belongs.

the **Scillitan martyrs in North Africa** under the Proconsul Vigellius Saturninus (*vid.* Usener, *Acta Mart. Scill. græce. Index scholar.* Bonn 1881. Aubé, *Etude* etc. Revue Critique 1881, No. 44. Harnack, ThLZ. 1882, p. 3. Overbeck, ibid. p. 171 sqq. Fr. Görres, JPrTh. 1884, p. 222 sqq.), the first known in the African Church, in general the first known fact regarding it (cf. however the Archimartyr Mamphamo, Görres, l.c.). The martyrdom also of a highly regarded Roman of philosophic culture, Apollonius (according to Jerome, a senator), under the Prætorian Prefect Perennius (who in the first half of the reign of Commodus was his favourite) is worth notice (Euseb. 5, 21; Jerome, Cat. 42. cf. Keim, *Rom*, p. 640 sq. That the informer was a slave seems to be a mere inference).

But under the brutal and voluptuous tyrant Christianity soon experienced years of rest, probably a reaction after the excitements of late years; but the Emperor, who was superstitious and inclined to strange worships, was also influenced favourably to Christianity by his favourite concubine Marcia, who was herself devoted to the Christian religion (*φιλόθεος παλλάκη Κομμοδού.* Hyacinthus, a Christian presbyter, was her foster-father). With her the Roman Bishop Victor maintained relations; by her means he obtained the freedom of the Christian confessors in the Sardinian quarries, on which occasion, against his wish, Callistus, who had been condemned for disturbing the Jewish worship, was also set free (Hippol. *Ref.* 9, 12; cf. the *fideles in regali aula*, Iren. *Hær.* 4, 30, 1).

9. Heathen Religious Feeling and Culture in their Relation to Christianity.

To the introductory remarks on p. 26 sqq. we add:—Amid the religious-moral dissolution and destruction there is an increase of the above-mentioned tendency to superstition, the grasping at strange and secret worships and mysteries, in which alongside of mysterious (magical) rites also (often enough alternating with debauchery and unbridledness) special ascetic renunciations are made to lead through different degrees of consecration to a higher union with the Godhead. The ideas of religious syncretism, which seeks to lay hold of the common religious truth under different forms, gain ground, and are favoured by the religious sentiment of the eclectic (Platonist-Pythagorean) philosophy of the time. Practical religious tendencies to restoration gain recognition. Here belongs the famous Apollonius of Tyana, who died under Domitian (c. 96), who is designated by Lucian and Apuleius according to the older description of Mœragenes (Orig. *c. Cels.* 6, 41), as a famous magician, who also however influenced philosophers. His reputation was set very high by later

religious-philosophic syncretism (Caracalla, Alex. Severus, Julia Mammæa). The alleged memorials of him by Damis were given the stamp of a religious-philosophical ideal in the interest of early Neo-Platonism. The following may be regarded as genuine historical traits:—war against religious unbelief in favour of a spiritualized pagan belief of manifold form, particularly for a pure bloodless worship of the one highest God in and over his subordinate gods, for which a way of life pleasing to God is to be taken into account; a strict asceticism (abstinence from the use of flesh and wine and from marriage). All higher wisdom is conditional on moral, that is to say, ascetic, perfection; the body appears as the prison of the soul; the Pythagorean doctrines of immortality and of the transmigration of souls make their appearance. The self-conscious priest of Æsculapius is imposing, both on account of his oracular sayings and his appearance, and influences the multitude; powers of healing are ascribed to him and glimpses into secret things, which perhaps point to a gift of clairvoyance (Literature in Jw.Müller in the RE.[2] I. 535 sq; cf. also Keim, *Rom. u. d. Christenthum*, p. 59 sqq.).

The most important representative of pagan religiosity purified and guarding itself against scepticism and unbelief, is the eclectic Platonist, Plutarch of Chäronea (ob. 120), whose **monotheism**, although limited in a naturalistic sense by the dualistic opposition of matter, rises above polytheism and finds the highest religious satisfaction in exaltation to the highest divinity. But he immediately makes this highest divinity as it were go out of himself, and cleave in two in the fulness of the world of gods and demons, as the not absolute, but so much the more naturally self-suggesting proper objects of religious worship, which (as also belief in the revelation of the divinity in the oracles) is so justified that offence is avoided both by spiritualistic and naturalistic interpretation. Here also the monotheistic tendency is the correlative of an essentially moral conception of the true worship of God (by a pious manner of life). As he is opposed to destructive unbelief, he likewise, from an essentially religious-moral point of view opposes superstition and its moral instability. The latter is to him worse than unbelief because it springs from fear, and therefore from secret hatred of the divinity (*De superst.*).

On a similar philosophic foundation we find Apuleius of Madaura (about 170), but ethically—also, as regards his relation to the realm of magic—standing on a lower level. The rhetorician Maximus Tyrius (190) exhibits as an element of the culture and sentiment of the time, that sort of philosophic monotheism, which as complement

and climax of the polytheistic worship becomes indeed reconciled with the latter, and finds in the different religions, under different names, a great agreement on the main points.

The great syncretistic tendency of the age appears significantly in the philosopher Numenius, a forerunner of Neo-Platonism proper, who sought to gather together the religiously valuable borrowed wisdom of different peoples, of the Indian Brahmins, the Jews, the Persian Magi, the Egyptians, shows acquaintance with Judaism and the Old Testament, and Jewish religion, even indeed with some sayings of Jesus, and who in a characteristic manner called Plato an Attic-speaking Moses. Everywhere here philosophic monotheism stands in a guarding and purifying attitude, but at the same in an attitude of conservatism towards polytheism. All these however, with exception of the last-named, take as yet no notice of Christianity; and Numenius also, although he betrays knowledge of some sayings of Jesus, does not as yet exhibit the need of meddling any further with Christianity and coming to terms with it.

The Stoic philosophy, also so influential in that age, had in its kind a share in the religious restorative tendencies of the time, in the fostering of what was indeed a piety of a pantheistic and determinist tinge, which was meant to be a spiritualized re-establishment of pagan piety. But where, as in the case of Marcus Aurelius, Christianity came within the horizon of this Stoic philosophy, antipathy also showed itself against Christianity, its inspiration which had the appearance of mere fanatical enthusiasm, its un-Roman nature etc. (*In se ipsum* 11, 3. Stoic calm in presence of death, philosophic passionlessness—*ἀτραγώδως*!).

The eyes however of the philosophically and cosmopolitanly cultured were already more frequently directed upon this inconvenient Christianity, under the feeling that it was necessary to come to an understanding with this strange phenomenon, and not merely aristocratically to ignore it as the madness of the multitude, and not only to leave the legal battle with it to the State. The pagan rhetorician Fronto (a courtier of Hadrian and the teacher of Marcus Aurelius) opposed Christianity with conscious hostility; likewise the Cynic Crescens, the opponent of Justin Martyr. But about the time of Marcus Aurelius, Celsus and Lucian in particular came forward as representatives of the cultured illumination, and opposed Christianity in their respective styles. Celsus (known from the eight Books of Origen against the treatise of Celsus, *λόγος ἀληθής*, from which he quotes numerous passages) appears as a scholar of many-sided culture, acquainted with the scholastic opinions of the

philosophers and those who were learned in beliefs in the Roman Empire, to which in his journeys he had applied his observation. He also entered into disputations with Christians. Origen thinks of the author of the "**True Word**" as an Epicurean Celsus, who had lived under Hadrian and still later, but meets with much in his expressions which is not Epicurean, and doubts therefore whether some other person is not to be supposed (as the author), or whether he merely kept back the kernel of his Epicurean conviction, and only occasionally allowed it to be recognised. As a matter of fact his manner of thought is under the overpowering influence of the eclectic Platonism of the time, and not of the doctrine of the Epicurean School. Nevertheless he is in any case the same person as that friend of Lucian to whom the latter dedicated his Alexander of Abonoteichos, and in whom he pre-supposed sympathy with Epicurus (Alex. 61). He is a man of the world of philosophic culture, who accepts much of the influential Platonism of the time, but has absorbed little of its positive religious sentiment. In his antipathy to Christianity, which appears to him barbaric and superstitious, he gives himself up to the scepticism and satire of a man of the world, through which he comes in contact with Epicurean tendencies. The Christians are to Celsus an illegal and secret combination, their doctrine is barbaric and not to be proved by the magic miracles of Jesus; they follow not reason, but blind faith, and despise wisdom. He first of all brings the Jews on to the field against the Christians; the former have to bring forward the Jewish slanders on the evangelical history (Jesus born in adultery and fostered on Egyptian wisdom), and enforce the contrast between the assertion of His divine dignity and the wretched and contemptibly ending earthly life, denounce the falling away of the adherents of the false Messiah from the ancient law, complain of the lack of foundation of the Christians on the Old Testament prophecies, and emphasize the incredibility of the resurrection which was only revealed to His adherents. But according to Celsus, Jews and Christians have not much with which to reproach one another, even although Judaism has the advantage of being an ancient religion. Celsus combats the fundamental idea of a descent of God, or a son of God, much more of a crucified God, as nonsensical, the idea of an **historical redemption** as incompatible with divine justice and (impartial) love, that of a plan of salvation which is only temporal as a limited and childish notion of special partizanship. The special teleology of salvation is contrasted with the eternal and inalterable order of nature, in which evil and sin,

originated by matter, have their inevitable place, but man may not arrogate to himself to be regarded as the proper aim of God; here all those portions of the Judæo-Christian view of the world, such as the end of the world, judgment, resurrection, appear irrational likewise, while the announcement of forgiveness and redemption which turns with preference to the sinner, appears contradictory (since no one can alter nature) and at enmity with the purified conception of God (who must prefer the righteous and not the sinners). In contrast with Christianity, not only philosophy but even the pagan religion, in spite of its myths long since stripped away from it by the educated, and copied by the Christians, must appear as the relatively better. Christians ought rather to attach themselves to the great philosophic and political authorities of the classic world, ought to convince themselves that a properly understood worship of gods and demons is quite compatible with a purified monotheism, ought finally to give up the foolish madness of the notion that they could gain over the authorities to their faith, or that in general a universal agreement on divine things is possible of attainment (*literature: vid.* in my article on Origen RE.[2] XI. p. 101 sqq. Keim, *Celsus' wahres Wort wiederhergestellt* etc. 1873).

In Lucian (about 180) much more than in Celsus, who in spite of everything goes into the great question of Christianity with genuine earnestness, there is exhibited that polished judgment of the man of the world which not only confronts all theories sceptically, but the real power of religion and faith, coldly, and advances against the follies and sins of the time more with irony and comfortable contempt than with moral indignation. For the attempts at restoring Platonism and Stoicism, dictated by the need of a belief, he has no liking. To the author of the Dialogues of the Gods, Christianity merely appears another folly, like to the pagan mythology. As in the treatise *Alexander of Abononteichos* (or *Pseudomantis*) he scourges the treacherous oracle-monger, soothsayer and prophet, who, himself immoral and criminal, exploits superstition by means of his appearance of venerable piety and his juggling arts, so in the *De Morti Peregrini Prot.* he throws contempt upon the eccentric philosopher, who, stained from youth with crime, attempts it among the Christians; in Palestine, where he acquires the reputation of great holiness, climbs step by step, and is enthusiastically reverenced, especially when, under persecution, he is thrown into prison. But he spoils his position by eating forbidden things, and is cast out. He now appears as an Egyptian ascetic who exposes himself to sun-burning

and smears himself with dung, then as a Cynic who finally causes himself to be bound on the funeral pyre at Olympia, before the assembled populace, as an example of virtue, in order to unite himself again with the glorified spirits of the æther. On this occasion the earth quaked and a vulture arose out of the flames; he now became the object of religious worship. The whole is a satire on the Cynics, especially on Theagenes, but the opportunity for it is afforded by the actual fact of a historical personage. Lucian's knowledge of the Christians betrays a series of characteristic traits.

Their credulity, which makes them the prey of an impostor, their quiet public spirit and their contempt for death, appear rather as singular folly, their praying to the crucified sophist as absurd; in short, the great mocker who overwhelms the arrogant Cynics with his most empoisoned scorn, judges Christianity almost good-naturedly but without a notion of its inner significance.

Cf. BERNAYS, *Lucian und die Cyniker mit einer Uebersetzung des Schrift Lucian's über das Lebensende des Peregrinus* 1879, and for general fixing of his historical relations specially A. HARNACK in RE² VIII. 772 sqq.

10. The Defence of Christianity by the scientifically educated Apologists of the Second Century, and the changed conception of Christianity resulting therefrom.

A. In proportion as the educated world and the authorities take notice of the strange phenomenon of Christianity, men make their appearance within Christianity who undertake to defend it with the weapons of the culture of the age before the pagan conscience and the power of the State, hand in hand with which goes the need of also establishing it in its justification as against Judaism. This however involves a not un-essential transformation of the views of primitive Christianity according to the ideas of the general culture of the time, so far as the latter is interested in religion or religious philosophy, and accordingly several of these men become important intermediaries for the forming of Christianity into the ancient Catholic Church,—the Fathers of ecclesiastical theology.

The works of the Greek Apologists of the second century, published by BUD. MARANUS, Paris 1742 sq., and C. F. OTTO, *Corpus Apologet., sæc.* 2. 9 t., Jena 1842 sqq., vol. 1–5 in 3rd ed. 1876 sqq.—GEBHARDT und HARNACK, *Texte und Untersuchungen.* I. *Die Ueberlieferung der griech. Apologeten*, Leipsic 1882.

1. In relation to the measures taken by the pagan state authority, according to Eusebius as early as the time of Hadrian, QUADRATUS, Bishop of Athens, and the philosopher ARISTIDES came forward with apologies (defensive treatises) which they themselves, at least as Eusebius presupposes, presented to the Emperor Hadrian on occasion of his presence in Athens in 125 A.D. Of the Apology of Aristides, which was still extant in the time of Jerome (*Cat.* 20; *Ep. ad. Magnum*

[*Apologeticum contextum philosophorum sententiis*]) there is supposed recently to have been found a fragment in an Armenian translation (*Sancti Aristidis phil. Athen. sermones duo etc. in lat. linguam translati*, Venet. 1878, by the Mechitarists). The name of the author of sermon 2 is doubtful, the editor has read Aristeas and conjectured Aristides, VETTER (ThQ. 1882) has actually read Aristides. This piece cannot possibly be attributed to this age (a homily on usurers); in the first it is thought that signs of antiquity can plainly be discovered (absence of the doctrine of the Logos and all reference to heresy), which however in the comparative brevity of the piece does not argue much (especially the latter); and doubt is aroused by the fact that in the second part of the first sermon the Virgin Mary is designated *deipara*, an expression which, without doubt, must be a later interpolation. *Vid.* HIMPEL in ThQ. 1879 and 1880; HARNACK and GEBHARDT, *Texte und Untersuchungen* I. pp. 98–114. Considerations which are not to be undervalued are raised by BÜCHELER, *Arist. und Justin* in the *Rhein. Museum. N.F.* 35, 2, pp. 279–86.

2. MELITO, Bishop of Sardes, one of the foremost men of the Church of Asia Minor, highly honoured as a prophet and on account of the holiness of his life, was most productive as an author. In his **Apology** to Marcus Aurelius he sets forth Christianity as true philosophy (fragments in Eusebius 14, 26, 5–11). The Apology, which has been preserved in Syriac (CURETON, *Spicil. Syr.* also in PITRA, *Spicil. Solesm.* II. p. xxxvii. sqq. German translations by Wette in ThQ. 1862. 44 vols. p. 392 sqq.): *Sermo Melitonis philosophi qui factus est coram Antonino Cæsare*, is another, and hardly by Melito, to whom it was attributed, and who, referring to the content of the real Apology of Melito (*Christianity the True Philosophy*), is here designated a philosopher. The first Christian list of the O. T. canon was found in the introduction to his six books of **Eclogues** from the Law and the Prophets, on Christ and the whole Christian faith (therefore Christian explanation of O. T. passages). A number, of short treatises and dissertations, all lost but fragments, partly handle the various ecclesiastical movements of his time (the Paschal Controversy, the Sunday, on Christian hospitality and many others, on the corporeality of God [π. ἐνσωμάτου θεοῦ, which, according to THEODORET, *Quæst. in Genes. I. interr.* 20 is certainly to be understood in this sense]). What the treatise entitled Κλείς (*clavis*) which is also lost, was, is unknown. In any case the *Clavis* edited by Pitra, *Spicil. Solesm.* II. and III. under Melito's name (a glossary of mystical explanations of scripture, connected with the literature of Physiologus) is a much later Latin collection. In later times much was attributed to his highly respected name (cf. PIPER, *Melito*, in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1838; STEITZ, *ibid.* 1857; HARNACK, *Texte u. Untersuchungen* I. 2, p. 240; STEITZ, RE. s. v.).

3. CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS (Απολινάριος), Bishop of Hierapolis, wrote an Apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius, five books *Ad Græcos* and several others (EUSEB. 4, 26 and 27; JEROME, *Cat.* 26).

4. MILTIADES, a rhetorician in Athens, also wrote an Apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus, and 2 books *Ad Græcos*, 2 *Adversus Judæos* (EUSEB. 5, 17; JEROME, *Cat.* 39).

5. Of these apologists the most influential and the most important for the forming of Hellenically modified Christianity and the founding of Christian theology is JUSTIN MARTYR, born at Flavia Neapolis (the ancient Sichem), in Samaria, of Hellenic parents, about the year 100. Having gone through the usual philosophico-rhetorical education of the time, he sought satisfaction for his religious need (desire after knowledge of God and happiness [εὐδαιμον.]) amongst the various philosophic schools, still mostly attracted and determined

by the Platonism of his age on its religious side, and influenced by the moral views of the Stoic philosophy. He sets forth his attraction by Christianity with its practical earnestness and its enthusiasm, in a conversation with an aged Christian, who referred him to the study of the ancient Scriptures (*i.e.* the O. T.) and the necessity of a Divine revelation; thus he became a Christian philosopher, who wrought for the Christian faith as a wandering school-teaching sophist. On his second stay in Rome he was strenuously opposed by the Cynic Crescens, and in the end died there a martyr's death (between 163 and 167, probably 165).

Of the **two Apologies** the **larger** is first in order of time (although in older editions designated the second), the smaller however is an appendix written immediately afterwards (HARNACK conjectures their original unity). The first Apology, formerly often set down about 138 (under the sole reign of Antoninus Pius) is still variously dated on account of the difficulty lying in the address to the Emperor, but must be placed in the time of the co-regency of Marcus Aurelius (147–160). It reckons (I. 46) 150 years since the death of Christ; the second is indirectly linked to it by the manner of the back reference (II. 4. 6. 8) (occasioned by an incident with the wife, become Christian, of a heathen). But the Christian philosopher sought also to prove in detail the right of Christianity to independence as **against Judaism**, in the **Dialogue with Trypho** (somewhat later than the Apology), and moreover from the Holy Scriptures of the O. T. themselves, regarded from the Christian point of view.

He likewise, however, already defended ecclesiastical Christianity of the Greek sort by combating the sectarian opinions which appeared to threaten its continued existence (Σύνταγμα. κατὰ πασ. αἱρέσεων), and in particular that of Marcion. These writings are unfortunately lost; regarding the first of them, however, it is permissible to suppose that Irenæus founded upon them in the relative parts of his attack upon the heresies. Of a treatise on the **Resurrection** two fragments are extant, regarding the compass of which Th. ZAHN (ZKG. 8, 20 sqq.) sets up new conjectures.

Numerous other writings have been falsely ascribed to the name of this first theologian who had so great importance for the church, such especially—apart from writings of much later origin—was the Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας, *Oratio ad Græcos* (against the folly of the myths of the gods), a treatise which has been preserved in a variant Syriac recension (in CURETON, *Spic. Syr.*), and is here ascribed to one Ambrosius, who has been thought to be the friend of Origen; but recently DRÄSEKE (JPrTh. 1885, 144–153), following up a conjecture of NOLTE, sought to find in it the Apology of the (Roman Senator) Apollonius, who died a martyr's death under Commodus (cf. on Apollonius: CASPARI, *Quellen* 3, 414–416). In any case it belongs to the older Greek Apology of that age, and borders on Tatian's points of view (HARNACK, *Texte und Unters.* I. 1 and 2, p. 155).

The Λόγος παραινετικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας (*Cohortatio ad Græcos.*—The truth not to be found in the poets and philosophers, but in Moses and the prophets; what the former have of the truth they have derived from the latter) is likewise not from the hand of Justin, but from that of a kindred spirit; but if Julius Africanus is really made use of (SCHÜRER in ZKG. II. 319–31) it can only belong to the third century. VÖLTER (ZwTh. 1883, 150 sqq.) would ascribe it to Claudius Apollinaris (Nr. 3), DRÄSEKE to Bishop Apollinaris of Laodicea in the fourth century. The small treatise **De Monarchia** gathers together real and specially alleged heathen witnesses to the faith in monotheism, in the way in which the apocryphal authorship of Hellenism loved to produce it (cf.

SEMISCH, *Justin der Märt.*, 2 vols. Breslau 1840–1842, and M. ENGELHARDT, *Das Christenthum Justin's des Märt.*, Erlangen 1878).

6. For a considerable period TATIAN also remained under Justin's influence. He was born in Assyria, perhaps of Syrian descent (ZAHN), but of Greek education, and in wide travels representing the then Greek culture of the wandering and teaching Sophists, acquainted with Greek literature to a large extent, as also with religious mythology and mysteries. Religiously satisfying and morally purifying truth, which he had in vain sought among the Greeks, he found in the barbarian wisdom of Christianity and its morally strengthening and emancipating monotheism, a simple truth accessible even to the plain man, which in his Apology (*Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας*) he now contrasts in the most glaring manner with heathenism. In Rome, where perhaps the very turning point of his life occurred, he came into contact with Justin, became his pupil (Iren.) and venerator, like him was attacked by the Cynic Crescens, like him came forward as a Christian Sophist (the Christian teacher Rhodo was his pupil, Euseb. 5, 13). His *Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας* (*Tatiani or. ad Græcos rec.* E. Schwartz. Gebhart and Harnack's *Texte u. Unters.* IV. 1.), written soon after his transition to Christianity to justify this step, of outstanding importance, is only able to recognise the night side of heathen religion and philosophy. Rough aversion from the manners of the world and sensual pleasure leads him into a strict asceticism, which advances beyond the limit of common Christianity to the rejection on principle of marriage and the use of flesh and wine, and creates for Tatian a position of respect among the so-called **Encratites** (the representatives of this form of asceticism). Connected therewith is his acceptance of Gnostic ideas on the basis of a dualistic conception of spirit and matter, separation of the Demiourgos from the Creator of the world (*vid.* p. 150), which subsequently brings Tatian into variance with the church at large, without thereby robbing him of the respect due to an important (and very fertile) author. He worked in the Syrian East (Mesopotamia, Edessa, Antioch). The **Book of Problems,** *Βιβλίον προβλημάτων*, in which he exhibited the difficult and obscure passages of the Scriptures, and which was intended to controvert Rhodo, perhaps already contained Gnostic speculations (Rhodo, in the relative passage Euseb. 5, 13, groups him with the Marcionite Apelles, the author of *Syllogisms*).

In the treatise *Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν σωτῆρα καταρτισμοῦ* (of Christian Perfection) he justified the rejection of the commerce of the sexes. In the so-called **Diatessaron** he has put together from our four Gospels a unitary presentation of the Gospels, which began with the prologue of John, left out the genealogies (of Matt. and Luke), and, as they are called, all the passages which show that our Lord was of the seed of David after the flesh; and this gospel maintained itself until on in the fifth century, in some (especially Syrian) districts of the church in the Syrian language alongside of the Gospel of the "Separated," until it was expelled the communities, *e.g.* by Theodoret and Rabulas of Edessa. As on the one hand the arising of this Diatessaron presupposes the spread and a certain recognised authority of our Gospels, so on the other hand its origination and especially its ecclesiastical use is only explicable in a time in which the conception of a closed canon of holy and inspired Scriptures had not yet attained universal dominion. Whether this first Harmony of the Gospels was originally written by Tatian in Greek and only then translated into Syriac, or (ZAHN) written at once by Tatian in Syriac (on the basis of already existing Syriac Gospels) is a matter of dispute. The former hypothesis is supported by the name *Διατεσσάρων* (for the taking over of Greek words into the Syriac text

is indeed nothing remarkable, but very frequent; but in this case presupposes an already existing Greek expression of the conception); in favour of the latter there are very remarkable instances which have been relied on by Zahn (cf. also BÄTHGEN, *Evangelienfragmente*, Leipsic 1855, p. 59 sqq. 68 sqq. who agrees with regard to the Syriac authorship of the Diatessaron and Cureton's Syriac translation of the Gospels). The celebrated Syrian Church Historian of the fourth century, EPHRAEM SYRUS, wrote a further commentary on this Harmony of the Gospels, which has been preserved in Aramaic, and published by MÖSINGER (1877) in the Latin translation which had been already furnished by AUCHER. On this basis Th. ZAHN subsequently attempted with great skill to reconstruct the Diatessaron (*Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutestamentlichen Kanons* I., Erl. 1881. On Tatian specially DANIEL, *Tatian*, Halle 1837, GEBHARDT u. HARNACK, *Texte u. Forschungen* I., and my article in the RE²).

7. ATHENAGORAS, by report an Athenian, author of a Πρεσβεία περὶ χριστιανῶν (*supplicatio, intercessio*, not *legatio*) which was addressed to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus c. 177, as also of a treatise Περὶ ἀναστάσεως. A personality which is otherwise quite unknown to us, whom, remarkably, EUSEBIUS does not mention at all. The alleged narratives of Philippus Sidetes are untrustworthy, indeed notoriously incorrect (*vid.* DODWELL, *Diss. in Iren.* Append. p. 488 sqq.). However, METHODIUS (*vid.* EPIPH. *Hær.* 64, 21; PHOT. c. 234) in the end of the third century already knows the Apology under the name of Athenagoras (conjecture, that from the erroneous hypothesis that Justin was the author, the story of his two Apologies may have arisen, and only in consequence of this did the addition to the first Apology come to be regarded (by Eusebius?) as a second independent one: Harnack [?]). The author, most decidedly guided by Platonic conceptions, of a polished style, refutes the reproaches of ἀθεότης, of Œdipodean minglings and Thyestean feasts, and in the treatise *De resurrectione* seeks to refute doubts on the doctrine of the Resurrection by the wisdom, power and righteousness of God, as well as from the destiny of man (Doctrine of the *Logos*, but without a proper Christology! Athenagoras quotes sayings of the Lord, not Christian Scriptures, the Old Testament only sparingly). Cf. HEFELE, *Beiträge zur KG.* 1884, I. p. 60–81; VOIGTLÄNDER *Im Beweis des Glaubens*, 1872.

8. THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH, the sixth bishop of this see, born in the East, was educated as a Greek and became a Christian in manhood. There have been preserved three Books *Ad Autolycum*, an educated heathen, apologetically defending the belief in God and the Christian hope of the resurrection, combating heathen belief and especially exalting into prominence the high value of the Holy Scriptures (Old Testament and Prophets) as the ancient source of the knowledge of God.

Besides these he wrote against Hermogenes (perhaps made use of by TERTULLIAN) and against Marcion a treatise Περὶ ἱστοριῶν. Commentaries also on the Gospels and Proverbs are ascribed to him. But the Commentary on the Gospels which is preserved in Latin and goes under his name, which Th. ZAHN (*Forschungen*, vol. II.) recently ascribes essentially to him, proves itself to be a late compilation (*vid. ex contra* HARNACK, in *Texte u. Unters.* I. 4. Proceeding by means of an attempt to demonstrate that the existing Commentary is essentially that which was already used by Jerome, but on the other hand that it made use of Irenæus; HAUCK, *Zur Theophilusfrage* in ZWL. 1884, p. 561 sqq.). W. BÖRNEMANN in ZKG. X. 166 sqq. ERBES in JprTh. 1888, 611 sqq.

9. The anonymous **Epistle to Diognetus** by an unknown author must belong to about the time of these Apologists. His aim is to give to the addressee, a man

of rank, information as to the belief in God and worship of God, from which the Christians draw all their contempt of the world and death, how it comes about that they neither believe in the gods of the heathen, nor the Jewish faith, which along with a more correct conception of God (monotheism) combines at the same time foolish sacrificial service and the most absurd ceremonies, adding how they love one another, and how it comes that only now and not earlier this new race and confession should have come into the world. Worthy of remark is the lofty Christian self-consciousness and also the contemptuous treatment of the Jewish Law (c. 3 sq.) without any reservation whatever as to the revealed character ascribed to the Old Testament.

Drāseke (JprTh. 1881) has attempted to find in the addressee the philosopher Diognetus celebrated by Marcus Aurelius as his teacher, in the author, almost impossibly with correctness, an individual proceeding from the Marcionite school and repelled by Marcion's harshness, such as Apelles. H. Doulcet (RQH. 1880, 601) would regard the Athenian philosopher Aristides as the author, and Kihn (*Ursprung des Briefes an Diognet*, Freiburg 1882) corresponding to him as addressee no less than Hadrian himself, the son of Zeus; a very airy hypothesis. Overbeck (*Studien zur Gesch. der alten Kirche* I. 1875) looked on the Epistle as a piece of literary fiction and brought it down to the post-Constantinian age (which has deservedly received little approval), Zahn (GGA. 1873, No. 3) at least to the close of the third century, cf. p. 576. Cf. further the monographs of Grossheim (1828), Otto (2nd ed. 1852), Hollenberg (1853) and Harnack in the PP. Ap. I. 2, 1878.

10. The apologists named all belong to the sphere of the Greek language, including those who worked at Rome, as indeed it was just in the Roman Christian community that the Greek element remained dominant till the close of the second century (*vid.* Caspari). On the other hand Minucius Felix would be to be regarded as the first Roman author in favour of Christianity, if we might regard him as about contemporary with Athenagoras. Marcus Minucius Felix, an attorney in Rome, who had only been converted to Christianity after earnest resistance, now appeared in its defence in the dialogue *Octavius*, a beautifully written work emulating classical models (especially Cicero's philosophic disputations *De natura deorum*, also *De divinatione*). A friend, Cæcilius Natalis, undertakes the defence of his ancestral religion against Christianity, although from the standpoint of a somewhat sceptical Academic; the common friend Octavius defends Christianity, and Minucius is to play the *rôle* of arbitrator, which however is made the easier for him that Cæcilius declares himself overpowered and conquered. The dialogue, which is preserved only in one MS., formerly in the Vatican, afterwards at Paris (of which the Cod. Burgundicus at Brussels is only a copy belonging to the sixteenth century), shows some relations with Tertullian's *Apologeticum*. Hence, formerly, Minucius Felix was commonly placed in the first third of the third century (on the supposition that the author had made use of Tertullian's treatise), *i.e.* after Tertullian and before Cyprian's short and scholarly treatise *De idolorum vanitate*, which on its part takes note of the *Octavius;* in favour of this view may also be adduced the fact that on inscriptions from Cirta (now Constantine) of the years 211–217 a Cæcilius Natalis, member of the civic authority at Cirta, appears, and that the Cæcilius Natalis in our dialogue seems to attest himself as a citizen of Cirta (9, 6 *Cirtensis noster*, 31, 2 *Fronto tuus*), *vid.* H. Dessau in the Hermes 1880, p. 471 sqq. Meanwhile Ebert, ASGW. V. 321 and *Gesch. der christl. lat. Lit.* I. 25 sqq., who had demonstrated the strong influence of Cicero's *De natura deorum* on

our dialogue, has in particular recently supported on strong grounds the view, already supported by Dom. ab. Hoven and others, that Minucius Felix rather afforded the foundation for the passages in Tertullian and might be ascribed to the time of Marcus Aurelius, and SCHWENKE (JPrTh. 1883, 263–294), along with his refutation of O. SCHULTZE'S attempt to bring Minucius down to the time of Diocletian (JPrTh. 1881), has taken up the defence of this relationship and date in a very thorough manner. So also RECK (ThQ., 1886, 64–114); and Aem. BAEHRENS in his edition (*vid. infra*). Others (HARTEL in *Ztschr. f. österr. Gymn.* 1869, 348–368, and Fr. WILHELM, *De Minucii Fel. Octavii et Tertulliani apologeticis*, Wratisl. 1887) think that the coincidence is rather to be explained by the use of a common source. The difficulties which here arise make us inclined to pay respect to the renewed championship of the earlier view by MASSEBIEAU (*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 8th year, t. XV. No. 3. of ThLZ. 1888, No. 14). Editions by LINDNER (1773), OEHLER 1847 and especially HALM (*C. Scr. eccl. Lat.* II. 1867), J. J. CORNELISSEN (Leyden 1882) and Aem. BAEHRENS (Leipsic 1886) and the translation by Dombart (Erlangen 1881). Cf. on the subject further, KÜHN, *Der Octavius des Min. Fel.*, Leipsic 1882, and thereon BOISSIER in the *Journal des Savants* 1883, 436 sqq. and ThLZ. 1883, No. 6.

B. The next weapon for the self-defence of Christianity, and the one which was not least efficient, was practical profession and martyrdom for the sake of the Christian faith: the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the church (Tertull.). The steadfastness of the martyrs might indeed be looked upon by popular hatred as godless obstinacy, by the educated as stark fanaticism or deplorable infatuation, but for all that it did not fail to make a deep impression. Besides, these apologists, like their successors in the following age, could point to the morally converting power of Christianity; the pious walk of the Christian converts was noticeable even to the heathen (Just. Apoll.). "Our Saviour kept silence, when He was once accused before the court. He hoped that His walk and His works would defend Him better than the most exquisite eloquence. Shall we not do likewise in the case of the accusations of Celsus? Cannot our religion defend itself? Ought not the blameless walk of the disciples of Jesus to bring to nought all slanders?" (ORIG. *c. Cels.* proœm. 1.) At the same time there naturally remained the need of justification and explanation. It was a matter of concern to emphasize the innocence and the political harmlessness of Christianity, to show that the State persecution of the Christians had no justification. With righteous indignation the Christians repudiated the tales of secret crimes, and contrasted with them the notorious change for the better in the lives of many through conversion. Against political accusations they recalled to mind that their religion itself obliged them to obedience to the authorities, that they prayed for them, and that as a matter of fact they had made no opposition

to the persecutions except that of patience and death. The inner justification however of their belief could not be demonstrated without at the same time severely criticising the frailty and folly of the heathen belief in idols. Hence they often lose themselves in somewhat external declamation on images, as though heathenism did not know how to distinguish between the image and the Deity (*Epistola ad Diogn.* and elsewhere.) Especially the stumbling blocks of the heathen mythology, the scandalous stories of the world of the Gods were eagerly criticised, concerning which *e.g.* Justin appeals to the judgment of the better heathens, who were ashamed of them. With all its superficiality of treatment this was a fully justified protest against a religious stumbling block, which even the favourite philosophic interpretation of the myths did not abolish. In this connection it is to be observed, that even these more highly-educated Christians for the most part (with the exception, it is true, of the author of the *Epist. ad Diogn.*) did not consider the heathen gods as mere illusions, but looked upon the demons as the real objects of heathen worship, in accordance with a widely spread view of the age, only that, to them, these demons now appear more definitely in the character of fallen angels. This whole polemic contains a deep, powerful and true feeling of the emancipation and purification of the religious consciousness by its relation to the one, living and revealed God as against the heathen *deisidaimonia*, which binds men to dark natural powers and does not emancipate them morally. These apologists rise against philosophy also, out of which they themselves had arisen, in the full consciousness of their faith open to all and not only to the cultured few, the certainty of which, based upon revelation, cannot be replaced by uncertain human wisdom, which, moreover, is self-contradictory in its most important representatives. On the other hand they willingly recognise in the philosophy by means of which they had themselves been educated, certain universal elements of truth, which they partly derive from the seed-corns of truth, which the divine Logos has scattered among the heathen also, partly externally from a dependence of Greek wisdom on the much older wisdom of the East, and therefore from the use of the Scriptures of the Old Testament. To the reproach that they had deserted the religion which had been handed down from their ancestors and thereby made sacred, they oppose the right of recognised truth, the right of freedom of conscience; religion becomes the peculiar affair of personal conviction, against which methods of force do not suffice: *religio cogi non potest*, God is to be obeyed rather than man. In

affairs of religion, not tradition but truth decides. At the same time they appeal to the fact, that in truth the foundation of their religion is of primitive antiquity (the Old Testament older than all Greek wisdom), and, at the same time, they bring in the point of view of a gradual development of the true religion, a divine education of mankind. But in the domain of heathenism also there were found such indications, specially of monotheism, and forecasts of the rise of a true religion, in connection with which they found help in the numerous pseudonymous products of Hellenistic Judaism, and in a smaller degree in Christian inventions also. The Sibylline Oracles, alleged Orphic, Pythagorean and other oracles were compelled to give testimony to the new faith. Of such, a whole selection is given in the book **De Monarchia**, which we find under the name of Justin. Appeal was also willingly made to the miracles of the Bible, and indeed to the continued power of miracle in the Church as a proof of the truth of Christianity. Not less, especially since Tertullian and Irenæus, do they appeal with a certain self-confidence, to the irresistible spread of their faith, which was only increased by persecution: *hesterni sumus et vestra omnia implevimus* (Tertullian).

C. But in the attempt of these men to vindicate scientifically the content of the belief which they have grasped and prove it to be reasonable before the educated consciousness of the time, there is shown, how their belief is involuntarily transmuted by them according to the ideas which they had brought along with them from the philosophical culture of their age. In those men of religious and philosophic culture there existed the need of the religious support of a purified and at the same time practically effective monotheism, of a moral worship of God based on moral self-determination, and of the satisfaction of the yearning after bliss. This is met by the preaching of Christianity, which is vividly apprehended, and so forms itself in their hands into a **popular philosophic doctrine** based on revelation and in it possessing its guarantee and the possibility of permeating universal humanity.

There is thus here completed, after the analogy of what had already happened to the Jewish faith in Hellenistic Judaism, the synthesis of the belief of the community of Christians with religious Hellenic philosophy, and thus the foundation of **Christian Theology** is laid by means of the conceptions of the classical world. This takes place however in decided and partly conscious opposition to heretical Gnosticism, along with strict attachment to the common Christian tradition, and in the lively feeling that it is just this belief of the

community that constitutes the confident religious conviction, open to all and morally and practically effective; but of course in such a way that the preaching of the gospel of a redemption given by Christ and transference out of the world into the kingdom of God, the full appearance of which is at hand, is transformed into the trustworthy, because resting on divine revelation, conclusion as to God and eternal life, which is adapted to bring the souls of men to repentance and the right way, and to help on to perfection and bliss those who long for salvation and trust in God in the acknowledgment of Christ the Son of God. In other words that which all philosophy seeks is given in the revealed doctrine of Christians; it alone is the trustworthy and fruitful philosophy (Just. *Dial.* c. 8), which is fitted to bring men to the light pure and unmixed with errors, and to make universally accessible the religiously emancipating and renewing truth which in all ages has been sporadically present in the truly wise as the working of the divine reason. The universal Christian faith in Christ as the adorable Son of God, the Creator of the world, conceived as the doctrine of the incarnation of the eternal divine Logos, and confirmed by the prophecies of the prophets, is meant of course not only to set up Christ **merely** as the **divine teacher** (his Human appearance not merely as the formal attestation of His doctrine), but also as the Redeemer, inasmuch as His death brings salvation to men, and His death and resurrection conquer the demons who have enslaved men through idolatry, overcome death and bring about immortality (*ἀφθαρσία*); but the notion of revelation is still preponderatingly dominant, inasmuch as **Redemption** is regarded as mainly brought about by the revelation of the divine love of man, in the true knowledge of God which sets free from the error of idolatry, and by the "New Law" (which, appealing to the free moral self-determination of man, demands repentance and promises immortality in return for a holy life). Hence this amalgamation of the Christian faith with Hellenic philosophic religion and morality does not take place without a superficialising of the Biblical conception of salvation, and a repression of the idea of the kingdom of God into its supramundane reality and perfection, of the influence of which, indeed, testimony is afforded by the eschatological conceptions, in particular by that of the doctrine of the resurrection, which was so offensive to the Hellenic view and yet so tenaciously maintained.

Inasmuch as these apologists take their stand on the belief of the community in God the Father of the world, in Christ His Son, and in the prophetic spirit, there is involved the assumption "of all

that which God has taught by the Holy Spirit, *i.e.* by the prophets and by His Son," and in that, the demand for **learned exegetical occupation with Holy Scripture,** *i.e.* **the Old Testament Scriptures,** as the proof-documents for the divinity of Christ, not in the sense of an organic and historical conception of them, but of an allegorico-theological interpretation after the manner of Philo, if somewhat more within bounds. For this theologico-dogmatic treatment of the Old Testament, Justin. *Dial. c. Tr.* is fundamental in patristic theology. The weight given to the antiquity of the Holy Scriptures —in contrast with Hellenic literature—and in addition the conclusions on creation in the interest of the monotheistic view of the world (cf. Theophil. *Ad Autol.*) are interesting. Thus Rhodo, a disciple of Tatian, commented on the work of six days, so likewise Candidus and Apion, about the time of Commodus; closely connected with this is the **determination of the relation of Christianity to Judaism,** as attempted by Justin in the Dialogue with Trypho, and as others before and along with him have entered into the question. Thus the author of the dialogue, which was already known to Celsus, the enemy of Christianity, between the Jewish Christian Jason and the Alexandrian Jew Papiscus, subsequently (fifth century) translated into Latin by an African bishop Celsus (of which however only the preface of the translator *Ad Vigilium ep. de Judaica incredulitate* has been preserved in Opp. Cypriani III. 119 sqq.); here it still appears anonymously, later on it is falsely ascribed to Ariston of Pella. The *Altercatio Simonis Judæi et Theophili Christiani* by a certain Evagrius (fifth century) mentioned by Gennad. *De vir. ill.* 50, which was discovered in the eighteenth century, is regarded by A. Harnack (*Texte und Forschungen* I. 3, where it is reproduced) as an essentially true reproduction of that Greek treatise. Miltiades also (*vid. sup.*) wrote against the Jews (Euseb. H.E. 5, 17, 5), likewise Claudius Apollinaris (Ib. 4, 27). In this discussion with Judaism it becomes important to emphasise the point that the God of the Jews is also the God of the Christians, and that the Holy Scriptures of the Christians consist in the highly esteemed Old Testament; and it was just hence that proof had to be adduced, not only for the divinity of Christ as compatible with monotheism (*vid. sup.*), and for the fulfilment of prophecy, but also for the justification of the giving up of the Mosaic Law on the part of Christians, a proof which could not be adduced from the Pauline opposition of Law and Gospel, which was unintelligible to the heathenism of the age, but only in the sense that the new Law of Christ took the place of the old Law, while the believers in Christ

from among the heathen appeared as the true Israel and people of God.

The attitude towards the **Apostolic writings** was different. In the view of Justin there is not yet any sacred codex of the New Testament confronting the Old as of equal birth with it. He appeals to the ἀπομνημονεύματα of the Apostles, "which are also called Gospels," and are read at public worship, makes use in particular of Matthew and Luke, but also knows Mark and John, and draws from these historical records **words of the Lord** (cf. p. 116, Heges.) of indubitable authority, quotes John as the author of a prophetic writing, knows and makes use of Pauline writings, but without quoting them. Thus the authentic knowledge of the doctrine of the divine Logos is based on the Apostles as the messengers sent out by the Lord, and Christians are conscious of being at one on the faith, but as yet, in the feeling of the power of one and the same Spirit in the community of Christ from the beginning up till now, they have little learned, and as against the heathen world would have had little opportunity, to make use of Apostolic writings as theological instruments of proof of independent and peculiar authority, while for the truth of the Apostolic preaching confirmation is sought in the Old Testament Scriptures, which are of ancient sacred authority. They indeed know well, in their sense of unity with the Spirit, how to edify and nourish themselves by Apostolic writings, and to employ them as the expression of their experience (cf. in this relation the Epistle of Polycarp already, and next, in particular, the Epistle of the Gaulish community as to the persecution). But it is the growing literary-theological interest, from the middle of the century, which first causes the greater and greater recognition among the apologists of the peculiar value of Apostolic writings as courts of appeal on the original (authentic) Christian truth; especially was this the case in opposition to the **Gnostic sects.** In these circles appeal to the numerous alleged Apostolic scriptural and oral authorities had begun, for the purpose of sanctioning their theories; here also began literary occupation with, and exposition of Gospels and Apostolic writings (Basilides, 24 books on the Gospel, Heracleon, Gospel of John, and several others; *vid.* p. 154), and here Marcion had led the way, by his discrimination of the genuine and the spurious, the authentic and the counterfeit, to the establishment of a canon of Christian sources of knowledge; a proceeding which compelled the church, on her side also, to set forth the Apostolic writings as authoritative and to come to an agreement as to which of them were genuine. It is the age when the

New Testament writings **begin** to come together to form a generally recognised canon. The opposition too to the sovereign spirit of Montanist prophecy undoubtedly increased the need for it; from the living but inconstant and turbulent power of the spirit in the communities, refuge was sought in a **paper** authority, but still one which was historical. After the example of the Gnostics, a beginning is also made with exegetical explanation of New Testament writings; Melito with one on the Revelation of John, a certain Heraclitus with one on the Apostles.

To this end must mainly have contributed the need of combating the ingenious caprices of the sects, against which the literary strife began early. Thus Agrippa Castor (according to Euseb. 4, 7, 5 sqq. as early as the time of Hadrian) wrote against Basilides; Justin Martyr, against all heretics; the same author and a whole series of others, Theophilus of Antioch, Philip of Gortyna and Modestus (Euseb. 4, 24 sqq.), especially against Marcion.

Finally, in this same opposition to the heretics, it is sought to secure the agreement of the different churches with one another, and in this relation importance is gained by the idea of a **universal (Catholic) Church.** So-called catholic epistles of men of repute in the church to different communities are highly regarded. As illustrations take those of Bishop Dionysius of Corinth to Lacedæmon, Athens, Crete, Paphlagonia, Pontus, Rome (Euseb. 4, 23).

FIRST PERIOD: THIRD DIVISION.

History of the ancient Catholic Church from its Consolidation down to Constantine.

1. Transition.

In the development so far, the free societies, held together by the spirit of the faith and brotherly love, have been obliged by various circumstances gradually to seek a greater defence and assurance against external and internal dangers to their continuous existence. Thus the authority of the bishop, at the head of the community, recommended itself for the prevention of caprice in doctrine and life. Therewith the claim of the free prophetic spirit in the communities, both as regards what was to be looked upon as an authentic expression of the Christian faith and as regards what was to be considered as demanded by the Christian life, was met by the authority of an office which seeks out and vindicates permanent guarantees of what was to be considered Christian. In the movements of Gnosticism in particular, Christianity is seized by the feel-

ing of her danger of losing the connection between her faith and its origin, and of splitting up into endless differences of opinion. Under these impressions the desire of maintaining the original unfalsified tradition increases, and the bishops in their succession offer themselves as proper sureties for its unfalsified preservation. At the same time the sovereign appearance of the prophetic spirit in the communities, the dangers of which were brought to view by the extreme Montanist ecstasy, is repressed by the fact that the Canon of New Testament Scriptures as divinely inspired is fixed, and thereby the spirit is confined to the writings which are regarded as Apostolic as to a fixed standard. On the other hand free prophecy is also met by **Theology** (apologetics) working with the scientific instruments of the age, which gives to the church on this side a scholastic element, which is of importance for the assured survival of the Christian faith and for the preparing of the way to an ordered instruction in it, even if, on the other hand, it contributes its own share to that substitution of a theological view of the world for Christian faith, which was beginning. Further, although the feeling of being strangers in the world, and the yearning expectation of the coming of the Lord and the *consummatio sæculi* was kept awake by the persecutions, and found heightened expression in the Montanist tendency, the church begins more and more to prepare for a longer existence in the world, and for that very reason expels or represses the extreme of Montanism. Hence she seeks a closer and more fixed unity, both in the episcopacy of the individual communities, and by the confederation and agreement of the bishops (Synods, etc.) with each other, and, in particular, **Rome** here begins to assume or to strive after an important leading position. Similarly, this entrance into the life of the world demands a modification of the strict requirements on the life of believers, a certain participation in conformity to the world and indulgent treatment of those who have fallen into sin, which is achieved amid vehement struggles. In all these relationships the free community of believers and saints more and more transforms itself into the **Institution of the Church,** held together by fixed forms of constitution, by incipient fixation of ecclesiastical doctrine, and by moderate regulation of an ecclesiastical discipline, and which, standing above individuals, becomes the law-giver and educator of believers.

2. The Extension of the Field.

For the further progress of the spread of Christianity on the lines depicted above (*vid.* p. 103 sqq.), the following may be given as the halting points for the third century and down to the time of Con-

stantine. Eastwards there were already Christian communities in **Persia** (cf. p. 104) when the neo-Persian Sassanid kingdom took the place of that of the Parthians (227); and in **India**, where, according to the legend, the Apostle Thomas is said to have worked, the famous traveller, Theophilus of Diu, mentions several communities by name in the time of Constantine.

To the north of Syria and Mesopotamia, **Armenia** also now comes within the horizon about the middle of the third century; the Alexandrian bishop Dionysius wrote an epistle to an Armenian bishop Meruzanes. To the west there are added the inner and northern districts of the peninsula of Asia Minor, where Christianity, already present, *e.g.* in **Pontus**, experiences important extension and confirmation in the second half of the third century through Gregorius Thaumaturgus, the disciple of Origen.

The growth of the church in **Arabia** is attested in the first half of the third century by Synods, in which Origen took part.

To the stability of the **North-African** Church after the ministry of Tertullian, witness is borne by a synod of seventy African and Numidian bishops under the most ancient known bishop of Carthage, Agrippinus (about or soon after 200–220), and to progressive strong growth, by Cyprian's ministry. Similarly we know of numerous martyrs in the time of Decius in the Spanish Church, which was in lively intercourse with Cyprian.

In **Gaul**, to the older communities of Lyons and Vienne, there are now added numerous others. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* I. 28) knows of seven bishops sent on mission from Rome to Gaul (Saturninus in Toulouse, Dionysius in Paris, Trophimus in Arles, etc.). This may have been a combination of the different local traditions of the first bishops of permanent towns with the ancient Passio Saturnini (ap. Ruinart, *Acta Mart. sinc.*), a credible narrative, that the first bishop of Toulouse died a martyr's death in the time of Decius (250). The seven however are probably not contemporary; *e.g.* Trophimus, the founder of the church of Arles, must be placed earlier.

In **Britain** several bishops appear at the beginning of the fourth century, Eborius of York and others, who took part in the Council of Arles in 314.

Likewise Christianity came into the Roman Danubian provinces in the train of Roman dominion and civilization, in the towns and fixed quarters of the Roman legions, through soldiers, workmen and tradesfolk; it was therefore, on this soil, too, an essentially Roman Christianity.

Numerous local legends are of very doubtful value. However a number of bishops' seats appear with certainty.

In **Rhætia**, Chur is probably one of the most ancient, perhaps however Säben (Sabiona) also reaches to as early a time; in **Vindelicia** there appears Augsburg—the legend of the martyrdom of Saint Afra under Diocletian seems to have a historical kernel — and also Ratisbon and Passau; in **Noricum**, Lorch and Pettau (Petabio in Styria). These provinces were strongly Romanized; Noricum with its numerous towns was a purely Latin province (*vid.* Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* V. 180). But the thin population of the Alpine valleys and the Rhætian plateau also, split up into numerous tribes, came strongly under Roman influence, as is shown by the numerous Roman names of places in Tyrol. Athanasius mentions Norican bishops. As to the legend of Florian and the forty martyrs under Diocletian cf. Hauck, *KG. Deutschl.* I. 89. 325 sqq.

In **Pannonia** there appears Sirmium (near the present Mitrowitz on the former military frontier). Pannonia is indicated by the important **Passio quatuor coronatorum**, the legend of Christian workmen in the quarries of Pannonia who died martyrs under Diocletian (the *Passio* published by Wattenbach in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Ak.* I. 115–137, also in Büdinger's *Unters. z. Röm. Kaisergesch.* III. 321 sqq.; cf. Wattenbach, *Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen* I. 42, cf. II. 478).

In the **Rhine Provinces,** Christianity is certainly demonstrable at the end of the period in the chief seats of Roman dominion; at **Treves** (Bishop Agroecius at the Synod of Arles in 314; Mansi II. 476) the flourishing Roman colony and chief town of Belgium I.; similarly we may suppose its existence in Mayence (Ammian. Marcell. 27, 10), Worms, Speyer, Strasbourg, Bâle, towns in Germania prima, and it is demonstrable with certainty for Germania secunda in Cologne (Colonia Agrippina), where Maternus is mentioned as bishop (Mansi l.c.), and Tongern, where about 359 Servatius is mentioned as bishop (Sulpic. Sev. *Chr.* 2, 44).

The delineations by Christians of the spread of Christianity in the Roman Empire lean somewhat to exaggeration. All numerical estimates of it about the time of Diocletian still rest on very unstable foundations (cf. V. Schultze, *Gesch. des Unterg. des griech.-röm. Heidenthums*, I. 1887, pp. 1–27). All that may be recognised is, that the Christians in the Roman Empire, in spite of what to the Roman view was their threatening increase, were still always far in the minority.

3. Pagan Religious Feeling and Culture in their Relation to Christianity.

Cf. *supra* p. 167. sqq. Reville, *Die Religion unter den Sever.* German by Krüger, Leipsic 1888. J. Bernays, *Theophrastos' Schrift über die Frömmigkeit*, 1866.

From the time of the Antonines there is exhibited in the Roman Empire a new growth of the capacity of belief, a more numerous thronging in of the Oriental, Syrian worships, a strongly growing tendency to the religious syncretism, which is inclined to regard all forms of religious belief as relatively valid and to mingle them. This religious disposition, as cultivated in the house of Septimius Severus and his next successors, on the one hand affords encouragement to Christianity, but on the other hand, where syncretism of the kind seeks to lend its help to paganism, develops itself in a manner exactly hostile to Christianity, which in its exclusiveness incites to contradiction, its disposition being ever more increasingly hostile. **Philostratus** wrote his *Vita Apollonii* in the first decades of the third century, in the circle of the Empress Julia Domna. Whether by it there was already intended a pagan contrast to Christ, must remain in question; as a matter of fact at least, it had that effect. The pious sage, miracle-worker and reformer, who wrought everywhere for refined piety and moral purity, and who at the same moment began life and the championship of truth and justice as a moral reformer, and placed superior knowledge and higher powers at the service of his task, becomes a divine phenomenon.

In **Neoplatonism** proper (Ammonius Saccas,† 241, regarded as the real founder; the systematic development by Plotinus, † 270) philosophy makes a league with religion for the purification and revival of religion, but the very sense of being in affinity and touch with Christianity and the Christian view of the world, goads it to opposition to the latter; it attempts to supply in the soil of paganism that which only Christianity can supply. In the writings of Plotinus much had already been designed against Christianity. With entire hostility however this philosophy opposes Christianity in the disciple of Plotinus, **Porphyry** († 304): 15 books κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγοι. As a matter of course, indeed, he takes up a critical attitude towards the pagan religions, their myths and worship, sees the true worship of God in the exalting of the soul to pure knowledge of God and a pious, god-like disposition; but to the Neo-Platonic chain of descending beings, from the highest Unity down to the multitude of demons, there corresponds also a gradually ascending worship, in which the various national religions find their warrantable places: for it is right to preserve the divine worships κατὰ τὰ πάτρια

(Porph. *Ad Marcellam*, in the Opusc. ed. Nauck. 1866). In this fact all religions, even the barbaric, even Judaism, have their justification; but Christianity, which denies the right of all others to exist, and comes forward as their conqueror, this philosophy necessarily opposes. The hatred of the Christians against this bitterest and keenest foe has destroyed the book, and even the numerous treatises against it (by Methodius of Tyre, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Apollinaris of Laodicea, and Philostorgius) have not been preserved. According to the scanty fragments preserved, he traced out contradictions and improbabilities in the sacred writings of the Christians, *e.g.* between the Old and the New Testament; why should Christ reject the sacrifices, which however the God of the Old Testament had instituted? He alluded to the quarrel between Paul and Peter (Gal. ii.), found a moral ambiguity in the behaviour of Christ (John vii. 8 cf. v. 14), made use of historical criticism, *e.g.* he shows that the highly honoured Book of Daniel could not have been written by the latter, nor till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; he disputed the right of allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament as exercised by Origen. If Christ only be the Way, the Truth, and the Life, what have men done for so many centuries before him? As Celsus had already done, he criticises the relation of human sin and alleged eternal punishment. Christians have deformed the original truths of the founder of their sect, who was a pious and wise man, one of the noblest souls, who reverenced the gods and by their aid did miracles, and have made himself God against his will; in opposition to them, the Christians, Pythagoras is glorified as the ideal of the pious sage by Porphyry (and still more exuberantly by Jamblichus).

According to the character of his charges, as known from these few fragments, it is very probable that we find many of his criticisms of individual passages of Scripture made use of in the apologetic treatise of Bishop Macarius Magnes (c. 400), which presents them in the form of a disputation advanced by a pagan and refuted by a Christian; Macarius may have drawn either directly or indirectly (perhaps through the medium of the somewhat similar Hierocles) from this source (*vid. infra* Macarius Magnes). In the treatise of Porphyry Περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας also, likewise lost except fragments, there must have been present an antithetical attitude to Christianity. Cf. Luc. Holstenius, *Diss. de vita et scriptis Porphyrii*, Rome 1630. 8. (reprinted in *Fabr. Bibl. gr.* IV., 207 sqq. of the 1st ed.): Porphyrii *Opusc.* ed. Nauck, 2nd ed. 1866. P. *de phil. ex oraculis haur. rel.* ed. Wolff 1856. Kuhn in ThQ. 1865. Ullmann in StKr. 1832 I. My remarks in ThLZ. 1877, Nr. 19; Wagenmann in JdTh. 1878 (vol. 23), p. 269 sqq.

The Procurator Hierocles of Bithynia also, who took an important (perhaps a directing) part in the persecution of the Christians under Diocletian, starting from similar notions of Neo-Platonic restoration

of paganism, directed his literary feud against Christianity in the two books λόγοι φιλαλήθεις πρὸς Χριστιανούς (or λόγος φιλαληθής); following the footsteps of Celsus, Porphyry and others, he called attention to the contradictions and incongruities in the Holy Scriptures, depreciated the Apostles as betrayers, but set Christ himself in the shade in a far lower and more odious manner as a magician and instigator of rebellion, by comparison with Aristeas, Pythagoras and Apollonius of Tyana. Against the latter point, Eusebius Pamph., who otherwise thought but little of Hierocles' bungling compilation from the works of others, directed his treatise *Contra Hieroclem*, printed after his *Demonstratio ev.* Paris 1628, Cologne 1688. (Cf. Lact. *Instit.* V. 2, 3.)

4. The Persecution of the Christians by the Pagan Executive Power.

Literature: Aubé, *Les Chrétiens dans l'empire Rom.* (180–249), Paris 1881: Ejdm. *L'église et l'état a.* 249–284, Paris 1886; G. Uhlhorn, *vid.* p. 161; P. Allard, *Hist. des persec. pendant la* 1. *moitié du* 3 *s.*, Paris 1886; Fuchs, *Gesch. d. K. Sept. Sev.*, Vienna 1884; J. J. Müller, *Staat und Kirche unter Alex. Sev. in Stud. z. Gesch. d. Röm Kaiser*, Zürich 1874; Th. Bernhardt, *Gesch. Roms von Valerian bis Diokletian*, 1876. Monographs on Diocletian by Vogel (1856), Preuss (1869), Th. Bernhardt (1862), and Mason, *The Pers. of Diocl.*, Cambridge 1876.

The change which took place under Commodus appeared first to come to a stand under Septimius Severus (193–211), at least Tertullian knows of favour shown to Christian men and women of high rank in his surroundings, whom he commended and protected from attackers in spite of his knowledge of their Christian belief. A Christian is said to have cured him (with oil), his son (Ant. Caracalla) is said to have received a Christian foster-mother (Tert. *Ad Scap.* 4. *lacte Christiano educatum*). But soon, like conversion to Judaism, that to Christianity was likewise severely interdicted (Spartian. *Sev.* 17), the forbidding of the *collegia illicita* was renewed (Ulpian in Dig. l. I. t. 12 § 14), and in the provinces the persecutions on the hitherto judicial basis became very severe. In **Alexandria** it was especially violent, so that it was thought that the end of the world was approaching (Euseb. 6, 1–7). Here died Leonidas the father of the youthful Origen, and a number of those who were instructed by Origen; the slave Potamiæna, a virgin, was finally burnt to death along with her mother, Basilides the lictor who conducted them being converted by their means (Eus. 6, 5); it was only with difficulty that Origen's mother protected her unwilling son. In **North Africa** there died among others the two young women Perpetua and Felicitas, catechumens, baptized in

the prison and not till then, steadfast in spite of the entreaties of the grey-haired father of Perpetua (who had just become a mother) and the attempts of the Procurator. Saturus, who sought martyrdom, died by the bite of a leopard, Perpetua and Felicitas wrapped in a net were thrown to a mad cow (*Acta* in Ruinart; cf. F. Görres, JprTh. 1878). To Septimius Severus, who was born in Africa of an ancient Roman knightly race, a certain inclination to foreign religions was ascribed. His wife Julia Domna was a Syrian, and to their race belong the succeeding emperors of syncretistic disposition, who being themselves of oriental descent, did not hold fast to the Roman standpoint in the treatment of Christianity. Under Caracalla (the Antoninus of Tertullian) 211–217, the persecutions gradually ceased. The wild oriental fanaticism of the youth who was given up shamelessly to vicious and magical fantasies, Varius Avitus Bassianus (Heliogabalus), grandson of the sister of Julia Domna, as a boy dedicated as priest to the sun-god of Emesa (Elagabal, אל גבל, as he called himself after it, then Græcised it Heliogabalus), would have had the Jewish, the Samaritan and the Christian religion as well as the Roman worships all absorbed into the service of his god Elagabal, whom all forms of worship were to serve. Syncretistic monotheism here indeed begins in a most horrible form. The church however enjoyed rest. Hippolytus addressed a treatise (*Προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Σεβήραν* s. *π. ἀναστάσεως*) to the second wife of Heliogabalus, Julia Aquilia Severa. She therefore cannot have been hostile to Christianity.

Religious syncretism appears in a nobler form in the cousin of Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus (225–35), in whose Lararium the *divi principes*, *animæ sanctiores*, such as Apollonius of Tyana, Christ, Abraham, Orpheus were set up in image, and whose mother, Julia Mammæa, sought the society of Origen. "He willingly had in his mouth the sayings of the Lord." In a contest between the Roman Christians and the guild of cook-shop keepers as to a building site in Rome, the Emperor decided in favour of the Christians. (Lamprid. *Sev. Alex.* c. 29, 2; as again according to the same authority Alex. Sev. also *Christianos esse passus est*, ib. 22). All the same, subsequent time shows that while this practical toleration existed, the legal position was not yet altered; just at this time Ulpian made a collection of the laws which were to be applied against the Christians, which unfortunately has not been preserved (cf. Görres in ZwTh. 1887, 48 sqq.) The barbarian soldier Emperor, Maximinus Thrax, who was raised to the throne by the troops, whereupon Alexander and his mother who ruled him were slain, according to

Euseb. 6, 28, only commanded that the presidents of the Christian communities should be put to death as the real causes of the spread of evangelical doctrines, which Eusebius connects with his animosity to Alexander Severus and his mother Julia Mammæa and their friendliness to Christians; perhaps a more important start towards a systematic procedure against the known importance of the hierarchy (ThLZ. 1877, 168). However, it was never systematically carried out in the three years of his rule of force. We have much rather direct testimony that the persecution which then took place in Cappadocia, on occasion of public calamities (under the Proconsul Serenianus, the "*acerbus et dirus persecutor*"), which was by no means limited to presidents, but caused believers in general to take to flight, was indeed a violent persecution, but local (Firmilian. Cæs. in Cypr. epp. 75, 10; cf. ORIGEN on Matt. xxiv. 9, and *De martyrio*). Origen, who must have attracted attention as a friend of Mammæa, kept himself concealed during this period. In Rome the bishop Pontianus and the presbyter Hippolytus were banished to Sardinia (cf. GÖRRES, ZwTh. 1873, p. 536 sqq. and HARNACK, ThLZ. 1877, p. 167).

In the following years of confusion for the Empire under the GORDIANS the Christians had entire rest, and PHILIP the ARABIAN (from Bostra, the son of the Sheikh of a Bedouin robber tribe, 244–249) is even said to have been himself a Christian (Euseb. 6, 34). Dionysius of Alexandria already knows (in the time of Valerian, Euseb. 7, 10) of Emperors (plur.) who were openly given out as having become Christians (*οἱ λεχθέντες ἀναφανδὸν Χριστιανοὶ γεγονέναι*)—which however along with Alexander Severus can only apply to Philip the Arabian. Origen wrote letters to him and his wife Severa (EUSEB. H.E. 6, 37; according to VINCENT. LERINENSIS, *Comm.* I. 23; *Christiani magisterio autoritate*). The bishop who, according to the narrative of Eusebius, kept him from divine worship till he had done penance, is said (according to Leontius of Antioch in the fourth century) to have been Babylas of Antioch, who died a martyr's death under Decius. AUBÉ (*Les chrétiens* etc.) has recently declared in favour of the historical nature of this report, which indeed, just because the Christians had very little cause for pride in the acquisition, gains a certain probability (*vid.* also UHLHORN in RE.).

Up to this point the position of the Christians was indeed always legally in danger and exposed to the working of popular passions, but proceedings against them had always been sporadic only and on particular occasions, never systematic and general. In consequence,

Origen (*c. Celsum.* 3. p. 116) is able to say that within his horizon the number of those who at different times (κατὰ καιρούς) have died for Christianity, is small and easy to count. He says that in recent times the number of Christians has greatly increased, and gives expression to the victorious feelings of Christians *thereon*: all other religions should pass away and the Christian religion alone rule, since divine truth would go on always to win more souls. Quite a new view! On the other hand the causes of the many insurrections were found in the great multitude of the Christians, who had increased to so great an extent because they were no longer persecuted. In view of this state of things it was no longer possible to expect that Christianity would be ignored or mere isolated measures taken against it; it had to come to a battle of life and death, when the Empire, threatened on all sides by the barbarians and crippled hitherto by internal factions, sought to collect itself from the general decay, under a succession of soldier Emperors, mostly provincials, but filled with the notion of the restoration of the dignity of Rome, and for that reason also sincerely devoted to Roman superstition. So was it under Decius, 249–251. The first systematically conceived measure against the Christians and one intended for universal execution, is grasped by his **Edict of** 250. All Christians are to be required to perform the Roman state religious ceremonies. The prefects themselves are threatened with severe penalties if they do not bring the Christians to apostasy and to return to the ancestral religion. The Christians are to be summoned at definite periods, those who take flight are to forfeit their property and civil rights, and may not return on pain of death, those who are apprehended are to be treated with increasing severity (prison, torture, hunger and thirst), but the priests are to be executed forthwith: "*tyrannus infestus sacerdotibus Dei*" (Cypr. *Ep.* 52.) But with the increased embitterment death was extended to many others also, and it was sought by continued torture to induce Christians to deny their faith (*Sources*: specially the Epistles of Cyprian and his treatise *De lapsis*, and the descriptions of Dionysius of Alexandria *ap.* Euseb. H.E. 6, 40. 42; cf. also Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Greg. Thaum.* Opp. III. 567; Mgr. 46, 894). The impression on the Christians, who had now for long given themselves up to the feeling of complete rest and security, was staggering. In Rome Bishop Fabianus died the death of a martyr, and in Jerusalem Bishop Alexander died in prison, in Antioch Babylas; Origen suffered imprisonment and torture. Dionysius of Alexandria, who had not long entered upon his episcopal office, was apprehended in flight, but rescued through special circum-

stances. Cyprian of Carthage also withdrew himself to a distance at the instance of the community. (The death also of Saturninus in Toulouse, who is said to have been trailed to death by a wild ox, is placed by the legend in the time of Decius.) Terror brought great numbers to apostasy; many on the first proclamations hurried formally to comply and could not quickly enough renounce the Christianity which had become perilous, others agreed with wounded consciences to give in to the threats, or sought by bribing the officials to help themselves in one way or another, inasmuch as they did not agree to sacrifice (*sacrificati*) or strew incense (*thurificati*), but directly or indirectly procured for money, which the authorities were often willing to receive, a certificate that they had satisfied the requirements (therefore had sacrificed): *libellatici* (*acta facientes*, from the fact that a protocoll of the fact was drawn up; χειρογραφήσαντες from the fact that they were obliged to sign the protocoll). A special class of *acta facientes* can only be understood in the sense, that many knew how to avoid the acceptance of the *libellus*, and for them, therefore, the *acta facere* was their only deed (cf. Cypr. *Epp.* 30 and 50). If in these circumstances much rottenness was revealed, if many showed themselves to be only tinged by the Christian faith, or weak, yet on the other hand the distress of the time naturally brought forth a deepening or new kindling of the spirit of love and fellowship and the courage to confess, and much zeal in care for the confessors and martyrs.

The death of Decius, who fell in the Gothic war (251), brought indeed a slight pause, as again did the assassination of Gallus (253); but the oppressed condition of the Christians remained, and Valerian (253–260) again proceeded against the Christians with decision, if in a different manner. This prince, possessed of great and noble qualities, by report favourable to the Christians, but afterwards altered in his opinion by Macrian, desired to proceed not by persecution of the masses, but at first by banishment of the bishops, by prohibition of the gatherings of the Christians for purposes of fellowship and worship and of visiting burial places (Dion. Alex. ap. Euseb. 7, 11); but when this was ineffective, when the exiled presidents remained in most intimate connection with the communities, there resulted in 258 the edict, according to which bishops, presbyters and deacons were forthwith to be executed (with the sword), senators and men of rank (*egregii viri*) and knights (*equites*) to be deprived of their dignities, robbed of their goods, and if they remained obstinate likewise executed, women of rank to go into exile, Christians in the service of the Imperial Court to be allotted

to labour in chains on the Imperial estates (Cyprian *Ep.* 80 ed. Hart.). At that time there died the Roman bishop Sixtus, seized during divine service in the catacombs and executed on the spot according to the decree (6 Aug., 258); his deacon Laurentius a few days after; at the same time also Cyprian in Carthage (14 Sept., 258). On the continuance of opposition the persecution occasionally spread again to others besides the clergy. Christian assemblies were surprised. (Subsequently the story of the walling in of such an assembly in a catacomb was told in Rome, Gregory of Tours, *De gloria mart.* I. 28.)

When, during the Persian war, Valerian fell into captivity, his son and co-regent hitherto (since 254), Gallienus, a dilettante in every sort of science and art, but a ruler of infirm and weak character, afforded rest to the Christians, so that he has been designated the first to afford Christianity legal toleration. As a matter of fact, he withdrew the harsh regulations hitherto in force and allowed the Christians again to obtain possession of their houses of assembly and their burial places. The first edict of 260, soon after the beginning of his sole rule, has not been preserved, but only a letter to Egyptian bishops, after he had got Egypt under his power by his conquest of Macrian (261). He imparts to them his desire that they should be able to live in peace and that their places of assembly and cemeteries should be given back to them (Euseb. 7, 13, 3). He thus avoids entering upon the question of the legal toleration of the **Christian religion as such**, and that such toleration was not meant to be expressed without further words is shown by the narrative of Eusebius (7, 18) of the execution of Marcian, a Christian captain, which expressly presupposes the continued existence of the older laws against the Christians. But obviously it is a practical renunciation of the putting those laws into effect as against the bishops as heads of the Christian corporations. If at the same time however corporate rights and corporate property of Christians appear to be presupposed, and therefore a certain legal recognition of the Christians as such, that is to be explained from the following circumstances. Alexander Severus had already (*vid. sup.*) caused the trans-Tiberine place of meeting to be delivered over "to the Christians," and therefore not to any private person. The possibility of corporate rights and collective property for the Christians in the pre-Constantinian period consisted in their application to their own uses of the exceptions to the laws against *Hetaireiai*, in favour of the so-called *collegia tenuiorum* (associations of the poor, friendly societies); they therefore took the character of a sort of burial and

charitable society (in connection with which therefore, as before the authorities, the question hinged not on their religious convictions or exercises, but on their social significance as a kind of guild). These latter were allowed to assemble once a month, but were nevertheless obliged to give notice to the authorities and give the names of the presidents. In this way, therefore, there appeared alongside of other such guilds *e.g. Cultores Jovis*, etc., Christian *collegia fratrum* also, which had their *triclinia* and also their burial-places. Of course this system had the disadvantage that the heads of the Christian societies became known to the magistrates, and hence, as soon as the legal condemnation of the **religion** again came to the front, the latter were at once the object of attack, and likewise the cemeteries themselves, from the middle of the third century, no longer afforded security. Of course it is to be remarked that in the above letter to the Egyptian bishops, Gallienus expressly indicates it as his will, that the τόποι θρησκευσιμοί should be left unmolested! Görres (ZwTh. 1877, 606) assumes accordingly that Gallienus by the "edict of toleration" had, as a matter of fact, recognised the Christian religion as *religio licita*, Harnack (R.E. IV. 736 sqq.) and Uhlhorn judge otherwise.

In any case with Gallienus there begins for the Christians a long period of peace, lasting about forty years. Narratives of a persecution of the Christians under Claudius II. (268–270) are of apocryphal character (Görres, ZwTh. 1884; cf. my remarks in GGA. 1883, p. 492 sqq.), and as to Aurelian (270–275), it is only said (Euseb. H. E. 7, 30. *Chronic.* ad. ann. 278, Greek text) that he was occupied with the thought of a persecution of the Christians, but was prevented by death. To him the Christians could apply for a decision in the affairs of Paul of Samosata, the deposed bishop of Antioch, a decision which turned out against this favourite of Zenobia (*vid. infra*) and in favour of those who were recognised as justified by the bishop of Rome.

Besides, in the unspeakable confusion of these years no Emperor could have such command of the Empire as to be able to think of a methodical persecution of the Christians. The last decisive decrees did not come till the time of Diocletian, the son of a Dalmatian female slave, who had worked his way up in the army, and having been raised to power by the choice of the generals in the year 284, put an end to that period of confusion which had followed upon Valerian's being taken prisoner by the Persians (time of the so-called Thirty Tyrants). The imperial rule more and more takes on another tinge: the superior dominance of what is specifically

Roman in the Empire is repressed, barbarians are received in masses into the Roman army (Probus on one occasion admitted 16,000 Germans in one day). The restoration of a strong unified power will no longer succeed on the ancient Roman foundations, oriental influence makes itself felt. Rome ceases to be the capital, Diocletian resides in the East (Nicomedia), a pompous court ceremonial surrounds the "**Dominus.**" In order to secure continuity of rule, Diocletian, seeing that a hereditary dynasty was not to be thought of, hit upon the contrivance according to which two Augusti, to whom were added two Cæsars with the expectation of the succession by adoption, should rule in common and in such a way that the unity of the Empire should find its apex in the person of the **one** Augustus as highest leader. But hand in hand with the endeavour after consolidation there goes a strong tendency towards restoration of the pagan religion. Diocletian, strongly dominated by superstition, and surrounded by haruspices and sacrificial priests, was very accessible to the influence of the Neo-Platonism which aimed at the revival (galvanizing) of pagan religion. Hence, although Diocletian, who was not *à priori* hostile to the Christians, saw and tolerated many of them in high offices and in the household of the court, in fact his wife and his daughter Valerian seem to have been on intimate terms with the Church, the pagan restoration party (Hierocles), with their aim at a "Neo-Platonic State Church" as a support for the government, acquired growing influence, and gained in the rude and superstitious GALERIUS, who had been raised by his military talents from the rank of shepherd to that of Cæsar, a fanatical representative, who finally overcame the remaining opposition of Diocletian (Lact. *De mort. pers.* 11).

Sources: Euseb. *H.E.*, libb. 8–10 and *De martyr. Palæst.*; Lactant. *De mort. persec.*, c. 7 sqq.

First of all the army was purified from Christians; as early as 295 it was required that all soldiers should take part in the sacrifices. Next, the destruction of a handsome church in Nicomedia, in 303, gave the signal, at the time when Diocletian was himself at Nicomedia, busied with the measures which were to be taken, had consulted the oracles, and would have nothing to do with merely bloodless persecution. Various edicts in quick succession (Eus. H.E. 8, 2. 8, 6, 8 and 10) ordain: *a*) destruction of the churches and annihilation of the Christian **Scriptures,** the deposition of Christian officials; slaves lose the possibility of emancipation; *b*) apprehension of the Christian priests, who *c*) are to be forced to sacrifice. The first edict was torn down by a Christian;

a fire breaking out in the palace, the blame was laid at the door of the Christians. Diocletian's anger was stirred against the Christian elements in the court; in addition there came revolts, as in Armenia. A fourth edict (Eus. *De martyr. Pal.* 3) commanded that all Christians should be forced to sacrifice. Systematic procedure had great results among the Christians who had been lulled in security and rendered sleepy by long peace. The Cæsar Constantius Chlorus only was content in Gaul with destruction of churches: "*verum autem templum quod est in hominibus incolume servavit*" (*De mort. pers.* 15). But already in 305 Diocletian laid down his sovereignty, and also compelled his co-Augustus Maximian to the same course. Now however he had to experience the inability of his political creation to keep its position, peace and rest shaken to their depths by his last momentous steps, and the object not yet attained. Galerius was indeed obliged to recognise Constantius Chlorus as his co-Augustus, but nominated Severus and Maximinus Daza, two decided enemies of the Christians, Cæsars, passing over Chlorus' son Constantine and Maximian's son Maxentius. While, however, Galerius and Maximin carried on the persecution of the Christians with decision in the Eastern half of the empire (martyrs in Palestine, *vid.* the abundant descriptions of the horrors in Euseb. *De mart. Pal.*), in the West, Constantius Chlorus entirely ceased to molest the Christians, and his son Constantine, having fled from the court of Nicomedia, was acclaimed as successor by the troops in Britain on the death of Constantius Chlorus. Severus (made Augustus by Galerius, while he was compelled to recognise Constantine as second Cæsar) left off in Italy and Africa, and Constantine's war against the Pretenders (Maxentius and his father Maximian[1]) compelled them likewise to suspend the persecution in Italy and Africa.

Finally, after repeated suspension and re-awakening of the persecution, Galerius, shortly before his death in 311, saw himself forced to issue an edict of toleration (Euseb. 8, 17; Lact. *De mort. pers.* 34) in his own and his co-regents' names (viz. those of Constantine and Licinius, whom he had raised to Augustus in Illyria). The rulers had desired, in the interest of the state, to restore all things accord-

[1] Maximianus Herculius had been obliged to abdicate with Diocletian, but he soon grasped again at the purple and played a lamentable part. In 307 Constantine was married to his daughter Fausta. In the year 310 Maximian raised a military revolt against his son-in-law. Constantine suppressed the affair and compelled Maximian himself to choose his manner of death; he caused himself to be strangled.

ing to the ancient laws, and hence also to bring the Christians to deliberation, who had deserted the sect of their forefathers and given themselves arbitrary laws, so that they did not obey the ordinances (*instituta*) of the ancients: "*quæ forsitan primum parentes eorundem constituerant.*" Many had submitted themselves, but many had obstinately withstood, so that they now neither honoured the gods, nor even their God. For this reason gracious indulgence was to be exercised and permission given that they might again become Christians (*ut denuo sint Christiani*) and hold their conventicles, after such manner however that nothing should take place against order (propriety, *disciplina*). They were therefore to implore their God for the salvation of the ruler and for their own. The edict so represents the matter that the toleration of Christianity seems compatible to a certain extent with the aim of the state, viz. as though Christianity reposed on ancient *instituta veterum* justified within its own circle, as Neo-Platonism asserted that the doctrine of Christ, an exceedingly wise man, was originally in agreement with its own, and had only been distorted by the Christian enthusiasts who had diverged from their guides. Meantime it was now after all permitted to Christians to be Christians—and therefore to follow their own conception of Christianity.

Maximin, lord of all the Asiatic provinces after the death of Galerius, at first accommodated himself to the revolution in opinion. After a short time however he again loosed the persecution. Towns which begged him for the exclusion of the Christians, found gracious reception. Paganism (the pagan cult) he surrounded with new glory. The odious *Acta Pilati* with their calumniations of Christianity and its founder were sedulously circulated, till finally a decided turning-point was reached in the victorious rise of Constantine against Maxentius in the West. Thereon at the beginning of the next period.

5. The Chief Representatives of the Apostolic-Catholic Church.

I.—Irenæus and the Asiatic-Roman School.

Irenæus has still connection with the ancient Church of Asia Minor and its traditions; in his youth he could still know Polycarp, and was the recipient of his reminiscences going back as far as the Apostle John. "That which I heard from him I wrote not down upon paper but in my heart, and by the grace of God I bring it ever into fresh remembrance." Perhaps (?) when Polycarp came to Rome he accompanied him thither, where (according to the *Vita Polycarpi* of Pionius) he was teaching in the year of Polycarp's

death. Subsequently he became presbyter at Lyons (*Lugdunum*). On occasion of the Montanist movement he brought a letter of the communities of Southern Gaul to the Roman Bishop Eleutheros at Rome, and thus escaped the violent persecution of those communities which was just then breaking out, and in which Bishop POTHINUS suffered martyrdom, whose successor he now became. He was an individual of the highest importance for the ecclesiastical points of view which were attaining decided dominance, and which are to a large extent represented by him. It is ecclesiastical tradition, as transmitted especially in the Apostolic communities by the "presbyters," the bishops, as its true guardians, in which he sees a firm support against the divisive sectarian opinions of the Gnostics, and the simple kernel, fruitful in popular religion, of ecclesiastical truth, which agreeing with the written Gospel and the writings of the Apostles, affords resistance to the wanton speculative phantasy of Gnosticism. At the same time Irenæus was still in sufficiently living connection with the spirit of the church's past to enter with a regulating and modifying influence into the Montanist movement, rejecting extremes without ignoring its justifiable elements. He mediated too with œcumenical wisdom in the Paschal question, when the conception of unity which was specially powerful at Rome sought inconsiderately and domineeringly to make itself felt. When and how Irenæus died is uncertain. The date 202 only rests on the late narrative of Gregory of Tours, and the supposition of his martyrdom on an accidental expression of Jerome's.

The chief work preserved, Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, is only preserved complete in an old and bad Latin translation—which Tertullian seems already to have used; there are however a considerable number of passages in Greek in Hippolytus, Eusebius and Epiphanius. It is directed mainly against the Valentinians, but adduces numerous other sects, and combats them by demonstrating their indefensibility in themselves, and also by searching discussion of Scripture, and closes with a representation in Biblical style, in which the hopes of Christians for the kingdom find highly realistic expression.

Of his other writings there are only known a not inconsiderable number of fragments, such as the fragment of a letter to the presbyter Florinus (inclined to the Valentinian doctrine) which is important for the connection of Irenæus with Polycarp; and that from the anti-Gnostic treatise Περὶ ὀγδοάδος which was occasioned by the same person. As to the four disputed fragments, first published by PFAFF, of which the most comprehensive and weighty certainly does not belong to Irenæus, *vid.* STIEREN'S edition II. 381–528. To the lost treatises belongs also the Περὶ σχίσματος addressed to the Roman Blastus (Euseb. H. E. 5, 20, 1), which seems to have referred to the Paschal Controversy, during which Irenæus published various writings. The older chief editions of

his works are those of GRABE, more recent of STIEREN, 1853, 2 vols., and especially W. WIGAN HARVEY, Cambridge 1877, 2 vols. (Ml. 7.). On Irenæus *vid.* DODWELL'S *Dissertt. in Iren.*, Oxford 1689, more recently GRAUL, *Die Kirche an der Schwelle des irenäischen Zeitalters*, Leipsic 1860; ZIEGLER, *Irenæus*, 1871; Th. ZAHN in the RE.²; LOOFS, *Irenäushandschriften*, Leipsic 1888.

The presbyter GAIUS (Caius), also wrote in **Greek** at Rome, a decided opponent of the Montanist Proclus who appeared in Rome, and therefore also of Chiliasm—in this respect a modern Christian.

HIPPOLYTUS is properly to be regarded as a disciple of Irenæus (Phot. cod. 121). He was a Roman presbyter who played a part in Rome under the Roman bishops Zephyrinus (199–217) and Callistus (—222), came to great discord with them, and especially with the latter, on account of strict principles in the treatment of the fallen (re-admission) and on account of Christological differences (defence of the doctrine of the subordination of the Logos and opposition to patripassian opinions), so that at length it came to a breach between them, and Hippolytus appears in the character of a kind of anti-bishop at the head of a schismatical party (combination with the reports which regard him as Bishop of Portus opposite Ostia). Next (in 235, according to the Liberian catalogue of the Popes, the chronographer of 354, where he is designated as presbyter) he was banished to Sardinia at the same time with the Roman bishop Pontianus. Subsequently he was honoured in the church as a martyr (in spite of the above difference with the Roman bishop). He probably died in exile, and his body is said to have been buried in Rome along with that of Pontianus (cf. the *Cömeterium S. Hippolyti* discovered by Rossi, ZKG. 7, 481 sq., and Prudentius, *Perist.* XI. who describes his burial place), although nothing trustworthy is known as to the nearer circumstances of this martyrdom, which is also transferred to Portus. A statue of "*St. Hippolytus episcopus Portus urbis Romæ*," dug up in 1551 at the site of the martyr chapels, represents him seated, and on the back of the θρόνος there is engraved a list of his writings, and also the sixteen-year Easter cycle fixed by Hippolytus. It may however have only been erected pretty late—*after Prudentius*—which again somewhat impairs the value of the list of writings.

Hippolytus shows how a very extensive scholarship and literary activity is now placed at the service of the ideas of the church. In this respect he somewhat recalls his contemporary Origen, with whom he had personal relations, whose distinctly marked speculative tendency however, he shares in a less degree. He also, as Origen did with Mammæa, stood on scholarly relations with an empress (Severina says the statue; Syrian references

mention Julia Mammæa; DÖLLINGER supposes the second wife of Elagabulus, Julia Aquilia Severa) and wrote to her on the **resurrection**. Among the remains of his very extensive literary production preserved, prominence is to be given to the following: the book on Antichrist, the fragments preserved on the Book of Daniel (*vid.* BARDENHEWER, *Des Hipp. Comm. z. Dan.*, Freiburg 1877), and the treatise against Noetus. Of a treatise on the celebration of the Passover only a couple of short fragments have been preserved. Other matter either bears his name incorrectly or is highly uncertain. Of special importance is the re-discovery of what was previously only known by its first book, and falsely ascribed to Origen, the well-known so-called Philosophoumena (*vid. supra*, Gnosticism) more correctly: Κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος in which he seeks to trace back the heresies to their origin in pagan philosophy, mysteriosophy and astrology; hence he first treats of these (in the first four books, of which the second and third are not preserved). The ascription of the composition of this treatise, first published by E. MILLER (Oxford 1851), under the title *Origenis Philosophumena*, to Hippolytus of Rome is founded on the fact that the book Περὶ τοῦ παντός mentioned in the list of writings on the statue of Hippolytus is identified with the treatise Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας mentioned by the author in the Philosophoumena 10, 32 as his work, and in spite of a certain hesitation based on PHOT. Cod. 48, it has gained ever more general recognition. The shorter Σύνταγμα κατὰ π. αἱρ. (Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 121; cf. Philos. l. I *proœm.*) of Hippolytus, it is believed, especially after the proofs of Lipsius (*vid. supra*, p. 129), may be recognised in a Latin revised form in the spurious appendix to TERTULLIAN'S treatise *De præscript. hæret.*, and at the same time as made use of by Epiphanius and Philastrius. It must remain an open question whether an anonymous treatise against the Artemonites (Euseb. H.E. 5, 28) the so-called *Little Labyrinth* (THEODORET, *Fab. hær.*, 2, 5), is to be ascribed to Hippolytus. The supposition that he is the author of the Philosophoumena, which afford such remarkable glimpses into the life of the Roman community under Bishop Callistus (9, 11 sqq.) is the basis of the above statements regarding his life. A critical edition with the title *Hippol. refutatio hæres.* DUNKER et SCHNEIDEWIN, Göttingen 1859. The rest of his works edited by Fabricius, Hamburg 1716 Fo. and especially by DE LAGARDE, Leipsic 1858. Of the copious literature on Hippolytus: BUNSEN, *Hippolytus und seine Zeit*, German and English; DÖLLINGER, *Hippolytus und Callistus*, 1853; VOLKMAR, *Hippolytus und die römischen Zeitgenossen*, Zurich 1855. Further in JACOBI (RE.[2] 6, 139 sqq.) and CASPARI, *Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymb.* III. Christiania 1875, p. 377 sqq. ERBES in JprTh. 1888, 611 sqq.

II.—The Representatives of the Latin School.

I. TERTULLIAN.

TERTULLIAN was born at Carthage about 160,[1] the son of a centurion in the service of the Roman Proconsul. Proceeding from a pagan household, he received a scholarly education such as was

[1] NÖLDECHEN, *Tertullian's Geburtsjahr* (Hilgenfeld, ZwTh. 1886, 207 sqq.), is inclined to reach back to about 150, because the occasional references in his writings must be held to show that he lived almost the whole period of Marcus Aurelius with alert consciousness and not without taking an attitude of his own towards the events of the time; the indications however are very uncertain, the whole criticism very subjective.

afforded by his native city, one of the main seats of learning in the Roman Empire; he also acquired the Greek language and literature, at first also wrote in Greek (and still as a Christian) what has unfortunately been lost. His eloquence shows the schooling of the rhetoricians, and his writings also attest in particular his studies in law (Euseb. 2, 2: *an exact knower of Roman laws*). He was also in Rome. The fragments in the *Corp. jur.* under the name of Tertullus or Tertullianus have been ascribed to him, which however is a conjecture incapable of proof. He had already been occupied as an advocate and rhetorician,when he was laid hold of by the Christian faith, passed over into the church and became a presbyter at Carthage. He apprehended Christianity (in this respect similarly to Tatian) eminently in its opposition to all the pallid wisdom of philosophy, as a mighty supernatural reality, a divine foolishness wiser than men, creating and transmuting, challenging and disdaining contradiction. His was a fiery nature, rich in phantasy, witty and passionate and inclined to paradox, at the same time endowed with a certain amount of oriental (Punic) warmth and sensuousness, but also with a good share of Roman sense of what is solid and effective. He lacks measure, the Hellenic element, and therefore also the sense of beauty of form and ideal harmonious formation, which has no time to ripen in his stormy and thoroughly polemical nature. However, his rugged attitude towards the wisdom of this world by no means excludes the visible influence of philosophic culture, especially a certain after-effect of Stoic views (Musonius!). The close of his life lies in obscurity, probably in consequence of his rancorous Montanist attitude towards the church. His death, to be dated about 220, is said to have taken place at a great age (Jerome, *De vir. ill.* 53). Did he at last also withdraw himself from the Montanists? (Aug. *De Hæres.* 86). A man of such a nature, by placing the Latin language at the service of the church, must have impressed on it an entirely new stamp and breathed into it a new spirit. He became the father of **ecclesiastical Latinity,** while Minucius Felix and subsequently Lactantius, appear to be entirely dominated by classical form. (cf. Koffmanne, *Gesch. d. Kirchenlateins* I. Berlin 1879).

1. His **apologetic** work. The *Apologeticum* to the Roman Government and the two books *Ad nationes*, stand in the closest relationship to each other, so that they partially appear as only different revisions of the same book; the priority is disputed, the *Ad nationes* however is probably the earlier (Uhlhorn, Hauck). This is one of the most attractive and original products in the domain of ancient Christian literature. It attempts to demonstrate the full right of Christians to toleration, with full consciousness of the irreconcilability of the

kingdom of God and the world. *Ad Scapulam* (Proconsul under Sept. Sev.), *De testimonio animæ* (cf. Apol. 17), *Adv. Judæos.*

2. With equal valiance he attacks the Christian sects, starting from the basis of the ecclesiastical Apostolic tradition as from a firm foundation,—in which position he is entirely in agreement with Irenæus, only that in his own style he, so to speak, formulates it juridically in the *De præscript. hæreticorum.* The Church Christians are in possession; the heretics are excluded from right to the holy Scriptures. Hence it is not at all necessary for the Christian to demonstrate his right to them from Scripture. Writings against Valentinus and Marcion (5 Books) and against Hermogenes (a Platonic painter).

In other writings of dogmatic character certain sides of the ecclesiastical view, which are specially offensive to paganism or to Gnostic Christianity, are developed: *De carne Christi* (against Docetic representations), *De resurrectione carnis* (*durius creditur resurrectio carnis quam una divinitas, De res.* 2), *De anima* (against Gnostic spiritualism, in favour of the created nature and in fact the corporeality of the soul, the transmission of sin), etc.

3. The powerful reality of Christianity as a new form of life, which with the Gnostics was refined away, was now to be taken up in earnest; to the sharp contrast of the kingdom of God with the world corresponds a stern form of life in contrast with all pagan laxity. As in his defence of the Church's faith Tertullian had planted a firm foot on the ancient Apostolic tradition, and in this relation entirely represented the spirit of the consolidation of the church, and therefore a positive spirit, those of his compositions which relate to the practical Christian life and Christian discipline (his numerous **Ascetic tractates**) exhibit the point at which he fell into variance with the church, which was indeed striving after more fixed order and doctrines, but was also establishing itself in the world and was therefore lenient to worldly customs in Christendom. He will not give up the spirit of free prophecy and its testimony against the spirit of the world and so gradually passes into sharp **Montanist** opposition, *i.e.* the ideas which dominated him from the beginning and which were powerful in the African church, assume a greater ruggedness in opposition to the sentiments of the leading circles of the church, which were more mild towards the world and the sensual weakness of the great mass of Christians. Hence the division of these tractates into pre-Montanist, and Montanist, *i.e.* those in which he, as a member of the party of strict pneumatic Christians schismatically opposes himself to the great church of the psychic. To the former belong, the Greek and lost treatise on heretical baptism, the treatises *De baptism., De pœnit., Ad martyr., De spectac., De idolol., De cultu femin., De orat., De patientia, Ad uxorem.* Transition: *De virgin. velandis.* To the latter, *De corona milit., De fuga in persecut., Scorpiace adv. Gnostic.* (martyrdom commanded by God; the fear of suffering is represented under the aspect of Gnostic effeminacy), *Exhort. cast., De monog., De pudic.* (related to the treatise *De pœnit.*, where a second repentance is maintained, though half-heartedly), *De jejun., De pallio.* Here we have universally the idea of the last day as the period of the highest requirements and perfection. *Opp.* after Beat. Rhen. 1521, Pamelius and Rigaltius, published by Semler, 1770 sqq. (with *indexæ latinit.*), Leopold, Leipsic 1839 sqq. 4 vols. (in Gersdorf's Bibl. sel.); Fr. Oehler, 3 vols. Leipsic 1851 sqq. ed. minor, 1854 (Ml. 1-3). A. Neander, *Antignosticus.* 2nd ed. Berlin 1849; Böhringer, *K.G., in Biographien* III.; A. Hauck, *Tertullian's Leben und Schriften*, Erlangen 1877 (a good analysis of the writings); N. Bonwetsch, *Die Schriften Tertullian's nach der Zeit ihrer Abf.* Bonn 1878; Nöldechen, HZ. vol. 54: 1885, 225 sqq.

2. Montanist asperities had to be repressed; but Tertullian not only remained as a great mine of information for subsequent time and the pattern of the West for the dogmatic conception of Christianity, but he also had influence on the conception of the moral law. In both respects Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus in particular, builds upon him as foundation. The former was of a pagan family, and a few years after his baptism was raised to the bishopric of Carthage by the choice of the people. When the Decian persecution broke out, Cyprian, on the representations of his community and in order not to endanger it, left Carthage and withdrew into concealment, but thereby created difficulties for himself. Under Valerian he was at first exiled (to Curubis), subsequently returned and was beheaded. Cyprian, possessed of the higher culture of his time and theologically educated by the writings of Tertullian which he held in high esteem, of much less originality than the latter, and with a stronger over-cast of the customary rhetoric, had a decisive influence as a practical churchman on the working out of the conception of the **Church**, the exaltation of the position of the bishop which was involved in the development of the age, and the joint representation of the episcopal interest, but also on the legal conception of Christianity (righteousness by works).

Among his numerous writings are particularly *De unitate ecclesiæ* (ed. Krabinger), *De lapsis*, *De opere et eleemos.* and numerous (81) letters important for the history of the age. The chief older editions are those of Fell and Pearson, with the latter's *Annales Cypr.*, Oxon. 1682; and of the Maurinians St. Balluz and Prud. Maranus (1726; when also Dodwell's *Diss. Cypr.*); best modern editions: Hartel, 3 vols., Vienna 1867 (*Corp. scr. eccl. lat.*); *Vita Cypr.*, *Pontio diacono vulgo adscripta* in Hartel's ed. 3, xc sqq. Among monographs, those of Rettberg (1831), Böhringer, and the Catholic one by Fechtrup I. 1878.—O. Ritschl, *Cypr. v. Carth. u. d. Verf. d. Kirche*, Göttingen 1885 (chronology of the letters).

3. The Christian poet, Commodianus, born a pagan at Gaza, won to Christianity especially by the study of the Old Testament, was author of the *Instructionum per litteras versuum primas libb.* 2, ed. Oehler, 1847, in the edition of Min. Fel. (usually under the title: *Instr. adv. gentium deos*) about the year 240 (according to Ebert), and of the *Carmen apologeticum adv. Judæos et gentes*, the knowledge of which was only revived by Pitra in the *Spicil. Solesm.* I. (revised ed. by Rönsch, ZhTh. 1872); Opp. ed. Ludwig, 1877–78; in *Corp. scr. eccl. lat.* XV., ed. Dombart, 1887. The *Instructions* (80 acrostic poems in rhythmical hexameters), call the pagans to repent so long as there is time, in view of the near proximity of the end of the world and the millennial kingdom. In his views of the Person of Christ he shows himself to be a Patripassian. As a poet he takes a more isolated position as regards the ecclesiastical development.

4. On the other hand the Roman presbyter Novatian, a Phrygian by birth, of Greek and Roman culture, stands inside the theological development in the

narrower sense, specially the Western development under the influence of Tertullian. The *Lib. de trinitate s. de regula fide* in Gallandi IV. Ml. 3.

5. Bishop Victorinus of Petavium (Pettau in Styria), died a martyr in 303, made a respected name for himself in his time by his commentaries, now lost except a few scanty fragments.

Two other Christian authors at the close of our period, both according to their view of Christianity and their literary character, are more attached to the style of a Minucius Felix than that of the professional theologians, viz. :—

6. Arnobius, rhetorician at Sicca in North Africa, who composed seven Books *Adv. gentes* (s. *Adv. nationes*), by the composition of which the former opponent is said to have gained admission to the community (Jerome, *Chron.*). The best edition by Reifferscheid, in the *Corp. scr. eccl. lat.* IV. This rhetorician, who apprehends Christianity in the sense of a Christian popular philosophy, does not however pause carefully on the line of dogmatic correctness, which had already shown itself in the third century. Finally,

7. Lucius Cœlius (s. Cæcilius) Lactantius Firmianus (s. Firmianus Lactantius), the disciple of Arnobius, and afterwards teacher of rhetoric in Nicomedia in the time of Diocletian; having become a Christian, he resigned the former office on the outbreak of the persecution of Diocletian (according to Jerome *De v. ill.* being a Latin on Greek soil, he took to authorship on account of the lack of pupils). When already advanced in age he was appointed by Constantine as teacher to his son Crispus. †c. 330. His chief work is *Divinarum institutionum ll. VII*, an apologetic vindication of Christianity (contention with paganism), which exhibits his view of Christianity. In addition, the *Institt. epitome ad Pentadium*, his treatises *De opificio dei*, *De ira dei* (in vindication of this biblical conception). The treatise *De mortibus persecutorum*, was written after the close of the persecutions, and the attainment of the desired peace of the church, in order to show what sort of people the persecutors of the church were, and how they had been judged by God, a treatise full of passionate partiality. Its authorship by Lactantius is often denied, but hardly with justification. The only existing MS. designates the book as *Liber ad Donatum confessorem de mortibus persecutorum*, and the name of the author as Lucius Cæcilius; and according to Jerome, Lactantius wrote *De persecutione* (Ebert has recently appeared in favour of the authorship by Lactantius; cf. O. Rothfuchs, *Qua hist. fide L. usus sit in d. mort pers.*, Marburg 1862).

III.—The Alexandrian School.

Literature: K. E. F. Guericke, *De schola quæ Alex. floruit cat.* 2 pts. Halle 1824; E. Vacherot, *Hist. crit. de l'école d'Alex.* 3 vols. Par., 1851; Redepenning, *Origenes' Leben und Lehre*, 2 vols. Bonn 1841–46.

Alexandria, the great emporium of the Empire, where East and West met in lively intercourse, had at the same time become a chief seat of Hellenic culture, philosophy, and polyhistory, where the interpenetration of the Greek and Oriental spirits which had been brought to completion since the time of Alexander the Great had its capital. In particular there here emerged the most highly significant phenomenon of Jewish Hellenism (Philo), in which Judaism filled itself with Hellenic elements. His marriage of Jewish religion and theology with Greek speculation and scholarship was the

nearest preparation for the theology which here developed itself by Greek means. Here the heretical Gnosis had found the soil prepared. Here the Greek conception of Christianity which was followed by the older Greek Apologists, was expanded by more comprehensive means, and essentially placed itself at the service of the church which was in process of consolidation.

The **Alexandrian Catechetical School** sprang originally from the need of instruction for pagans of philosophic culture, who turned to Christianity; it was developed however into a chief instrument for the training of Christian teachers.

The ecclesiastical Gnosticism or philosophy of religion which is developed here, stands in its origins in most living touch with the Neo-Platonism which contemporaneously proceeded from the religious-philosophical tendencies already portrayed (*vid. supra*, p. 188), of which Ammonius Saccas (†241), who had relations with Origen, is to be regarded as the proper founder. But starting from related impulses, both gradually pass into a sharper opposition to one another. Neo-Platonism, which was systematically developed by Plotinus († 270), concludes the league between religion and philosophy on the basis of pagan religion for the religious revival of the latter, and just in proportion as it feels closer relationship in determining ideas and general view of the world, so much the more eagerly does it oppose the similar league of philosophy with the Christianity of the church.

The first known teacher of the Catechetical School was not Athenagoras—who is named by a report which is quite untrustworthy—but Pantænus, who appears about 180. Following out the tendency which had been entered upon by the Greek apologists, he had already given to the Catechetical School its essential stamp, as is shown by Clement as his disciple, and by Origen's express appeal to the fact that he had made use of the Greek sciences for the completion of the fabric of theology. He is said to have come from Stoic philosophy to Christianity, but in any case he passed through the intermediate stage of the eclectic Platonism from which Neo-Platonism was also developed. Of his numerous commentaries on Scripture only a couple of scanty fragments have been preserved.

Titus Flavius Clemens, a pagan by birth, of comprehensive scholarly and philosophic culture, who in the course of his wanderings in various lands (Greece, Lower Italy, Syria, Palestine, Egypt) had come into contact with various philosophic spirits, and been stimulated by the religious sentiment of eclectic Platonism and the

ethical tendency of Stoicism, was particularly enchained by the Christian philosophy of Pantænus; he became his fellow-worker and successor in Alexandria, which he indeed left in the Severian persecution, but whither he subsequently returned, and where he seems to have died about 220.

Of his writings, the **Apologetic** (*Λόγος προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας*) invites to Christianity by portraying the untenability and immorality of polytheistic paganism along with searching consideration of the pagan mysteries, and contrasts with the latter the original antiquity of the revelation of the divine Logos in the Holy Scriptures in its superiority, in such a manner, however, that here also the elements of truth in pagan poets and philosophers are recognised. The second treatise (*Παιδαγωγός*) is intended to bring those who are won for Christianity into the moral-life school of the divine man-educating Logos, and in a sense in which the religious-ascetic points of view are brought into close touch with the spirit of Stoic morality, its subdual of the emotions and recommendation of a rude life without needs (cf. on the strong dependence of the Paidagogos on the Stoic Musonius—who is absolutely copied out: P. Wendland, *Quæstiones Musonianæ. De Musonio Stoico, Clementis Alex. aliorumque auctore.* Berlin 1886). This moral education is looked on as the indispensable foundation for introduction to the higher knowledge (**Gnosis**), to which the **third chief work**, the seven Books of the Stromateis, or **Stromata** (*τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀληθῆ φιλοσοφίαν γνωστικῶν ὑπομνημάτων στρωματεῖς*) is devoted, which however they do not give in close systematic order, but as the title (*Patch-work*) indicates, are intended to allow the susceptible to search out in a varied and rich web of learned discussions, while they remain veiled to the uninitiated. Clement conceives the relation of the Christian revelation, given through the Logos, as the same to all, even to pagan wisdom, as Justin had already done; and in consequence he regards it as the task of the Christian Gnostic to exalt himself above the simple standpoint of the church's faith to higher knowledge, but in such a manner that this higher knowledge shall not turn against the substance of the church's faith, and also shall not look down proudly on the simple believing reception of the church's preaching on the part of simple Christians, inasmuch as it itself rests on this foundation. But faith itself, however, compels those who have the vocation and ability for the task to the exaltation of its content into a philosophical knowledge (*πίστις ἐπιστημονική*), founded on the searching of the Scriptures and the bringing forward of rational proofs, and by means of the allegorical interpretation of Scripture, which

leads beyond the merely verbal and historical, to the deeper (speculative) sense. To this there corresponds the assertion of a secret (esoteric) tradition for initiated Gnostics. The higher Gnosis however stands in the closest connection with practical philosophy, *i.e.* with the exercise of a perfectly pure life (raised above the emotions), corresponding to the practical ideal of the philosophy of the age (higher spiritual knowledge and intuition bound up with emancipation from sensuality). The philosophical ideas of which this Christian Gnosis makes use, are employed in the eclectic style of the time.

The logical-dialectical discussions in propædeutic style printed in the *Works* as the 8th Book of the *Strom.* scarcely belong to this connection. Besides the chief works mentioned, the small treatise *τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος* represents the Christian thought that it is not riches in themselves but inward attachment of the soul to them which debars from salvation, but still according to the strictly ascetic point of view, which does not get beyond a negative attitude towards sensuous and earthly goods, the justification of which is only measured by the standard of absolutely necessary requirements.

Of the eight Books of "**Hypotyposes,**" explanations of numerous Scripture passages of the Old and New Testament according to the apprehension of his teacher Pantænus, only fragments are extant, to which also belong the **Adumbrationes** *in epistolas canonicas*, which have been preserved in Latin. Zahn believes that in the preserved *ἐκλογαὶ τῶν προφητικῶν* and also in the extracts from the *διδασκαλία ἀνατολική* (Valentinian) under the name of Theodotus, he can recognise pieces which, along with what has been preserved as the 8th Book of the *Strom.*, together compose this 8th Book. This however remains doubtful. Opp.: Editions of Sylburg, 1592; Potter, 1715; Oberthür and Klotz; Dindorf, 4 vols., Oxford 1869, and in addition, for the fragments, Th. Zahn's valuable *Supplementum Clementinum*, Erlangen 1884 (*Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutestamentl. Kanons* III.).—H. J. Reinkens, *De Cl. Al. nomine scriptore*, etc., 1851. C. Merk, Cl. Al. in his *Abhandlungen v. d. gr. Phil.* 1879. Winter, *Die Ethik des Cl. Al.*, 1882.

Origen, born of Christian parents sometime about 185 or 186, at Alexandria, supplied with a Christian and scientific education by his father Leonidas, a man of some wealth, early mature and of great desire for knowledge, still had the advantage of the instruction of Pantænus and Clement, and early began also to teach. In the persecution, his father suffered a martyr's death, and the property of the family was confiscated. Origen however showed as decided zeal as a confessor as he had shown thirst for knowledge and zeal for learning. From studies in grammar and literature, though not yet eighteen years old, he turned himself, with the approval of his bishop, to the instruction of pagans in Christianity. Ascetic strictness led the youth, who had to meet the female sex in catechetical instructions, to the over-zealous act of self-mutilation. Scientific intercourse with heretics and educated pagans caused him

now to devote himself, under the guidance of Ammonius Saccas (p. 188) to more thorough philosophic study of Plato, the more recent Platonists and Pythagoreans, as well as of the Stoics. For catechetical instruction he invited Heraclas, whom he had himself instructed, for the beginners, himself instructing the more advanced. Origen, in energetic and universal endeavour, by comprehensive occupation with the encyclical sciences, and with philosophy, and on the other hand with exegetical and critical research in Holy Scripture, was transformed into an eminent Christian poly-historian, whose fame spread in the outer world. A journey to Rome brought him into contact with Hippolytus; Julia Mammæa, the mother of Alexander Severus, caused him to come to Antioch, in order that she might become acquainted with the divine doctrines. At home however he fell into discord with his bishop, who took it amiss on the part of bishops Alexander of Jerusalem and Theoctistus of Cæsarea (Palestine) that they had allowed Origen, who was without priestly consecration, to hold lectures in their churches (probably in the time of Caracalla), and further, that on his subsequent presence (230), in order to abolish that objection, they had ordained him a presbyter without reference to his bishop. An Alexandrian synod forbade Origen to teach further in Alexandria, a second assembly under Demetrius, attended only by bishops, denied Origen the rank of presbyter, and most of the foreign churches approved, but not those of Palestine, Phœnicia, Arabia, and Achaia.

Origen now settled in **Cæsarea** (Palestine) and here founded a theological school, which introduced the scholars through dialectic and encyclical sciences to morals, next to the philosophical and poetical literature of the Greeks, and finally to the study of Scripture, and continued his personal and literary activity which was most influential in all directions. In the time of Maximinus Thrax, during the persecution, Origen kept himself concealed for several years at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in the house of a Christian virgin. He undertook various journeys on ecclesiastical affairs, and addressed epistles to the Emperor Philip the Arabian and his wife Severa. In the persecution under Decius, Origen was also seized and tortured. It appears his death did not take place till about 254, under Valerian.

By his gigantic literary activity Origen in the most comprehensive manner laid the decisive foundations of Greek theology (and so of patristic theology in general). The spirit of Alexandrian literary industry is applied most comprehensively to the Bibles of the Old and New Testament. The text of the Greek translation of the Old

Testament, which forms the foundation of Hellenic Scriptural scholarship, is made accessible to critical judgment in the **Hexapla** by being placed alongside of the original Hebrew text and the other Greek translations, a work which on account of its great extent has not been preserved in its entirety, but the Septuagint text of which it is possible to reconstruct from numerous remains (older standard work: Montfaucon, *Hexapl. Orig.* Par. 1713 2 f. fol., now: Fr. Field, *Origenis Hexapl. quæ sup.* Oxford 1867–74, 2 vols.). His exegetical treatment took the form of 1) **Scholia,** short annotations; 2) **Homilies,** ecclesiastical expositions of Scripture on almost the whole of the Bible, partly written out by Origen himself (including the famous exposition of Sam. xxviii., on the witch of Endor),—partly, which Origen only permitted in his old age—copied out by others. Only a small part is preserved in the original text, much in the Latin translation of Rufinus and also of Jerome; 3) **Commentaries** proper, τόμοι which enter into the entire breadth of exegetical and dogmatic discussion. The most important which are preserved in Greek, are a number of books on **Matthew** and especially on **John** (of special importance as bearing on Origen's speculative views). Origen is aware of the critical problem of the investigation of individual points on the basis of correct readings and observation of the use of language and the cautious adducing of parallel or explanatory passages of Scripture, nor does he ignore the problem of historical explanation; he is however limited, partly by a scanty knowledge of the original Hebrew text and enslavement to the consecrated authority of the Greek translation, partly by a powerful luxuriance of allegorical exposition for the purpose of tracing out the alleged deeper sense of Scripture in the spirit of Alexandrian Hellenism, which by his means attains dominance in theological exegesis and hands over Scripture to be exploited by dogmatic speculation, and thus again bars the way to historical exegesis.

The philosophic-dogmatic speculation—the fruit of the transformation of religious truth into a speculative view of the world such as had begun since the Apologists—to which this exposition of Scripture principally ministers, now appears independently in the bold undertaking of a speculative dogmatic, the four books Περὶ ἀρχῶν, *De principiis, i.e.* on the fundamental doctrines, which were composed while he was still in Alexandria. Considerable fragments of the Greek ground text (especially of the third and fourth books) are preserved; the whole work we have only in the pretty free translation of Rufinus which veils much that was offensive to a later time (sole edition Redepenning, Leipsic 1836, Schnitzer, *O., Ueber die Grund*

lehren d. Gl., Wiederherstellungsversuch, Stuttgart 1835). On the basis of the ecclesiastical rule of faith, the doctrine recognised in the Church as divine truth, as the *elementa et fundamenta*, which however here already assumes the character of a popular dogmatic, it is attempted to develop from Scripture and reason a system of Christian science of religion, in the web of which the philosophic view of the world forms the warp, and the gospel the woof. Alongside there went the (lost) ten Books of the *Stromateis* after the example of his teacher Clement, in which Origen "compared with each other the doctrines of the Christians and the philosophers, and confirmed all the doctrinal principles of Christianity from Plato, Aristotle, Numenius, and Cornutus." Even prior to the "Principles," Origen wrote two books **on the Resurrection**, of which only fragments remain.

Neo-Platonic and Stoic elements determine the character of Origen's eclectic philosophising, and reveal themselves in the form of the ideas of God and the world, the conception of pure spirituality, the immateriality and simplicity (transcendent nature) of God, and His necessary unfolding in the divine Logos as the perfect image of the Father and compendium of His world-creative ideas, the doctrine of the eternity and necessity of creation and of the world of finite spirits. The latter have their essence in having part in the divine being, but the origin of the revolt which resulted in the creation of the earthly world is to be attributed to their free will, so that now the idea of the procedure of the spirits out of God, their fall, their redemption and leading back to God is made the foundation of the whole development of the world, into the central point of which, however, comes the assumption of humanity by the Logos for the revelation of redeeming truth and for the uniting of divine powers with humanity. In this way the historical preaching of salvation, as attested in Scripture and maintained as saving truth in ecclesiastical tradition, is to be preserved in this marriage with Greek metaphysic, without destruction of the historical kernel of Christianity or prejudice to its practical significance. Hence Origen also, like his predecessor Clement, strictly maintains that the simple faith of the Church is able to bring the simple Christian to salvation, moral purification and blessedness, and to approve itself to him in its converting power. But it is of course intended, where the necessary conditions are present, to lead on beyond itself to a higher **knowledge**, which at the same time is spiritual, religious and moral exaltation on the standpoint of pneumatic Christianity. And in this higher **Gnosis**, it is of course truths

of philosophic speculation in which the genuine ideal kernel of Christianity is sought, metaphysical notions and idealistic conceptions, which however are adapted, fertilized and held together by fundamental Christian conceptions of the revelation of God in Christ, of redemption, and of the divine teleology of salvation. And while this involves that Christianity is placed on friendly relations with the previous philosophic development of the highest conceptions of God and the world, yet on the other hand Christian truth also appears conversely as the universal truth which gathers together in itself all the hitherto isolated rays of divine truth. The need which this speculative theology has of coming to an understanding with the given positive element and the consecrated word of Scripture, leads, according to the example of predecessors (Philo, Clement), to a formal theory of the manifold sense of Scripture. 1) The **verbal** sense, which is generally to be maintained, and only to be given up and regarded as a sign-post to another and deeper sense, where it would contain representations unworthy of God, 2) a **moral,** and finally, 3) a **pneumatic** or mystical sense, which contains higher spiritual or divine truths.

Just as in Origen's theology the germs are unfolded which had been sown by Justin and the other Greek apologists of the second century, so in Origen's eight **Books against Celsus**, the **apologetic** explanation with paganism which under Celsus had advanced to philosophic attacks on Christianity, reached its completion. This master-piece of the apologetics of the Greek Church, not composed by Origen till his later years (in the reign of Philip the Arabian), shows, in accordance with the above standpoint, on the one hand a decided maintenance of historical Christianity, with its solid foundation and its religious efficiency independent of all philosophy, and, in contrast to pagan materialism, places in the light conceptions of the divine purpose of salvation, but here also on the other hand allows the spiritualistic conception of the Christian philosopher to peep through. (Cf. MOSHEIM'S *Translation of the Books against Celsus with notes.* Hamburg 1745. 4 to 6.)

Of the writings of Origen which belong more to the practical life of the Church, the treatise **on prayer**, which ends in a detailed explanation of the Lord's Prayer, shows how firmly the spiritualistic church Gnostic stands on the basis of a very realistic faith of the community, while *vice versa* the **Exhortation to Martyrdom** (*εἰς μαρτ. προτρεπτικός*) sets the merit of testimony in blood, to which at the same time an atoning power is ascribed, also under points of view such as were obvious to the religious philosophy of the time: direction towards the invisible world, emancipation from the bonds of the flesh, in order to attain the vision of God.

Edition of the Exegetica by HUETIUS, Rouen 1668, and frequently; collected edition by the brothers DE LA RUE, 4 vols., fol. Paris 1733 et sqq.; reprint by LOMMATZSCH, 24 vols., 8vo, and in Mgr. 11–17.—On Origen *vid.* EUSEB. *H.E.* 1–39, EPIPH. *Hær.* 64; JEROME, *De vir. ill.* 53, and the *Panegyricus* of GREGORY the Thaumaturge (*vid. infra*).—HUETIUS, *Origeniana in den Exegetica des Origenis* (also in de la Rue, vol. 4, and Lommatzsch, vols. 22–24); the monographs of THOMASIUS, Nuremberg 1837, and (along with combined treatment of Clement) of REDEPENNING (*vid. sup.*); BÖHRINGER *KG. in Biogr.* V.; M. J. DENIS, *La philos. d'Or.*, Paris 1885; H. SCHULTZ in JpTh. 1875.

After Origen the prominent representatives of the Alexandrian Catechetical School are HERACLAS, who even earlier than Origen had attended the lectures of Ammonius Saccas, but afterwards with his brother Plutarch became the first pagan hearers of the youthful Origen, was by him induced to co-operate with him in the Catechetical School, and then after the death of Bishop Demetrius became his successor in Alexandria (232/3–247); next DIONYSIUS (called the Great), successor of the previous, first in the catechetical and subsequently in the episcopal office, involved in the persecution under Decius but set free, but banished for a long period under Valerian (254), died in 264. A man of important authority and practical activity in the Church, who in the conflict with Nepos (*vid. infra*) opposes Chiliasm as an Origenistic spiritualist, in the doctrine of the Logos represents the one side of the Origenistic conception, and in his criticism of the Revelation of John follows the traces of the Scriptural studies of Origen (fragments in SIMON *De Magistris*, Rome 1796; GALLANDI, ROUTH, and Mgr., 10; on him FÖRSTER in the Dissert. of 1865, and the essay in ZhTh. 1871, and DITTRICH, *Dion.*, Freiburg 1867).—To the school of Origen belong also Theognostus (second half of the century), and Pierius (at its end).

An enthusiastic adherent of Origen, educated by him at the school at Cæsarea, but one who wrought for the spread and confirmation of Christianity not in Alexandria but at home in Pontus and in Cappadocia, is GREGORY the miracle-worker (Thaumaturgos), bishop of Neocæsarea in Pontus, ob. circ. 270. His **Panegyricus** on Origen (in Opp. ed. GER. VOSS, Mayence 1604, 4to, and ap. GALL. III. and Mgr. 10; *vid.* also in the works of Origen, specially edited by BENGEL, 1722. Cf. DRÄSEKE, *Der Brief des Orig. an Greg.* in Jpr Th. 1881, 102–126), instructive on Origen's method of teaching; a confession of faith (ἔκθεσις, also ap. HAHN, *Bibl. der Symb.*, 2nd ed., 183 sq.) arising out of the Origenistic theory. Cf. RYSSEL, *Gr. Th.*, Leipsic 1880).

An independent attitude was taken up by JULIUS AFRICANUS, a somewhat elder contemporary of Origen, active as a writer in the time of Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus. He lived at Emmaus (Nicopolis) in Palestine; a man of great consideration, perhaps a man of rank, who, formerly an officer under Septimius Severus, was sent to Heliogabalus on the affairs of his city, and had also friendly relations with King Abgar Manu IX. of Edessa. He came to Alexandria attracted by the scholarly and philosophic fame of Heraclas and subsequently came into contact with Origen in many ways. This learned Christian layman became best known by his five Books of Chronography, from the creation of the world down to Heliogabalus, which Eusebius mentions and has made use of in the *Chronicon* (with however critical independence and superiority), and by which the later Byzantines set store (GELZER, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzant. Chronogr.* I. Leipzig 1880; II. 1, 1885). He wrote to Origen on the Susannah passage in the Greek Book of Daniel, the authenticity of which, maintained by Origen, he combated in a striking style; an epistle to Aristides treats of the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew and Luke

(cf. SPITTA, *Der Brief des Jul. Afr. an Arist.*, Halle 1877). In the former epistle, the author, who for the rest is not on principle an opponent of the allegorical method, shows himself a friend of sound criticism, and in the Chronography a friend of a broad and learned erudition. So at the same time the medical treatise, Κεστοί, proceeding from the same Christian author, in which the hermetical books with their abstruse and mystical wisdom of Hellenized Egypt resting upon Egyptian mythology—a kind of analogy to Christian Gnosticism—and a coarse superstition play a strong part, shows what heterogeneous elements an educated Christian layman of that age, who was on friendly terms with Origen, could combine with his Christianity. (Fragments in ROUTH, *Rel. sacr.*, 2 ed., II. 219. 509, and thereon GELZER, l.c.)

The universal influence of Origen made itself felt in the third century over the whole field of Greek theology. In him, as it were, everything which had hitherto been striven after in the Greek field of theology, had been gathered together, so as, being collected here in a centre, to give an impulse in the most various directions; hence also the further development of theology in subsequent times is always accustomed to link itself on to one side or the other of his rich spiritual heritage. But the peculiar penetration of the positive Christian and ecclesiastical elements with an idealistic speculation, early called forth, in the Greek domain, the opposition of a certain ecclesiastical positivism, which was by no means able or willing to withdraw itself from the power of the theological construction introduced by means of the above blending of elements, but fought against certain points of the spiritualistic view of the world. This attitude was taken by METHODIUS, bishop of Olympus in Lycia (not also of Patara, *vid.* ZAHN in ZKG. 8, 15 sqq., cf. also SALMON in *Dict. Christ. Biog.*) who is said to have died the martyr's death in the persecution under Maximin about 311 (it is said as bishop of Tyre, *vid.* however ZAHN l.c.). Although himself strongly influenced by that spiritualism of Greek theology, which, rooted in a dualism of spirit and sense, transforms the notion of religious redemption into that of the emancipation of the spirit from the sensuous and the exaltation of the spiritualized soul to contemplation (*vid.* the **Convivium decem virginum**, a spiritual symposium in praise of abstinence), he however fights against Origen's doctrines of the pre-existence of souls and their pre-temporal fall, and of the world as the place of punishment of souls, and in favour of a more realistic conception of the doctrine of resurrection, and against the eternity of the creation of the world. Pretty extensive fragments of the writings on the resurrection, on created things, and on free will (against the derivation of evil from an eternal matter, etc.), have been preserved. (A. JAHN, *S. Methodii opp.* Hal. 1865.)

Against attacks of this kind Origen was specially defended by the presbyter PAMPHILUS at the close of our period. The latter is said to have been a disciple of the Origenist Pierius in Alexandria, and lived subsequently at Cæsarea in Palestine, in connection with the library of which place (a chief quarry for the historian Eusebius!) he won great merit by copying for it a great portion of the works of Origen; he was also at pains in the multiplication and spread of the Holy Scriptures; he supported disciples in their studies. Imprisoned in the persecution in the year 304 by Urbanus, Prefect of Palestine, he here further composed, supported by his younger friend Eusebius, five Books of an **Apology for Origen**, to which, after the martyr death of Pamphilus (309) Eusebius added a sixth. Only the first book is preserved (printed in the works of Origen also in GALLANDI IV. and ROUTH, *Reliq. sacr.* and elsewhere).

Similar to him, at the close of our period, stands the Antiochene presbyter, ascetic and martyr, LUCIAN (*ob.* 312) whose scholarly activity must have been very important. His education goes back to older East-Syrian studies in Scripture (Edessa), but on the other hand the influences of Origenist theology are equally indubitable (perhaps through the medium of the school of Cæsarea). Lucian does not appear to have been in agreement with the deposition of bishop Paul of Samosata (*vid. infra*); on that account, along with several Antiochene bishops, he received no ecclesiastical community but exercised an important influence on a whole set of younger men who subsequently in the Arian controversy more or less took the side of Arius, as well as on the latter himself. Lucian, along with whom the presbyter DOROTHEUS also distinguished himself by his knowledge of Hebrew, laboured in the cause of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis, especially by his exertions in connection with the text of the LXX.; his recension found circulation in a considerable part of the Greek Church—("from Constantinople to Antioch," Jerome) (*vid.* de LAGARDE, *Librorum Vet. test. canonic. pars prior Græce ed.* Gött. 1883); while for Alexandria and Egypt, the recension of the nearly contemporary HESYCHIUS took a similar position. Lucian also turned his attention to the text of the N.T. (A Confession ascribed to Lucian in HAHN, *Bibl. der Symb.* 2. Ed. 100 sq.; an apologetic oration in *Rufin.* ed. Cacci. I. 515.) His scientific activity continued to operate in Antioch and helped to found the subsequent School of Antioch.

6. The Development of the Substance of the Faith.

The conflicts of the second century led to the above described inclination to establish, in opposition to the arbitrary doctrinal speculation of Gnosticism and enthusiastic prophetism alike, fixed, recognisable and easily grasped standards, according to which it was to be decided what was the Christian confession and the prescribed Christian life,—the κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός, or ἀληθείας, *regula fidei, veritatis.* The **Baptismal Confession** as the **Apostolic Symbol** in its oldest form, such as it must be supposed to have been since the middle of the second century, offered itself as a fixed point; on the other hand was the anciently consecrated veneration for the Old Testament as inspired scripture, requiring however to be explained on the basis of Christian conviction. In reference to the former the ingenuous pre-supposition of standing in unity of spirit with the Apostolic preaching continuously from the beginning, had been shattered by the heretical, especially the Gnostic movements, and the need had arisen of holding fast by the demonstrable Apostolic tradition, as guaranteed by the Apostolic communities in the succession of their leaders, that is, by the historical foundation. At the same time, along with this transformation, the literary heritage of the Apostolic age acquires another esteem; in the **Canon** of the New Testament the legacy of the Apostolic age is made sure of (taking a lesson from Marcion), the genuine being distinguished from the spurious, and these writings are raised above the level of other Christian writings as inspired.

By collecting together as the **regula fidei** on the ground of the baptismal confession, all that they were convinced had been faithfully guarded in the communities of Apostolic foundation as the Apostolic tradition, a short and easily surveyable standard was obtained. Such expositions of the *regula fidei* in Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen (pref. to *De principiis*), and many others (vid. Hahn, *Bibl. d. Symb.*[2] p. 1 sqq. cf. Th. Zahn, ZWL. II. 302 sqq.), bear in their form the character of free reproduction recurring in one and the same author (Iren. and Tert.) in different fashion; they all alike however amount to belief in the one God as the Creator of all things, in Christ Jesus the Son of God, His supernatural birth, His passion, resurrection, ascension, and His return (for the resuscitation of all flesh) to judgment, finally the belief in the Holy Ghost, in short the essential substance of the baptismal confession. Hence Irenæus says of the rule of faith, that it is the inalterable kernel of the truth, which Christians have received at baptism (*Adv. hær.* I. 9, 4).

Origen gives the freest and fullest description of it as *ecclesiastica prædicatio*, and adds still further points as belonging to the κήρυγμα of the church (the freedom of will of reasonable souls, the doctrine of angels and demons, and of the chronological beginning of this world), while he intermingles theological reflections proper, and at the same time alludes to the distinction in all these points between what ecclesiastical tradition treats as fixed and what on the other hand it leaves to free theological discussion.

The ecclesiastical declaration of the *regula fidei* Irenæus holds to be the faith which the church, spread over the whole earth, has received from the Apostles and their disciples, and unanimously and inalterably everywhere preserved through the unbroken succession of the leaders of the apostolic communities. To Tertullian, it is the voice of truth handed down from the Apostles in the *ecclesiæ matrices*, as to which there is not even dispute among Christians; and it is the older, and more original in contrast to all heretical doctrines; Origen also so regards it. At the same time it is this ecclesiastical proclamation which supplies the point of view for the Christian conception of the O. T. Now, however, that the Scriptures of the N.T. have come to be placed alongside of the Old as canonical, these, as recognised Apostolic writings, are not in themselves inferior to oral Apostolic tradition in the church, but much rather are recognised as pure sources of knowledge of divine truth and practically made use of as such. Tertullian (*De præscr. hær.* c. 36) says: *ecclesia . . . legem et prophetas cum evangelicis et apostolicis litteris miscet; inde potat fidem.* And the Alexandrians lay special emphasis on the notion that the Holy Scripture which is itself the ἀρχὴ ἀναπόδεικτος (Clement), and indeed the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, are the documentary evidence from which the ecclesiastical proclamation is to be more accurately determined and on which it is to be founded. A certain practical preference for the ecclesiastical tradition of the *regula fidei* rather than the Scripture (of the N.T.) as the documentary evidence of revelation, was in that age based on the fact, that it was easiest to adduce proof of Apostolic origin for the substance of the common belief (as collected in the rules of faith) from its being handed down from the Apostles in the concord of the Apostolic communities and the unbroken succession of their bishops and presbyters, and that the rules of faith resting on tradition appeared to be the surest and most unambiguous standard for the exclusion of heretical elements, while the appeal to the Holy Scriptures necessitated, first of all, a decision as to which scriptures were

to be accounted genuine; this however had also to be determined by the tradition of the church, and under the arbitrary exegesis of the heretics (and the lack of principles of objective exegesis in general) did not lead to the end aimed at with equal evidence; much rather was it necessary that the content of the rule of faith should give the norm of exegesis. But Holy Scripture and ecclesiastical tradition are not for those men two different, independent sources of knowledge, but only different forms of mediation for the one source of knowledge, **the Apostolic proclamation of the gospel,** the authority for which is the Lord, who gave to the Apostles the *potestas evangelii*, by means of which they then preached the gospel and afterwards handed it down in writing. They are far from thinking, however, that ecclesiastical tradition substantially complements Scripture, *i.e.* gives a substance of belief as essentially Christian which could not be gathered from Scripture. Scripture and rule of faith rather stand to each other in the relation of the more detailed but many-meaninged documentary evidence of the birth of the faith to the shorter and more compendious, but just for that reason the immediately plainer. Of course, in the case of the Alexandrians (Clement, and also Origen) another factor comes in in the appeal to secret tradition. Certain truths were naturally regarded as having been imparted by our Lord to only a few of His most intimate disciples, and by these only to those who were capable of receiving them and worthy of them, both as verbal and written tradition; but this does not refer to the common faith of the church, but the possession of the higher *gnosis* which goes beyond this common faith. Here there is expressed the involuntary feeling, that the Gnostic explanation of Scripture could only be supported by the peculiar speculative views which were brought in as an addition to Scripture, and could not be supported by the common faith in itself.

But while on the one hand these Fathers make the rule of faith in a certain sense the norm of exegesis for Scripture, yet on the other hand they conversely go vigorously to work to display the rules of faith, taking Scripture as their authoritative basis.

With the fixing of a canon of the N. T. there went hand in hand the **transference of the notion of Inspiration from the Old Testament to the New Testament Scriptures** also, and indeed in that sense which elevates the Apostolic authors as specific organs of the Holy Ghost, above the universally presupposed working of the Spirit in the community and Christian prophecy. In this relation

the exaltation of the inspired code of Scripture as a closed authority, goes hand in hand with the repression of Montanist prophecy, and co-ordinately with the retiral of the notion of magico-ecstatical inspiration. Both the opponent of the Montanists, Miltiades, and the author of the Clementine homily combat it, and the inclination is now rather to see in the ecstatic a sign of impure dæmonic inspiration, and (so at least Origen) to regard the inspiration of the sacred writers, although it is still maintained as extending verbally even to the letters, as a divinely wrought heightening of all the faculties of the soul.

As regards the **content of the representations of the faith,** the universal religious fundamental presupposition of the preaching of the gospel remains the special emphasising of monotheism against all polytheism, and the energetic maintenance of the **ascription of the world to the one God** as Creator, against all Gnostic separation of the Demiurge from the highest God, in vigorous consciousness of the fact that in this separation the deepest root of the religious relations of man to God is cut asunder. This is to be so much the more valued, the more powerful must have been the disposition in ancient Christianity to flee the world, and towards exaltation above the visible, which might have lent assistance to that Gnostic idea, and the more this disposition, apart from its inner Christian motive must have been augmented and dualistically sharpened by the religious-philosophical tendency of the age with its highly strained opposition of spirit and sense. Equally with those Gnostic doctrines, all explanations of the world of a dualistic sort were repelled by the doctrine of the **creation out of nothing.** Though even Justin and Athenagoras may have attached themselves to the Platonic doctrine of creation (presupposition of a Hyle as the μὴ ὄν as the object of the world-formative activity of God), without reflection on the conditionedness of the divine action therein involved, the creation out of nothing is soon consciously emphasised and every attempt to explain the existence of the wrong and evil in the world by a dualistic doctrine of principles is combated. Here belongs TERTULLIAN'S treatise against the painter Hermogenes (*Adv. Hermogenem*), who saw in the world the perpetual process of the domination and formation of infinite chaotic matter by the spiritual principle of the Godhead. In order to avoid allegations of dualism, the existence of wrong and evil is ascribed to the freedom of the creature. And however incomplete the result may be, these efforts after a theodice involve the most decisive break with all heathen naturalism.

In the **conception of the idea of God itself** the more spiritualist view under the influence of eclectic Platonism is opposed by a more realistic (in Tertullian influenced by Stoic notions), the former emphasising the immateriality and abstract spirituality, and from the ethical point of view the *passionlessness* of God, the latter the substantiality and concrete personality, and from the ethical point of view the divine capability of reaction (wrath of God). However, the Marcionite distinction and contrast of the good and the righteous (angry) God is universally opposed.

Theology holds on the one hand to the exceeding greatness and incomprehensibility of the nature of God; on the other, however, its whole faith is founded on the principle that this God who in Himself is incomprehensible really reveals Himself, and therefore makes Himself comprehensible for the religious relationship.

The object proper of belief consists in the **perfect revelation of God in Christ;** hence in that sense which is bound up with the divinity of Christ, the beginning of Christian dogma in the narrower sense. The fact that the Christians praised Christ as God in their songs (Plin. *Ep. ad Traj.*), that He was to be thought of ὡς περὶ θεοῦ (II. Clem. *ad Cor.* 1) is the immediate expression of the religious relation to Him as the Lord, the only begotten Son of God, the begotten of the Holy Ghost, the expected Judge of the living and the dead. But the conceptions which were being formed regarding His nature were still of a very indefinite character. Over against the Ebionite representation of the human prophet, who in baptism is equipped with the Spirit of God, there lay in the doctrine of the supernatural birth of Jesus the expression for His higher divine dignity, while on the other hand, as against Gnostic Docetism, the need was keenly felt of not allowing the historical personality to become a mere Docetic appearance of a supra-mundane Æon. Thus expressions appear, which, without sharply defined fixing of ideas, recognise in Jesus a higher pre-existent heavenly nature as come into the flesh, or see in Him a pure man in whom God by His Spirit has made a dwelling, without experiencing the necessity of reflecting on the natural relationship in which that divine nature is to be placed to the Godhead itself, or on the manner in which the divinity manifests itself humanly in the flesh in this man; a multiplicity of views, which if they were to be taken up and pressed on their verbal forms, from the subsequently **developed theological** standpoint, would lead now to Dyotheism, again to Patripassianism, and again to the emergence of a higher mediatorial nature (angel or spirit of revelation) in Jesus. But with the begin-

ning of theological reflection proper in the Apologists, from Justin downwards, the doctrine of the **Word of God** become flesh (Gospel of John) offers itself, by means of the Platonico-Stoic conception of the Logos as made religiously effective by Philo, as a means of solving the problem, of finding an expression for the divinity or divine Sonship of Jesus, which at the same time based the latter on the divine potency in which in general by means of the philosophy of the time, the unfolding of the Godhead to revelation and world-activity was contemplated. Jesus is the Son of God, for He is the Word of God become flesh, the potency of His eternal reason and wisdom proceeding from the hidden God for the purpose of revelation and world-activity. So at first in JUSTIN. Christ as the Son of God becomes the Logos, concurrent according to His nature with the divine reason, but conceived as an emanating potency, numerically (if not also in will) to be distinguished from God in Himself, as δεύτερος θεός, the same potency which is already to be recognised in the divine appearances of the O. T. The conception is now applied in such a way, that the side of unity, the eternal immanent relationship of the Logos in God is brought to the front (Athenagoras), but the hypostatic distinction from God (the independent substratum for the personality of the Son of God) is felt to be absent; again in such a way that the λόγος προφορικός which has proceeded to a subsistence of its own for the purpose of the world-creation (Tatian, Theoph.), is distinguished from the Logos as the immanent divine reason (λόγος ἐνδιαθετός). On the whole, however, the dominant idea which emerges is that of a divine self evolution, in which the Logos is conceived as a second potency which has proceeded forth from God and is subordinated to Him, an emanation, but also a diminution of the divine nature (emanational and subordinate theory). This first theologico-dogmatic acquisition proper however, to which there must shortly (Irenæus, Tertullian and others) be appended the attempt to give to the Holy Spirit also, on the basis of the trinitarian baptismal confession, a similar position, is only achieved in the face of widespread opposition and hesitation. The feeling that in this doctrine new (philosophical) ideas, foreign to simple faith, were taking a dominant place, prevails among many of the "*simpliciores*" (Tert. *Adv. Prax.* 3); it is feared that Christian monotheism will be endangered or corrupted (*monarchiam, inquiunt tenemus*), that there will be introduced two or rather three gods, whereas the rule of faith has led from the heathen multiplicity of gods to the one and true God. The opposition to the doctrine of the Logos, however, makes itself felt from

two opposite sides in two conceptions, and hence it is usual to designate both of these as **monarchian,** although the name was originally applied to the second.

The **Monarchians** (*vid.* specially HARNACK in RE. 10, 181 to 213). To designate the **first class** as Ebionising is misleading, since we may not think of any historical connection with Judaism, but only of a certain analogy in the mode of conception. Beginning with the historical, human person, Jesus, it is only sought to base the divine dignity of Jesus on the spiritual influence of the one God (**Dynamistic Monarchians**); this intention emerges in the extreme opponents of the Montanists in Asia Minor, the **Alogi,** who, on account of the promise of the Paraclete reject, besides the Apocalypse, also the Gospel according to John and its doctrine of the Logos, and show by combating Judæo-Christian Chiliasm, how very little determining influence any Jewish ideas have here (p. 156). It is much rather rationalist and sober reflection as opposed to religious exuberance which here makes itself felt, but is quite unconscious of thereby stepping outside the circle of what is common to all the churches (*vid.* Epiph. *Hær.* 51; August. *De Hæres.* 30; Philastr. *Hær.* 80).

2. About 190, the learned leather-worker Theodotus (*ὁ σκυτεύς*) came from Byzantium, where he is alleged to have apostatized, to Rome; while standing by the common belief of the church as to other matters (especially maintaining the Christian belief in creation), he taught that Jesus was a man born of the virgin according to divine counsel by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, on which most pious and righteous of men, Christ = the Holy Ghost descended from above at the baptism in Jordan, and that in consequence thereof he did his miracles, but that he was not an incarnation of the Christ spirit, and that he was not to be called God on account of that influence on him of the Holy Spirit (at most according to one part of his adherents after the resurrection). The Theodotians sought from a whole series of writers of the O. and N.T., and indeed after the now more general achieved recognition of the canon of the N.T. from John among others, to prove energetically that Christ was designated man and not God, and also not an incarnation of the Christ-spirit (Luke i. 35 ought to stand, the Spirit of the Lord would come upon Mary, but not enter into her). The reproaches directed against the Theodotians allow us to see that they, who eagerly occupied themselves with logic and mathematics, and studied Euclid, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Galen, pursued a sober grammatico-logical argumentative exegesis, and

concerned themselves much with critical restoration of the text of Holy Scripture, in which each one seems to have followed his own conjecture. Christological conceptions, not widely differing from those which were brought forward ingenuously in the formerly highly regarded Book of Hermas, now aroused offence in Rome when thus rationally expounded. Bishop Victor excommunicated Theodotus, who made Christ a mere man. However he gained a number of disciples in Rome, who in the time of Zephyrinus attempted to form a community of their own. Another Theodotus (the money-changer) and Asclepiodotus won over a certain Confessor Natalis, who in return for a monthly salary of 170 *denarii* allowed himself to be made bishop, but soon returned to the bosom of the Church (moved by alleged visions of angels and chastisement). To the second Theodotus however there is ascribed a special theory as to Melchisedec as the (higher) anti-type of Christ, which seems to amount to the notion that in the former was seen a theophany, an appearance of the Christ = the Holy Ghost, in human form (docetically), and to that extent a divine form superior to the man Christ, whereby of course the basis of Monarchianism would be completely surrendered and dragged back into Gnosticism. A sect of Melchisedecians is also known to later writers, who connect it with a Theodotus (but probably the elder one).

(Cf. Hippol., *Ref.*, 7, 35. Pseudotertull., c. 23. Euseb., H.E. 5, 28, 6. Philastr., H. 50. Epiph., H. 54. Theodoret, H. f. 2, 5 and 6.

3. Artemon (Artemas), who appears later, is also traced back to the influence of the Theodotus who was excommunicated by Victor, seeing that he declared Christ to be a mere man and regarded His doctrine as that of the ancient Church universally recognised till the time of bishop Victor of Rome; he held that it was Zephyrinus who first falsified the doctrine (199–217).

See the treatise designated by Theodoret, *Haer. Fab.* 2, 5, σμικρὸς λαβύρινθος (cf. the designation λαβύρινθος for the great work of Hippolytus in *Refut. o. haer.* 10, 32, and thereon Phot. c. 48) by Eusebius σπούδασμα κατὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμωνος αἱρέσεως, from which we have a passage extracted in Euseb., H. E. 5, 28, a treatise which belongs to about the fourth decade of the third century, according to Caspari's convincing investigations, III. 318–321, 404 sqq.

On the one hand earlier undefined views as yet uninfluenced by the doctrine of the Logos, and on the other the offence which the Patripassian form of the doctrine favoured by Zephyrinus aroused in thoroughly ecclesiastical circles, might have caused Artemon to regard himself as the champion of the common ancient faith of the Church against innovations.

The **second** form, to which the designation of monarchianism is originally related, is the so-called **modalistic Monarchianism of the Patripassians.** Like the first form, the second also first raised its head in the most agitated province of the Church in the second century—Asia Minor. In this district Noëtus of Smyrna (in Smyrna itself, or in Ephesus [Epiphan.] ?), starting from the popular conviction of the divinity of Christ, which is expressed in the hymns of the Church, in order to be able to maintain this believing "glorification of Christ" in spite of the distinct confession of the exclusive unity of God, reasoned as follows: that Christ Himself was the Almighty God and Father, and therefore, that the Father Himself had taken upon Himself both suffering and death in the flesh. Called to account by the Presbyters of his community, he gave explanations which were accepted as satisfactory; however, he found disciples for his doctrine and was subsequently tried again, and in spite of his question, *τί κακὸν ποιῶ δοξάζων τὸν χριστόν*, was excommunicated. The appearance of Noëtus with his doctrine must still (Hippol., *Ref. o. Hæres.* 9, 7) be placed within the second century; his excommunication probably did not ensue until a decided conflict had arisen at Rome between the Christological tendency he represents and the subordinational doctrine of the Logos represented by Hippolytus.

On Noëtus: Hippol., *Adv. Noëtum*, Opp. ed. Lagarde, p. 43 sq., and Hippol., *Refut. hæres.* 9, 7, sq., 10, 27; Epiph., *Hær.* 57; Theodoret, *Hær. fab.* 3, 3.

But in the province of Asia Minor the movements were already progressing; among the Montanists also there was a Monarchian fraction (Hipp., *Ref.* 8, 19. 10, 26), while on the one hand the so to say opponent of the Montanists, Praxeas, was a (patripassian) Monarchian, on the other hand the Montanist Proclus was an opponent of this tendency. Through disciples of Noëtus the controversy soon came to Rome, perhaps first through the Asian confessor Praxeas, who according to Tertullian's expression simultaneously (as a successful opponent of the Montanists) expelled the Paraclete and (as a Monarchian) crucified the Father. Turning hence to Carthage, he there also obtained a reception with many for his doctrine (*dormientibus multis in simplicitate doctrinæ*), which took the character of pious maintenance of the divinity of Christ. He was, however, successfully combated by Tertullian in his pre-Montanist days (before 202), and compelled to make written response (Tertull., *Adv. Prax*; Pseudotert., *De hær.* 30). In Rome however, where already Bishop Victor,[1] who allowed him-

[1] Tert. *Adv. Prax.* 1: Victorinus = Victor, *vid.* Langen, *Gesch. d. röm. Kirche* I. 196; Caspari, *Quellen* III. 323, No. 102.

self to be instigated by him against Montanism, and also to opposition to the denial of Theodotus that Christ was God, inclined to the Patripassian conception of the Godhead; other disciples of Noëtus, Epigonus and his dependent Kleomenes found considerable acceptance. Victor's successor also, Zephyrinus, with the co-operation of Callistus, came forward in defence of Monarchianism (Hippol. *Refut. hær.* 9, 10 sqq.); and so also in Africa the controversy became anew agitated, so that Tertullian, who meanwhile as a Montanist had separated himself from the Church of the psychic, once more found an occasion (about 206) of literary controversy with Praxeas, while in Rome, Hippolytus, from the standpoint of the subordinational doctrine of the Logos combated the Patripassian Monarchianism which was represented by three Roman Bishops in succession (Victor, Zephyrinus and Callistus); and it can also be gathered from Tertullian that wide circles of believers found in him suitable doctrinal expression for their pious reverence for Christ, and at the same time the maintenance of true monotheism. In the conflict itself, however, this tendency found itself forced to advance beyond the immediate expression of the incarnation of God Himself in Christ to new theological theory, in order to meet dialectical objections. There is developed the conception of the transformation of the one Godhead into different conditions (*modi*), on account of which Hippolytus thought it necessary to trace back the doctrine of the Noëtians to the philosophy of Heraclitus: "one and the same God, invisible, and when He wills visible, as He already appeared to just men of the Old Testament; the same incomprehensible, and when He wills making Himself comprehensible, unbegotten and begotten, immortal and mortal." That which is called Father and Son is one and the same, but yet in such a way that such difference of name is not a mere arbitrarily changing designation, but the expression of the *modus* to which God has determined Himself: "He was begotten His own Son, not the son of another. He is one, who appeared, suffered birth of the Virgin and dwelt as man with men, confessing Himself as man to those who see Him for the sake of the birth which took place, but not concealing from those who comprehend it that He is the Father." He is therefore named Father and Son *κατὰ χρόνων τροπήν*. On the cross He committed His spirit to Himself (Hipp., *Ref. hær.* 9, 10). So also Praxeas, according to Tertullian, both holding fast to the original sense of the Son of God, as Him who had become man (and desiring to know nothing of a transcendental second hypostasis, which should bear this name). Tertullian also ascribes to the Monarchians the principle: "*ipse* (*deus, pater*)

se filium, sibi fecit" (*Adv. Prax.* 10). But it comes out here more clearly, that it is just the assumption of the **flesh** which makes the Father the Son. God who in Himself is spirit, as the Son is spirit and flesh. God as spirit could not suffer, but sympathised (with the Son); the Son died not *ex divina substantia*, but *ex humana*. But to express the idea in this form, that the Son is the flesh, *i.e.* the man, *i.e.* Jesus, but the Father the Spirit, *i.e.* God, *i.e.* Christ, brings the conception again to the point of passing over into that of the first sort of Monarchians, if flesh be taken as designating a complete human nature and the latter as in some way in itself personal.

4. Among the Roman Monarchians there also appears **Sabellius,** said to have been by birth a Libyan of the Pentapolis, if this somewhat late account (Basil. *Ep.* 207) be not an erroneous inference from the later Sabellian movement there, which was combated by Dionysius of Alexandria. At first not inaccessible to the conceptions of Hippolytus, he was only won over to the Patripassian view by Callistus (*Ref. omn. hær.* 9, 11). When, however, Callistus became Bishop of Rome, he found himself obliged to shake off Sabellius and excommunicate him. Sabellius holds fast by the view of Noëtus that the same person is the Father, the Son, and—the same conception being extended to the Holy Spirit—the Holy Spirit. The expression ascribed to him *υἱοπάτωρ* (Ath. *Expos. fidei* 2) refers to the identity of Father and Son. The original doctrine of Sabellius is hard to establish, as later analogous phenomena have been brought under the general heretical category of Sabellianism.

With Noëtus there further agrees the statement that one and the same person is now the Father, but again becomes His own Son (*τὸν αὐτὸν ἄλλοτε μὲν πατέρα ἄλλοτε δὲ υἱὸν ἑαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι* in Ath. *Orat.* III. *c. Ar.* 4). Inasmuch however as the reference to the triplicity of the Divine name is carried through, it is no longer merely the Son who appears as a modus of God the Father, but rather the Father Himself appears as one of the three modi of the one Divine nature; Patripassianism becomes the modalistic doctrine of the Trinity. Under various figures, at one time the Father Himself appears (according to the above former point of view) as He who expands (*πλατύνεται*) Himself into the Son and Holy Ghost (Ath. *Or. c. Arian.* IV. 25), at another time the one God as He who, metamorphosing (*μεταμορφούμενος*) Himself according to present needs (Divine activity), is at one time addressed as Father, at another time as Son or as Holy Ghost (*διαλέγεσθαι* or expresses Himself?) (Basil. *Ep.* 210, 5). According to Epiphanius (H. 62) he had compared the

relation of the Triad to the one nature with the anthropological triad, body (personal form, Father), soul (Son) and spirit, or with the threefold action of the sun, as a round figure, as lighting and as warming. Whether Sabellius designates the one God as the transcendent background of the three πρόσωπα as Monas, and the appearance of the changing Prosopa as a transition of the silent God into speech, and in this relation applied the idea of the Logos (designation of God as the self-revealing in general, namely, as Father, Son and Spirit) is doubtful (a trace of it perhaps exists in the use of διαλέγεσθαι in Basil, quoted above), while an application of the idea of the Logos in a similar relation is demonstrable in Callistus (Hipp. *Ref. omn. hær.* 9, 12); nor can it be known with certainty how far an alternatively acting emergence of the different Prosopa in succession is supposed or carried out in the relation of the three Prosopa to the Divine, creative and saving activity (Hippol. *Ref.*, Epiph. *H.* 62, fragments in Routh *Reliq. sacræ.* III. 371–403). The victoriously advancing subordinational doctrine of the Logos, specially represented by Origen in the third century, had still much to do for long with a very decided attachment to a modalistic conception.

Whether indeed Beryllus of Bostra, whom Origen brought back from his opinion at a synod of Arabian bishops (about 244), is to be reckoned on this side or on that of the Dynamistic Monarchians, remains uncertain in the scantiness of information (Euseb. H. E. 6, 33). He taught that the Lord and Saviour, before becoming man, did not pre-exist in a circumscribed nature of His own, and neither had He a Godhead of His own, but it was merely the Godhead of the Father which dwelt and had dominion in Him. He is to be placed on the Dynamistic side, if the words of Origen refer to him (Fragm. in *Ep. ad Tit. Comm.* V. 287); if the fathers at the above mentioned synod determined that Jesus had no proper human soul (Socr. H. E. 3, 7), that would afford no decisive evidence either way.

Next however the Sabellian views gained such decided acceptance in the Libyan Pentapolis (Cyrenaica) after the middle of the third century among the bishops there, that "not much was lacking, till in this church the Son of God would no longer be preached" (Ath. *De sentent.* Dion. 5), and that it occasioned controversy with it on the part of the Alexandrian Bishop Dionysius (s.v.). In the second half of the century, however, the other and Dynamistic tendency of Monarchianism once more came into decided prominence, and endeavoured in an elaborate fashion to rescue the view which starts from the human person of the Redeemer. **Paul of Samosata,** Bishop of Antioch from about 260, a man of the highest political influence,

being a kind of Viceroy (*Ducenarius procurator* according to the Roman designation) in Antioch, which then belonged to Queen Zenobia of Palmyra, and standing high in the favour of Zenobia (who was attached to Judaism). Political divisions, the opposition of the Roman to the Palmyrene party, as well as the display of worldly glory, or rather worldly intrigue associated with Paul's secular position, seem to have sharpened and embittered the doctrinal opposition which here made its appearance. He was accused of a revival of the Artemonite doctrine, and as a matter of fact he is one of the series of Dynamistic Monarchians. Naturally, in accordance with the ecclesiastical development which had meanwhile taken place, he uses as his instrument the churchly idea of the Logos, which however, essentially similar to the divine wisdom, he does not regard as a second divine hypostasis alongside of God and in consequence as divine subject for the person of the Redeemer, but as the immanent (qualitatively conceived) divine reason and wisdom; it does indeed appear in a certain manner as begotten of God (and so in a certain sense it is called also the Son of God), as the λόγος προφορικός, and so assumes a kind of independent subsistence as the principle of the divine working forth. But as it is active in the prophets, in a still higher degree in Moses, and in many others, so it is only so in an extraordinary manner in the man Christ, born of the Virgin; the **Logos from above** is in the Christ from beneath as in its temple, and inspires him. Hence, as on the one hand, in spite of the relative emergence of the Logos from God, he decidedly accentuates the principle that God is to be conceived as unipersonal, so on the other he decidedly repudiates the conception of an essential humanisation on the part of the Logos; the latter rather dwells in the essentially human person, not οὐσιωδῶς, but κατὰ ποιότητα, the man Jesus is another than the Logos, and the unity of both is perfected in the ethical way, but in it also eminently in the unity of the will in love; and the main weight falls on the deification, taking place gradually in human development under the influence of the Logos, of the man who in the immutability of love is indissolubly united with the Godhead.

His opponents arranged a great synod including more than the ecclesiastical province of Antioch, in 264, in which Firmilian of Cæsarea in Cappadocia also took part, while the aged Dionysius of Alexandria made excuses for his absence. But this assembly, as also a second, had no result; Firmilian contented himself with responsive declarations of Paul. It was not till the third meeting (268 or 269), where the Antiochene sophist and head of a learned school,

who was also a presbyter, **Malchion**, prosperously conducted the dispute with him (Firmilian was on his way to this synod when he died), that he was excommunicated from the Church of Antioch, and the acts of the synod made known to the churches abroad. Nevertheless Paul still kept himself for several years under the protection of Zenobia (so that in Antioch an "orthodox" community remained separate from him), until, after the conquest of Antioch by the Emperor Aurelian and the fall of Zenobia (272), the Emperor adjudged the Antiochene Church to those with whom the Christian bishops of Italy and Rome held communion (Euseb. H. E. 7, 27–30, and the other fragments from the Acts of the Synod held against him, *vid.* Routh, III. 286 sqq.).

In the war of the church against the Monarchians, the subordinational doctrine of the Logos gained the preponderance, though not without a struggle. At first the war was specially vigorously conducted against Modalistic Monarchianism, as by Tertullian against Praxeas, by Hippolytus against Noëtus and his Roman successors. But afterwards, Origen decidedly advanced the construction of the person of Christ as the physical God-man, which was based on the Apologists' doctrine of the Logos, in that by his doctrine of the eternal begottenness of the Logos (=the Son) he brought to a close the movement which transposes the historical conception of the Son of God into the metaphysical, whereby Logos and Son of God become synonyms. By the doctrine of the eternal begetting of the Logos it is intended to emphasise the divinity as well as the personal subsistence of the Logos (the hypostatical independence, which fits Him for incarnation). The procedure of the Logos to independent subsistence is not meant to reduce to finitude the idea of God, or to place Him either under the conception of time or under the emanational notion of **quantity**, but is meant to designate an eternal relationship of communication of essence, and to such a degree of perfection, that the Son=Logos is the essential image of the Father (as it were His eternal repetition) as to this side (as regards the content) of the same nature: however this Logos is at the same time to be regarded as only a second principle, though one postulated eternally, which mediates God's transition from unity to multiplicity, the transition to the world, and has all that it ever is from the Father as the *ἀρχή*. On this side therefore it is so **subordinated**, that the Logos, although of divine essence, yet (although only in a timeless manner) only appears as posited by the will of God; hence it also, where this side is emphasised, may be designated *κτίσμα*.

When Bishop Dionysius of Alexandria (247–264), in opposition to the Sabellian doctrine which, as has been mentioned, was very widely spread in this neighbourhood, came to the point of exalting the hypostatic independence of the Son Logos, and therefore the personal difference, he did so with such bringing into prominence of the subordination of the Son to the Father, who is to be distinguished from Him as the divine ἀρχή, that he was not ashamed to designate the Logos or Son as the creature and work of the Father; he came however to an agreement with the notions of the Roman Dionysius (259–269), who was appealed to by the Egyptian bishops, and who maintained the community of nature of the Son with the Father, the assertion of the eternity of the Son, and the need of more exact distinction of the idea of begetting from that of creating and forming, to such an extent as so to limit and in part to retract his expressions that he also admitted the unity of essence (Homöousia) of the Son with the Father (Euseb. H.E. 7, 6 and 26; Athanasius, *De sententia Dionysii*).

Finally, the rejection of the doctrine of Paul of Samosata indicates the victory of the subordinational doctrine of the Logos over Dynamistic Monarchianism. At the same time there proceeded from Paul of Samosata abiding influences upon subsequent times, traces of which, though in the form of an altered conception of the idea of the Logos, are to be found in the later School of Antioch, and of which the famous Antiochene presbyter Lucian (p. 216) appears to be the medium.

It is only gradually that, in these conflicts, the question of the nature of the Holy Spirit, who in the baptismal formula is so closely united with the Father and Son as a divine potency, is consciously brought forward; as in the historical person of Jesus the Son of God, there is recognised the God-Logos who has passed over into earthly appearance, so in the illuminating and inspiring government of the spirit of the community, in the activity of the promised Messianic Spirit, there is an analogous appearance of a third divine potency in the Christian community. Even though the relation of the Holy Spirit as a divine potency to Father and Son remained in many ways indefinite, its government in the church was so much more decidedly exalted. The Christians knew themselves as such to be in possession of the illuminating and inspiring Spirit of God, the same who had wrought in the prophets and apostles. Prophecy appeared as the continuous activity of the Spirit in Christianity. In Montanism it had come forward in a specially

heightened form and had been driven to a climax. In the inspiration of the Montanist prophets the Paraclete claimed to be **the immediate divine authority, leading Christianity and guiding it to perfection.** At this stage of revelation the church appeared to Montanism in her highest perfection. As the essence of Christianity, regarded chiefly from the point of view of the revelation of divine truth, of the revealing entrance of God into humanity, seemed to consist in the incarnation of the divine Logos, so it seemed to consist in the appearance of the Paraclete, when regarded mainly under the point of view of the divine **law of perfection,** in both relations abstractly supranaturalistic; so as regards the inspirations of the Holy Spirit it appeared formally as the immediate speech of the spirit to which the human organ is purely passively related, but as regards their **content** it appeared as the heightened ascetic claims of the kingdom of God, with the sharpest accentuation of the opposition between the kingdom of God and the world, an opposition which had likewise been severely strained in the ancient church. Hence the aim of the development of the church is regarded as not so much the gradual penetration of the world with the spirit of Christianity before their eyes, as an abrupt breaking off of secular development by the nearly approaching *consummatio sæculi* (Tert.), the entry of the millennial kingdom (Chiliasm; millennium) according to Rev. xx. 1 sqq. Men saw in the persecutions of the church the raging of anti-Christian power, but the latter appeared as the premonitory sign of the near victorious return of Christ for the restoration of His glorious kingdom (of a mundane supra-mundane sort), in which those who were adjudged worthy of the resurrection of the just should participate, the Sabbath of the world (Barnab. *Ep.* 15, 4: six world-days are six thousands of years; the seventh world-day is the sabbatical rest and feast); it precedes the last Judgment, the second resurrection and eternal pure heavenly bliss. This view, developed from Jewish apocalyptics on the basis of O.T. prophecy, is the pretty general Christian expectation in the first two centuries, apart from most Gnostic circles which, in their spiritualism, reject it. With the Greek apologists of the second century, who transform the Christianity of enthusiastic hope, theologically, and form it into a religious philosophical view of the world, there comes in of course an altered view. Justin, although sharing in the Chiliastic hope, knows of Christians who do not do so, and whom he does not on that account regard as erring in the faith; with the rest of the apologists these hopes at least do not appear, and in their place there comes to a certain

extent the simple hope of the resurrection regarded as the transference into the condition of heavenly immortality. Irenæus holds fast throughout by the Chiliastic hopes, showing in this also his close connection with the ancient Christian tradition, and in Tertullian's realistic manner of thought they are most firmly asserted in association with the Montanism which he zealously laid hold of and valiantly defended. But just the asperities of Montanism, this driving to a climax of the opposition between the kingdom of God and the world, between supra-natural and natural morality, necessitates a strong change of sentiment in the church. In this war against Montanism the so-called Alogi (*vid. sup.* p. 158), and so likewise in Rome the Presbyter Gaius in opposing the Montanist Proclus, rejected the Apocalypse as the foundation of Chiliasm. Opinion however in general universally turned against it where the new theological Christianity of Hellenic construction gained power, and so specially under the influence of Origen, so that in his school after the middle of the third century, Dionysius of Alexandria came forward against Chiliasm when, on its account, an ecclesiastical split threatened to arise in the district of Arsinoë. Here namely Bishop Nepos, in opposition to the allegorical interpretation of Scripture as practised in Alexandria, had maintained the verbal conception of the eschatological hopes, in the (lost) treatise Ἔλεγχος τῶν ἀλληγοριστῶν, and after his death, his adherents, under the Presbyter Coracion, separated from the Church of Alexandria. Dionysius however succeeded in converting Coracion, and he endeavoured to confirm this result by his treatise Περὶ ἐπαγγελιῶν (Euseb. H.E. 7, 24 sq.). But even in the Greek field Chiliasm did not at this point by any means disappear; the opposition of Methodius (*vid. sup.* p. 215) to Origen extended also to the spiritualizing of the contents of the prophecies. But it specially comes forward with still great power in the Latin field, not indeed in the case of Cyprian, who was otherwise influenced in so many ways by Tertullian, but in very realistic representations in the poet Commodian, in Victorinus of Pettau and in Lactantius. It was only the secular triumph of the church from Constantine onwards, the temporal dominion of the church, which repressed the vision in the future of the millennial kingdom.

In the end, however, the transformation in the view of the action of the Spirit is perfected not least in the province of the constitution of the church and in that of Christian morals and discipline. While Montanism, emphasising the opposition of the claims of the Spirit and the flesh, of the kingdom of God and the world,

had sought to keep at a distance all worldly customs and to exclude definitely from the community, so as not to pollute it, all who had fallen into more grievous sins, and to lead out the community at the stage of perfection to meet the Lord who was immediately to come, the church on the other hand, which was finding a place for itself in the world, found itself compelled to relax the strictness of its demands. And while Montanism sought to build the church upon immediate prophetic inspiration as upon supernatural authority, the church by this time began to perceive the true action of the Spirit who led the church in the organs of the organised church itself, in the Bishops as the bearers of the apostolic tradition, and soon also as the bearers of the saving powers of the Spirit. Let us first turn our observation to this point, that is to say, to the organisation of the Church.

7. The Development of the Constitution.

I. The Clergy.

Sources for the history of the church's constitution including church ordinances and ordinances of worship and church discipline are, besides numerous passages of the ecclesiastical writers Tertullian, Irenæus, Clement, Origen, Cyprian (especially the Letters) and others, the Decisions of Synods, contained in the great collections of the Acts of Councils, of which the most comprehensive is that of J. D. Mansi, *Concil. coll. nova et ampliss.*, 31 voll. Fo. Florence and Venice 1759 sqq. (a new reprint begun in recent years). The **Decisions** (**Canons**) of the Councils with other ecclesiastico-legal material collected in the ecclesiastico-legal works: Beveregii *Pandectæ canonum ss. apost. et concil.*, etc. Oxon. 1672, and Gu. Voelii et H. Justelli *Biblioth. juris canon. vet.*, Paris 1661. A useful handy edition by H. Th. Bruns, *Canones ap. et conc. sæc. IV.–VII.* (Biblioth. eccles. I.), Berlin 1839. Belonging to this period, the Decisions of the ante-Nicene Synods.—Several so-called canonical epistles of eminent teachers of the Church (Dionys. Al., Gregory Thaumat., Petrus Alex.) in Beveregius Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ* III. and IV. and de Lagarde, *Reliquiæ juris eccles. antiquiss.*, Leipsic 1886.—A number of collections of materials of church ordinances of unknown origin, which partly express what has been confirmed by ecclesiastical custom, partly work up this matter under the influence of definite tendencies. The most ancient piece of this sort appears to be the Didache (*vid. sup.* p. 111 sq.); other older pieces are already worked up in what has been called by its first editor Bickell, the Apostolic Church Ordinances, the substance of which is derived from the Apostles through Clement who is regarded as a disciple of the Apostles: *αἱ διαταγαὶ αἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος καὶ κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων* (Bickell, l.c. 107–132; de Lagarde, *Reliq.* 74–79; Pitra, *Juris. eccles. hist. monum.*, Rome 1864, 75–86; Hilgenfeld, *N.T. extra canonem recept.* fasc. 4, ed. 2), a compilation proceeding from about the beginning of the fourth century, in which in the form of sayings of the different Apostles along with the Didache and the Epistle of Barnabas (their moral prescrip-

tions) two literary fragments as it appears, likewise proceeding from the second century (second half), (designated by Harnack as κατάστασις τοῦ κλήρου and κατάστασις τῆς ἐκκλησίας) are pretty roughly worked up.—Of the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS (Edd. in COTELERIUS *Patres app.* I; von VELZEN, Sverin. 1853 and especially by de LAGARDE, Leipsic and London 1862) the first six books contain an expanded revision of the διδασκαλία τῶν ἀποστόλων which belongs to the third century, the original composition of which is recognisable in a Syriac translation (ed. de Lagarde, 1854). In accordance with it the original Greek text has been restored from the expanded text of the Constitutions in BUNSEN, *Analecta Antenicæna* II. 225–338. From the same hand as this interpolation of the Didaskalia the revision of the Didache which is found in the **VII. Book of the Constitutions**, which sets aside all that no longer is in accordance with the circumstances of the reviser's age, and replaces it with other regulations in agreement with them. The points of contact with the longer Greek recension of the seven Ignatian Epistles formerly remarked, led after the bringing of light into the subject by the discovery of the Didache, to the supposition (HARNACK) that one and the same reviser had been at work. The **VIII. Book of the Constitutions** contains for the most part liturgical prescriptions and formularies, which are compiled from older pieces of the third century which are partly still extant (several in LAGARDE's Reliq.). Its origin is held to have been anti-Nicene.— The fifty or rather eighty-five so-called Apostolic Canons which in many MSS. are appended to the VIII. Book of the Constitutions, a collection of legal regulations, especially as to the discipline of the clergy, were first gathered together in the fifth century on the basis of written principles, tradition and the decisions of synods, and come under consideration in the next period.—As regards this whole literary family, which is also extant in numerous Syriac, Ethiopic and Coptic texts, cf. specially BICKELL, *Gesch. des Kirchenrechts* I. 1843; de LAGARDE in Bunsen's *Anal. Antinic.* II. 37 sq., and in the preface to the *Reliq.*; LIGHTFOOT, *S. Clement of Rome*, 1877 Append.; KRAWUTZKY, ThQ. 1882, 359–445 and HARNACK in *Texte und Untersuchungen* II. 1886, Parts 1 and 2, 170–266, and Part 5.

For the history of church government in general: G. J. PLANCK, *Gesch. der christl.-kirchl. Gesellschafts-verfassung*, I. Hannover 1803; R. ROTHE, *Die Anfänge der christl. Kirche*, Wittenb. 1837; HATCH, The Organization of the Early Christian Churches, 3rd ed., London 1888. German translation with excursus by Harnack, Giessen 1883; and HARNACK l.c. above.

1. **The Bishop.** The free rule of the so-called charismatic teaching office was suppressed in the course of the second century by the regular congregational office of the government of the community, which derived its vocation not from charismatic endowment and the voice of the Spirit, but from regulated appointment (choice), and was attached to the definite community, bore a permanent character and now also began to lay claim to the function of teaching. At the same time in this office of leadership of the community the monarchical position of the leader is raised above the plurality of the elders of the community, and in this way the originally more general designation of the official activity of the presbyters who lead

the community (ἐπίσκοποι) is gradually applied exclusively to the one who stands at the head of the college, so that the (other) presbyters of the community appear to be distinguished from him only as the second grade of the officials of the community, although the consciousness of the original and essential equality of the offices (that the bishop himself was one of the presbyters) is shown by the language of Irenæus, who applies the name presbyter to bishops also, and by that of Clement of Alexandria, who does indeed distinguish between bishops, presbyters and deacons, but only assumes a twofold (higher and lower) character of office (*Strom.* VII. 1, 3. 830 P. VI. 13. 106, p. 793 P.). This fact long maintained itself vigorously in the consciousness of the church. If, to the author of the Ignatian Epistles, the bishop was eminently the point of union for the community, the so to speak patriarchal authority, which held the individual community together and stood in the place of Christ, while the college of presbyters surrounding him occupied the place of the Apostles, the episcopate now comes forward chiefly as the guarantee of the unfalsified apostolic tradition. The appeal to the unfalsified tradition of the truth in the communities of apostolic foundation is based upon the fact, that, in these communities an unbroken *successio episcoporum* has taken place from the Apostles down to the present time, which involves the guarantee of purity (Tert. *De præscr. hær.* 32. Iren. *Adv. hær.* 3, 2, 2; 3, 3, 1 et passim). The appeal to the external historical connection with the Apostles as mediated through the person of the bishops, is also, however, accompanied by the appeal to the divine Spirit ruling in the community and its gifts of grace, in such a way that this possession of the Spirit, essential to the community of Christ, as it found organs for itself in apostles, prophets and teachers, now finds its legitimate bearers in the ordained episcopate, and **this monarchic office to a certain extent becomes the heir of the free charismatic demonstrations** (Iren. IV. 26, 5). From the two points of view taken together, there is very shortly developed the idea, that, as the bishops hold the *locum magisterii apostolorum* (Iren. III. 3, 1, *vid.* Harnack DG. I. 226), **the episcopate is the continuation of the apostolate and its authority in the church** (Hippol. *Ref. o. hær.* Præf. p. 4, 52 sqq. ed. DS: successors, *diadochoi* of the Apostles and participators in the same grace of the high-priesthood and of doctrine, and esteemed as guardians of the church).

Essentially behind this development, which was energetically carried out in the West, stands of course the Alexandrian conception in Clement, to whom it is rather the Christian who exercises himself

in the commands of the Lord and exalts himself to Gnosis, *i.e.* the Gnostic, who enters **spiritually** into the select number of the Apostles, and so becomes a true presbyter of the Church, and a true *diaconus* of the divine will (*Str.* VI. 13, 106 and 107), and therefore realises in its true inward essence that which of course is set forth according to its idea in the offices of the church; only so, that the emergence of the bishop from the general dignity of the presbyters is still little noticeable. Even here however, like claims on the part of the episcopate soon emerge.

The theory attained the form of the full hierarchical view in CYPRIAN, under the influence of the ecclesiastical conflicts further mentioned below. According to it the bishops by their **ordination** (*i.e.* the imparting of the Spirit) are the representatives following the Apostles of those to whom apply the words: "He who heareth you heareth Me," who possess all apostolic powers, who are not merely the teachers, but also the judges of Christians (*judices*), holders of the power of the keys (*vid. infra*) and *dispensatores Dei* (Cypr. *Ep.* 59, 5 ed. Hart. II. 672, 16; *Ep.* 67, 6 p. 740, 7), stewards of the divine gifts of grace, the enjoyment of which (and thereby union with Christ) is attached for believers to obedience to the **priests of God,** so that the church rests on them, in them essentially consists the church, without which there is no salvation.

In this development the ecclesiastical idea of the priesthood comes to its completion, *i.e.* the union of the conception of the office which rules the community as divinely instituted and claiming obedience according to divine right, with the conception of it as an office of **priestly mediation** between God and man (*intercessio* and transmission of divine grace).

In spite of the theoretical abolition of any special priesthood as opposed to the community, which was involved in the original Christian idea of the universal spiritual priesthood of all Christians (1 Pet. ii. 5, 9; Heb. iv. 16; Rev. i. 6), not only the Old Testament but also the general view of antiquity, which regards religion as bound up with priesthood and sacrifice, brought about the prevalence of this conception in ecclesiastical Christianity. Clement of Rome already adduces the Old Testament priestly class as a type for the relationships of the Christian community (Clem. *Ad Cor.* I. cap. 40 sqq.), but only with a view to recommending unity by subordination under the leading organs as pleasing to God, without involving the thought of priestly mediation; and if the Didache (13, 3) designates the prophets as the high-priests of Christians, to whom accordingly first-fruits are to be

rendered, this is likewise no fixed office which proceeds into a kind of priestly position, but the charismatic endowment acquires this importance on account of its immediate divine authority and its importance in worship (cf. 10, 7, the prophets not bound to the form of eucharistic prayer given). The conception of Christian worship of God and in particular of the Eucharist under the idea of sacrifice, the λειτουργία, necessitates the development which is here completed. "God accepts sacrifice from none, except through His priests," says Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 116 sq.) Here however Christians in general are still the ἀρχιερατικὸν γένος τοῦ θεοῦ, and this universal priestly character of Christians is still decisively maintained as fundamental by Tertullian (*De exhortat. castit.* 7, *De monog.* 7), although "the church has firmly settled the distinction between *ordo* and *plebs*," and he reproaches heretics with also giving over priestly affairs to laymen (*De præscr. hær.* 41). The functions of the presbyters however are *sacerdotal*, the bishop therefore *summus sacerdos* (cf. Hippol. sup. p. 236 ἀρχιεράτεια). But with Cyprian the position of the bishops has been at once so much exalted, that they are the absolute *sacerdotes*, but the presbyters are *episcopo sacerdotali honore coniuncti*. Thus in the episcopate not only is the **unity** of the Church assured, which shows itself in the solidary connection of all holders of the episcopate, but at the same time the totality of the divine influence of grace for the individual members of the community is attached to this institution.

2. The **Presbyters**. While the supreme leadership in the concerns of the community thus always falls exclusively to the bishops, and the episcopate is regarded as the highest source of all sacerdotal authority, its original procedure from the presbyterate has this after effect, that the bishops appear to be bound to the advice of the presbyters in the goverment of the church, and that the exercise of sacerdotal functions takes place by presbyters also; but in the former relationship only to the extent that they are taken into counsel with the bishop according to his judgment; eventually, on the vacation of the episcopal chair, they necessarily take in hand the guidance of the community, or act on the bishop's commission, as likewise in regard to the latter relationship, in preaching and the care of souls they only act on the commission, and with the approbation, of the bishop.

3. Contrasted with the office of leadership and priesthood in the narrower sense come the **Deacons** as the officers of ecclesiastical service, with such further development of the priestly view, that they appear as **Levites**, in contrast to the sons of Aaron, the high-priest

(bishop) and the priests. Cyprian asserts, that they were not chosen by the Lord Himself like the Apostles (= bishops), but instituted by the Apostles after His ascension as "servants of their episcopate and of the church," and therefore may as little dare anything against the bishops as the latter may against the Lord (*Ep.* 3, 3). But their immediate relation to the bishop, whose eyes and ears they are, by means of which he observes the condition of the community, and hands by means of which he acts, gives them influence and weight. They are the instruments of the bishop in the administration of church property and the churchly care of the poor incumbent on him, his attendants, eventually his commissioners for definite cases, representing him in certain circumstances, besides being entrusted with certain functions in divine worship (*vid. infra*) and having the power of preaching on the bishop's commission.

4. **The lower grades of the Clergy.** Thus in spite of their character as servants, the deacons are grouped along with the bishops and presbyters, and along with them form the three *ordines*, which in contrast to the people (λαός, plebs) form the **clergy.** To these three the conception of the clergy is still limited in Tertullian, and as it seems in Hippolytus (*Refut.* 9, 12 p. 460, 1 ed. DS.). The increasing needs, however, of the growing Christian communities and the growing tendency to hierarchical organisation leads shortly (till towards the middle of the third century), at first in Rome and thence more widely, to the formation of a number of subordinate clerical grades, which are now contrasted with the above *ordines maiores* as *minores.* (The denomination *clerus minor* in Pseudo-Cyprian's treatise *De rebaptismate*, Opp. ed. Hartel III. 82, 9). a) In large and populous communities necessity **led to increase in the number of the deacons;** as however it was thought necessary, according to Acts vi. to limit the number to seven, and at the same time the increased clerical dignity of thed eacons did not seem to correspond with humbler services, they were supplemented by the ὑποδιάκονοι (*subdiaconi*) as the ὑπηρέται of the deacons (Const. App. 8, 26) who at one time were so designated themselves (Ign. *Trall.* 2, 3). b) **Services which hitherto had been performed on the ground of special ability or charismatic endowment by members of the community without fixed investment of office, now become functions of clerical offices.** In this relation the exercise of teaching in divine worship (practising ὁμιλεῖν) more and more appeared to be the affair of the bishops and presbyters, or rather also of the deacons especially commissioned thereto by the bishops, and objections began to be taken, when laymen, in the presence of the bishops, preached to

(information from the Latin and that from the Greek Church, even) the communities (Eus. H.E. 6, 19 sub fin.)—although here necessity did not permit of its coming to formal prohibition, but people confined themselves to making the appearance of laymen as teachers dependent on the summons of the bishop. So likewise the work of the **reader** of the Holy Scriptures, which was requisite from of old in assemblies for worship (*Anagnost. Lector*—cf. Rev. i. 3, Just. M. *Apol.* I. 67 et passim) now became, what in Tertullian it has not yet properly become, a clerical function and the lector is added to the lower clergy. The case of the **Exorcists** is similar. The charisma of conjuration and healing of demoniacs which is still regarded by Tertullian (*Apol.* 23, *De idolol.* 11, *De cor. milit.* 11; cf. also Orig. *c. Cels.* 7, 334) as a universal Christian spiritual power, now becomes an official activity; the exorcist becomes a member of the lower clergy, entrusted with the care of the spiritually sick (of the *ἐνεργούμενοι*, *δαιμονιζόμενοι*), has to speak the church's prayers over them, and seeing that a conjuration of the evil spirit was combined with baptism, acquires an importance for the catechumens also. However in the Greek Church, in reminiscence of the original significance of the charisma, which was not adapted for an *official* praxis, the exorcists do not appear among the clerics (Const. App. 3, 11. 6, 17), and also according to Const. App. 8, 25 (beginning of the fourth century) exorcists are not to be ordained.[1] Clerical supervision however of the work of the exorcists is promoted by the regulation of the Council of Laodicea (c. 26) to the effect that exorcism both in houses and churches should only be exercised by those who have been authorised to do so by the bishop. c) **For the rendering of personal services there come alongside of the clergy who have been raised to priestly dignity, the acolytes** (*sequentes*) and the **doorkeepers** who were responsible for the care and service of the places of worship (somewhat corresponding to the *œdituus* in the Roman system of worship) *θυρωροί*, *πυλωροί*, *ostiarii*, *janitores*, to whom the keys of the Church were entrusted. It was their business to see that suspicious persons found no entrance, in general to watch over the in-coming and out-going, and the separation of the *missa catech.* from the *m. fidelium*, and to shut the doors against penitents and unbelievers after the dismissal of the catechumens.

For the rest, perfect accord does not obtain in the (incidental)

[1] A similar regulation indeed also with reference to the Lector vid. *Rell. iur. eccl.* ed. Lagarde p. 5 sqq..Harnack, *Texte und Unters.* II. 5, 73, note 43. Cf. also Const. App. I. 1 on the charismata as the affair of any laymen, which have no longer inner importance for the church. (Harnack, ib. 74 sq.)

apart from the exorcists. In the former we hear nothing of the acolytes (in spite of the Greek name, which points to the predominance of Greek in the Roman community down to the third century); on the other hand the church singers (ψαλτωδοί or ψάλται) are more closely connected with the lectors, as were also towards the end of the period in the Latin West the **cantores**, who however like the **fossores** do not appear to have the clerical character. Here appears to be the complete series: subdeacon, acolytes, exorcists, lectors and ostiaries. And these *ordines minores* now afford in Rome, and very shortly in the West, the regular way by which the higher clergy were educated, or the *personnel* was formed from which the higher clergy were recruited. An ascension **per omnia** *ecclesiastica officia sanctis religionis gradibus* (Cypr. *Ep.* 55, 8 p. 629, 9) is praised by the Roman bishop Cornelius, although by no means supposed as a general rule. The lectorate, especially, appears as a suitable preparatory step to entry into the higher clergy, especially the **presbyterate**. The **Female diaconate** (deaconesses) makes free progress, but an official institution of the deaconesses, to which the Epistle of Pliny to Trajan still alludes, disappears entirely, as it seems, in the second century and until the third, while the institution of the widows (χῆραι) who are supported by the community, take a place of honour and render it services, is everywhere mentioned (Uhlhorn, *Liebesth.* p. 160). They bind themselves not to marry again, occupy a seat of honour and (at least by Tertullian, *De virg. vel.* 9) are reckoned among the clergy and co-operate with them in the instruction of the female catechumens. It appears natural, that as a matter of fact they should also have shared in the works of the diaconate (care of the poor and sick) (Ap. Con. § 21 in Lagarde p. 78, where however it is emphasised in the first line that they were devoted to prayer and received spiritual revelations). The visitation of imprisoned confessors by widows and orphan children in their service is attested by Lucian *De morte Peregr.* c. 12). Their main business seems to have been the guidance and instruction of the female portion of the community (N.B. with exclusion of public teaching in the assemblies for divine worship).

In the Greek Church it is only towards the end of our period that an *ordo* of deaconesses makes its appearance. The widows as objects of support by the community, who have to devote themselves to prayer recede from that official position, which passes over to the deaconesses (Const. App. III. Διατάξεις of Hippol. in Lag. p. 5). To this result the high esteem in which the condition of virgins is held, contributed: the widow recedes behind the virgin,

deaconess (for this is the rule); probably also the enhanced idea of office, which could no longer tolerate a clerical position of the widows which corresponded to the presbyter rather than the deacon (πρεσβυτίδες). The official position of woman in the church recedes from the grade of the presbyterate to that of the diaconate. To this corresponded the increased need of female services for the female portion of the community (*Reliq. jur.* ed. Lagarde, p. 29, Const. App. III. 15), also the need of female instruments for the control and maintenance of order in divine worship for the female portion of the community. In the older parts of the Apostolic Constitutions there is always mention of only one deaconess in the community. Perhaps (according to Uhlhorn p. 167) this was the transition, that deaconess services were entrusted to *one* of the widows (cf. the Ap. KO. § 21). Already at Nicæa (can. 19) the instruction of deaconesses (of course with reference to the Greek East) is presupposed as universal, though also without ordination proper and therefore with denial of its proper clerical character. Subsequently, in the course of the fourth century, the Council of Laodicea (c. 11) forbade the further appointment of presiding widows; on the other hand, this institution of deaconesses found no acceptance in the West, where the widows still maintained their position for some time and also partially represented functions of the deaconesses' service. (Cf. Dieckhoff in Schäfer's *Monatsschr. f. Diakonie* I., and thereon Uhlhorn, *Liebesth. in d. a. K.* p. 159 sqq.)

5. **The election of bishops.** According to the fundamental notion it is the community which elects the bishops, but it is already the constitutional community, hence a deciding voice falls to the clergy (the presbyters), yet in such a manner as to involve the assent of the community of laymen. With the confirmation of the monarchical position of the bishop and the conception of the solidarily interdependent episcopate, there is created the necessity for the co-operation of neighbouring bishops, alongside of which, however, the approving testimony of the clergy (the presbyters) and the acclamation of the people is required (*de clericorum testimonio de plebis suffragio*). This involves recognition of the principle that it is of the nature of legitimate election, that it should take place in presence of the people, in order that he who is worthy (against whom there is nothing) may be elected (Cypr. Ep. 68 cf. Lamprid. *In Sev. Alex.* 45). The consecration of the bishop by a bishop ensued (*vid. infra* addition to the metropolitan constitution). The choice of the other clergy lay mainly in the hands of the bishops; at the same time the community had to be heard, at least with

reference to the presbyters. The requirements for election for the clergy are still little determined; at the same time (at least for the higher clergy) those who had only been recently baptized (*neophyti* according to 1 Tim. iii. 6) or who had only been baptized in serious illness, those who had formerly fallen under excommunication, or had mutilated themselves, were excluded. Doubts were also entertained with regard to former *energumens* (Eus. 6, 43).

6. **The social position of the clergy and the revenues of the Church.** As regards the social position of the clergy, at first men of various ranks, and trades which afforded them subsistence, could occupy offices within the Christian community (as in the pagan associations). But the growing importance of the clergy in the Christian society led to certain businesses and kinds of trade being found incompatible with their dignity, and the increasing calls upon the time of clerics necessarily withdrew them more and more from secular callings. At the same time, it always remained the rule for the lower clergy that they should consist of men who owed their subsistence to a civic craft (*vid.* the *lectors* in the *Gesta* ap. Zenophil. in Routh, *Reliq. sac.* IV. 322–25 ed. 2, with reference to the community at Cirta in the time of the persecution of Diocletian, where a patch-tailor, a grammarian and an Imperial servant are among the lectors). There were not wanting examples however, where bishops devoted themselves to lucrative secular businesses (Cypr. *De laps.* 6), and even, like Paul of Samosata, occupied a high secular office (*Ducenarius Procurator*). On the other hand the community was itself obliged to provide means for its clergy, to which principle the example of the Old Testament priesthood, which was to be maintained without having any share of its own in the inheritance of the land, and also that of the heathen priests and their *sportulæ* (Cypr.) contributed. It was done however essentially from the point of view of pious, benevolent and at the same time God-pleasing offering. This leads to the ecclesiastical revenues of the communities in general, which were requisite not solely for the maintenance of the clergy but for that also. They flowed mainly from the **offerings** of the community, the **oblations** at the Eucharist and Agape (*vid.* divine worship), consisting of natural products of all sorts (gathered in baskets, *sportulæ*). To them the Old Testament conception of the first-fruits was early applied (Iren. IV. 17, 5 of the elements of the Eucharist, bread and wine as the simplest means of nourishment, etc.—Representatives of the oblations in general), as also to the portions which fell to the priest at the Agapés. In the Didache (13, 3) the first-fruits of the wine-

press and the threshing-floor, of oxen and sheep are assigned to the **Prophets** who settle in a community, because they are its high-priests. Further on in the church also the claim to first-fruits in the proper sense is expressed; first-fruits are to be offered to God, *i.e.* to the priests. This command of the Old Testament law is to be observed, according to the opinion of Origen, even in its literal interpretation (Orig. *Homil.* 11. on Numbers, § 1 sqq., cf. *c. Cels.* 8, 34, where the practice is presupposed). However its accomplishment still remained distant, the obligation was not universally recognised. In the West, Cyprian shows no acquaintance with this custom; but the Apostolic Constitutions distinctly (2, 25. 7, 29) demand the offering of first-fruits to the bishop, who is summoned to receive them. So likewise, towards the end of the period, in consequence of the Old Testament views which had been taken over, the demand for the offering of the **tithe** becomes audible, but hardly with any considerable effect (Cypr. *De cath. eccl. unit.* 26 attests, that tithes are not offered, but with the thought that properly they ought to be). Alongside of these oblations in kind, there also begins, however, in order to meet necessities, the collection of regular monthly money contributions, corresponding to the procedure in the Greek and Roman *sodalitia* and associations for worship: *Ἔρανος*. These money contributions were put into an alms-dish or box (*corban*, also *concha* from its spiral form); *modicam unusquisque stipem* **menstrua** *die vel quum velit, et si modo velit et si modo possit, apponit*; *nam nemo compellitur sed sponte confert* (Tert. *Apol.* 39 *Const. App.* 2, 36).

The contributions offered to God, or for His sake, are not (in spite of their partial application to the maintenance of the clergy, *vid. infra*) to be conceived in the sense of surplice-fees, payment for special sacred acts (Tert. *Ap.* 39, *neque enim pretio res ulla Dei constat*). But, though not as a compulsory tax, yet as a voluntary gift of gratitude, there begins the use of presents of the sort which are nevertheless forbidden by Can. 48 of the Synod of Elvira, with reference to candidates for baptism: *ne sacerdos quod gratio accepit pretio distrahere videatur.*

At an early period, however, the church, as a corporation in the sense discussed above, also began to acquire landed property (p. 195), burial places and ecclesiastical buildings (Hippol. 9, 12, the Roman Bishop Zephyrinus appointed Callistus over the Cœmeterium (Cf. Kraus, *Roma sotter.* 89, V. Schulze, *Katak.* 29). *Vide* the decision of Alex. Sev., the restoration of their landed property to the Christians by Gallienus, and the notice of Paul of Samosata,

Euseb. H.E. 7, 30, finally Maximin's Edicts of 312 (Euseb. H.E. 9, 10) and the letter of Licinius to Constantine (Euseb. 10 and Lact. *De mort. persec.* 48, 5: *quoniam Christiani non ea locum tantum, ad quæ convenire consueverunt, sed alia etiam habuisse noscuntur, ad ius corporis eorum i.e. ecclesiarum, non hominum singulorum pertinentia*, etc.).

As has been said, the ecclesiastical revenues designated, with some exception of the first-fruits aimed at, in the case of which according to the example of the O.T. the priests as such were those who were entitled to them (according to the Didache the prophets, and only in the absence of these, the poor [13, 4]), are fundamentally everywhere destined *ad pios usus*, *i.e.* for the care of the poor, widows, orphans, sick, prisoners and strangers, in general for all cases of need (Justin. *Apol.* I. 67, Tert. *Apol.* 19). But in proportion to the measure of neediness of the clergy this applied to them also. The manner and measure of distribution to the clergy must have been very various. Cyprian's expressions (*Ep.* 34, 4 and 39, 5) lead to the inference, that the clerics probably received their share of the oblations in kind immediately, but of the balance of the money receipts, after payment of other sorts of ecclesiastical expenses, at monthly terms, in both cases, however, receiving quota corresponding to their clerical grade. Traces of a really fixed salary are only found in the case of some of the great churches of separated communions, as in the case of the Montanists (Eus. H.E. 5, 18 according to the account of Apollonius) and among the Theodotians in Rome (Eus. H.E. 5, 28). To this there is next added the necessity of maintaining the ecclesiastical buildings and establishments, so that here already the way is paved for the distinction of the different titles of appropriation: *pro mensa episcopi*, *pro clero*, *pro fabrica ecclesiæ* and *die quarta pauperum*.

The administration of the ecclesiastical revenues, however, was exclusively the affair of the **bishop**, who had to dispose of them according to his judgment, who commissioned others in his name as his representatives, and as against whom the deacons, as his guardians of alms, and the poor were entirely dependent and were not to assume an independent authority (*Const. App.* 2, 31 sq.). The bishop himself appears to be responsible to God only in this administration of property, although in this relation also, as in other affairs of the service of the church, he was expected to take the presbyters along with him. A position of such freedom could not fail to be abused, as is shown by numerous warnings and complaints; warnings against the application of ecclesiastical revenues to private

uses beyond what was needful, or already to purposes of nepotism (*συγγενέσιν ἰδίοις τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σφετερίζεσθαι*), against not taking care of the poor, but also against allowing the subordinate clergy to famish (*Can. Ap.* c. 31 [al. 39], 51 [59], and *Const. Apost.* 2, 25. 29; cf. the censures of Origen in Matth. t. 16, § 22). The **deacons** were the bishop's hands in this administration of property, and they, being in the matter entirely dependent on the bishop, were frequently guilty of unfaithfulness and abuse of funds. At an early period however (in Rome at least), the development of the matter seems to have reached the point at which, for the sake of unity in the administration of property, **one** of the deacons became the cashier proper of the bishop, and also carried the list (*matricula*) of the sums to be given to the clergy and the poor—the post of the official who in subsequent times was called the archdeacon. To a similar cause points the appointment of a sort of syndic as representative of the corporate property of the church (Callistus in the time of Zephyrinus, *vid. sup.*), who may very probably be regarded as a deacon.

II. The organisation of the episcopal church (Diocese) within its own limits, the grouping of episcopal churches in greater unities, and the unity of the Church in general.

1. According to the notion of a bishop, he stands at the head of **a community conceived as united.** Now the spread of Christianity, not only in towns, but also out over the open country, had caused little groups of Christians to arise (*vid.* the passages in Rothe, KG. I. 336 sq.). In this case it was *either* possible (and this did take place) that in the rural district, a sufficient number of Christians constituted themselves an **independent community,** set up for themselves their independent divine worship, with regard to means stood upon their own feet, and had at their head a president of their own as bishop. Here therefore was a **rural bishop** (*χωρεπίσκοπος*), though it is true that this name only appears later on when the ecclesiastical development was hurrying towards the principle of depressing the authority of the latter below that of the city bishops. The rural bishop was for his community the same as the bishop of the great town was for his. (A trace is already to be found in Clem. Rom. *Ep.* I. *ad. Cor.* 42; rural bishops in the neighbourhood of Antioch in the second half of the third century, *vid.* Euseb. H.E. 7, 30.) Amongst the comparatively large number of North African bishops at the synods, many must have been from smaller rural communities.

The *second case* however was this, that missions conducted from

cities as centres attracted the converted Christians in the country, who, in their scattered condition over the district, were unable to form an independent community, to the community in the city in question (cf. JUSTIN, *Apol.* I. 67, the assembly from city and country on Sunday). In cases also, when, with the increasing number of Christians there arose the need of a social worship of their own for a multitude of rural Christians, the existing bond with the urban community and its bishop was yet too strong; and in many cases, the need of a permanent centre of support was too powerful, to permit of a separation from ecclesiastical alliance with them. Such cases developed accordingly not into independent, but into **affiliated communities,** received from the episcopal clergy of the city their presidents, presbyters, eventually deacons also,[1] who remained in a relation of subordination to the city bishop, as the source of their commission, even if, in the nature of the case, they may have received a somewhat freer position. In this way they came to occupy to the episcopal community of the city a similar relationship to that in which the **civic** rural communities stood to the city, to which in every case they were subordinated (BINGHAM III. 413 sq.). Filial relationships of the same kind might also arise in cases where the city community had made missionary efforts in remote neighbourhoods, which from the very beginning, as foundations of the civic community in question, remained in a relation of dependence on it (affiliated communities), frequently at a great distance. Communities of the districts of Arsinoitis and Mareotis were filials of Alexandria; Mareotis stood under the Bishop of Alexandria, so that the individual presbyters had a number (as many as ten and more) often of considerable villages under them (*vid.* the passages in ROTHE I. 342 sq.). In this way an episcopal parish might extend to a complex of many members over wide districts.

2. But on the other hand in the great and populous cities, with the powerful increase in the number of Christians there spontaneously arose the beginnings of a kind of parochial division, under strict maintenance of the episcopal unity of the community under the bishop. As the Apostolic age, even in its beginnings, had witnessed small household communities which were accustomed to assemble in the houses of prominent Christians in Rome, Corinth and Ephesus, so, subsequently, the extension of the city, the limited space of the available places of worship in proportion to the great

[1] *Vid.* Synod of Elvira in Spain, can. 77: *Diaconus regens plebem:* in this case probably not complete rural preaching communities with independent worship, *vid.* ROTHE I. 344.

number of professed believers, to which the increased number of the episcopal clergy corresponded, necessitated a like division. In the middle of the third century Rome had 46 presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 42 acolytes; exorcists, lectors and ostiaries together 52, while the number of widows, sick and poor cared for, amounted to 1,500 (Euseb. H.E. 6, 43); and at the close of the period, at the time of the persecution of Diocletian there were over 40 churches (basilicas, Optat. Mil. *De Schism. Donat.* II. 4). Hence it soon came about, that the numerous episcopal clergy not only rendered clerical services in the different parts of the city and places of worship according to the several commands of the bishop, but that definite presbyters and other clerics received a permanent post at the individual churches with their own worship, so that the whole episcopal community branched out into a number of partial parishes without any injury to its unity. We know that this was the case in **Alexandria** at the end of the period, where a special presbyter was set over each of the individual churches [Epiph. *Hær.* 69, 1), and, in consequence, the note (in the Book of the Popes in Duchesne I. p. 164) also acquires probability, to the effect that Bishop Marcellus (307–309) established 25 **tituli,** *quasi diœceses* in Rome (*i.e.* parish churches with special presbyters appointed). At the same time these are only precursory and individual beginnings of a development which only subsequently became general.

3. The independent ecclesiastical unit is that of the episcopal community. This however did not at first hinder the most lively combination of the various communities which were conscious of their unity in spirit and faith, as kept up by means of letters written with a view to fraternal sympathy and mutual influence (cf. of the earlier period, the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, the Ignatian epistles and that of Polycarp, those of Bishop Dionysius of Corinth, the letter on the Martyrdom of Polycarp, that of the communities of Lyons and Vienne on the persecution); so also by travelling brethren, not merely wandering prophets and teachers (Didache), travelling Christian sophists like Justin and Tatian, but other Christians also (*vid.* Zahn, *Weltverkehr und Kirche*, 1877). But it was necessarily involved in the development of the episcopate, that when the latter more and more appeared as the real foundation of the church, the feeling of solidarity should be developed between the bishops who felt themselves to be independent (*vid. sup.* p. 185), and therefore also the need of a regulated bond of union under more fixed forms. For this purpose the opportunity was at first offered by the meeting of representatives of

neighbouring communities, on occasion of special concerns which interested the communities. So, as far as we know, for the first time in **Asia Minor** on occasion of the Montanist movement, and almost contemporaneously on occasion of the Easter controversy (c. 196), where we hear of a Palestinian, a Pontic, an Osrhoënian, but also of a Gallican and a Roman **Synod** (Euseb. 5, 23 sq.). In the closest connection with the development of synods however, are the **beginnings** of the closer binding together of the bishops under the **metropolitan constitution.** The bishops of one and the same political province pointed out to one another by community of interests, enter into a certain, at first quite loose combination, in which the bishop held in highest esteem, perhaps the oldest (Euseb. 5, 23), or the head of the oldest community in a district, but as a rule the bishop of the **political metropolis** of the district, asserts a certain pre-eminence. So it was especially in the greater part of the East. At the same time here in Egypt, along with Libya and Pentapolis, the predominance of **Alexandria** as a chief city of the Empire, the second of the Roman empire, was so decided, as to overshadow the importance ecclesiastically of the provincial capitals, and so, as it were, absorbed the metropolitan alliances in the attachment of all churches to Alexandria, the capital. The case was the same in the West, where, for a great part of Italy, **Rome** in ecclesiastical relations directly gained a central importance, where the Bishop of Carthage became the centre not only for Proconsular Africa, but also for Numidia and the two Mauretanias, and as it seems entirely overshadowed the provincial capitals. So likewise in Gaul and Spain, where nothing is known of a fixed metropolitan distribution. But, still within our period, there emerged a further development, in so far as, *a*) in the East, individual bishops raised themselves above the simple metropolitan alliances to a more comprehensive position (as it were metropolitans to the second power), as particularly the Bishop of **Antioch,** the third city in the Empire (beginnings of the subsequent position of patriarch over the whole political diocese of the East); but others also gained a more extensive importance (**Ephesus** for Asia, the Cappadocian **Cæsarea** —the important post of Firmilian in the time of Cyprian—**Heraclea** for Thrace *vid. infra*); while conversely, *b*) in the West, viz. in the Church of North Africa, the need of organisation—therefore the carrying through of the metropolitan and provincial position—of the different churches which were under the Bishop of Carthage shows itself more plainly, only that here it is not so much the bishops of the provincial capitals who stand at the head of the

separate ecclesiastical provinces, as the oldest bishop in the province (subsequently *senex*) in the character of **Primas.** The course of events in Spain may perhaps have been similar.

A definite fixation of the authorities, rights and duties only arose gradually—along with the more consistent carrying out of the whole arrangement in the following period. The most obvious point is that the Metropolitan had to summon the **provincial synods,** held for the regulation of the common concerns of the ecclesiastical province, to preside over them and to issue the synodal documents. So again, there naturally fell to him, as the representative of the whole ecclesiastical province, certain ecclesiastical rights of superintendence, in so far as the individual bishops, in all concerns which did not merely relate to their own communities, were bound to come to an understanding with the Metropolitan. From the whole position there naturally flowed a certain co-operation of the Metropolitan in the appointment of the bishops (p. 242 sq.). The **Synods** prove themselves a specially important factor in the forward movement of the life of the church. Traces of the introduction of **regularly recurring provincial synods** are of course uncertain in our period, and in any case not improbable only for the Greek East (Rothe I. 381). But occasions for the holding of such ecclesiastical assemblies frequently happened (*vid.* Cyprian's time for the African Church). At these synods the **deciding voice** lay with the bishops, although as a rule **presbyters and deacons** were also present. The presbyters as such, whose advice here also was at the service of the bishop, actually *sat* along with the bishops in the synod (*compresbyteri nostri, qui nobis adsidebant*, Cypr. *Ep.* I. p. 465, 2 ed. Hart) and many an unlearned bishop was referred to their assistance; the fact that the bishops appeared at the synods along with their escort, also helped to exalt their estimation. Cf. Constantine's invitation to Bishop Chrestus of Syracuse to bring along with him to the synod at Arles (314) two of those ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου and three servants besides (Euseb. HE. 10, 5). The monarchical position of the episcopate had already been so far established: the deciding votes were given by the bishops only (except where as subsequently, in individual cases, presbyters or deacons appeared as the mere commissioned representatives of a bishop). Deacons too, frequently also a great number of laymen are present at the synods (*vid.* the *sententiæ episcoporum de hæret. baptiz.* in Cyprian I. 435, 3: many bishops have assembled—*cum presbyteris et diaconibus, præsentibus etiam plebis maxima parte*). The deacons however, as also the laymen present, *stand* (Conc. Illiberit. *cum consedissent sancti et religiosi episcopi* . . .

item presbyteri . . . residentibus cunctis, adstantibus diaconibus et omni plebe, episcopi universi dixerunt, etc.).

Nor were there now only provincial synods; on the rise of burning questions, the common feeling of the church led to the holding of great and comprehensive assemblies, one of the most important factors for the progressive development of church life (*vid.* e.g. those held against Paul of Samosata, after the example of still earlier instances); and not merely at places where the position of eminent episcopal seats, which prepared the way for the subsequent patriarchate, was taking form (Alexandria; the synods comprehending various provinces under Cyprian, etc.), but elsewhere also. The effort after unanimous decisions for larger ecclesiastical complexes, as a matter of fact, here prepared the way for what was realised in the following period in the œcumenical synods. Even now, however, such synodal decisions attained an importance which extended beyond the circle for which, in the first place, they were valid. Just as, already, the letters of highly esteemed bishops on questions of ecclesiastical custom raised, acquired elsewhere also great respect and to a certain degree the significance of ecclesiastical law (the so-called canonical letters), the same thing naturally took place with reference to the writings issued by ecclesiastical synods, which were sent to other churches and received by them as decisions. In this way there here began, although with much opposition on individual points amid ecclesiastical party divisions, the collection of ecclesiastical legal material for general ecclesiastical legislation. Besides, the essential conviction of the Christian community that it was directed by the Holy Spirit, on the emergence of the hierarchical development which taught that the bishops were to be regarded as the proper substance of the church, naturally turned towards the idea that in their solemn assembly the voice of the Spirit which leads the church is to be perceived, although this thought is as yet but little formulated in a juridico-dogmatic sense.

The hierarchical development is also necessarily accompanied hand in hand by a growing need of finding a constitutional expression, so to speak, for the lively indwelling conviction of Christianity, from the beginning, of the **unity of the children of God in the whole earth** in faith and hope and life. The great episcopal seats of pre-eminent authority, Alexandria, Antioch and Rome, which represented large complexes of the church, to a certain extent in their mutual relations already represented this conception of unity. But, here in particular, the position of the bishop of the metropolis of the world was already of the highest significance.

Not only were the eyes of the West turned towards Rome, as the one demonstrable Western *sedes apostolica*, but it stood in lively intercourse with the Greek East and was highly regarded there. In the name of the **community at Rome** Clement already wrote brotherly exhortations to the community at Corinth, Ignatius turns to it as to the one which *προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίον Ῥωμαίων* and to which there in general belongs a pre-eminence as *προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης* (in all Christian proofs of love). Weighty questions which agitate the church, such as the Easter Controversy in Asia Minor (Polycarp in Rome, etc., *vid. infra*), and the movement of the Montanists (Tert. *Adv. Prax.* I.) seek their solution there. It is the practical importance of the community of the capital of the world, which is thus expressed. But for the Western regions, the community at Rome founded by Peter and Paul, the greatest, the oldest, the one which was known to all, has the importance of being the guardian of apostolic tradition, to which men have to apply just on account of the very influential leadership which that involved. "*Ad hunc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorem principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam*," etc. (Iræn. *Adv. h.* III. 3, 2). Tertullian also acknowledges this consideration due to the church at Rome: "*unde nobis quoque* (in North Africa) *autoritas præsto est*" (*De præscr. hær.* 36), which however does not prevent him from jeering at the *pontifex maximus* and *episcopus episcoporum* and his *edictum perentorium*, as against decisions of the **Bishop** of Rome, which he holds to be unjustified. Even the ferment in the Roman church at the beginning of the third century which is depicted by Hippolytus, during which matters went the length of conflict and division both on doctrine and on questions of church discipline, was unable to obliterate the advantage of the Roman Church; she showed herself here too as the heart towards which everything tended (Origen in Rome!).

But the idea of the **one Catholic Church** which became powerful in the last third of the second century in opposition to the sectarianism of the heretics, now co-operated with the exaltation of the bishops to essential representatives of the church to form the conception of the episcopate as a solidarily combined unity (*episcopatus unus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*, Cypr. *De unit. eccl.* 5); and this conduced to throw a preferential light on the ground of the pre-eminence given to Peter (*primatus Petri*), on the Roman chair as that of Peter's successor, as the representative of the unity of the episcopate. While Origen had explained the words of Matt. xvi. 18 in the sense that the Lord founds His Church on the rock of

the faith of those who believe personally like Peter (*De pudic.* 21), Cyprian (*De unit. eccl.* 4) looks upon Peter as him by whose exaltation, inasmuch as he declared his intention to found the church on *one* individual, **he meant to manifest the unity of the church.** All the apostles had the same honour and power, but the beginning starts from unity; as he is the starting point of ecclesiastical unity, in whom, as it were, the unity of the church is visibly presented, so also the Roman Church, the *locus Petri* (Ep. 55, 8) is the **chief church** (*ecclesia principalis*), where the priestly unity (of the bishops) has taken its origin (Ep. 59, 14). Nevertheless the same Cyprian, in a given case, energetically repudiated the thought that on account of this honourable preference, the Bishop of Rome might demand subjection and obedience from his fellow bishops. Peter in his relations with Paul at Antioch made no such assumption (Ep. 71 p. 773).

In spite of the strong consciousness of the unity of the church, abiding and growing differences still establish themselves within it; the opposition of the Latin West to the East, founded on speech, custom and theological tendency, makes itself felt. In the East again, the Syrian Church, so far as the Syriac language prevails and beyond it, goes its own way. Other local separations make themselves remarkable, as in the church of North Africa.

8. Admission into and discipline within the Church.

In the church are gathered together the believers who have in the faith a share in the kingdom of God, for the coming of which they hope. But inasmuch as the totality of believers holds fast by the traditional belief and the sacred actions which form the foundation of their communion with the Lord of the kingdom of God and His community, the church itself appears not only as the salvation-society, in which the Spirit of the Master gives powerful evidence of His existence, but also as the holder (depositary) of saving truth and saving benefits, for all who desire to share in them.

Into this society she admits by means of **Baptism**, which is not conceived as a mere symbol, but as an act, in which, along with the washing away (forgiveness) of the sins of the previous life there follow illumination (*φωτισμός*) and new birth. The external procedure (*ritus*) and the inner process corresponding to it are now more immediately regarded as one, and again more reflectively distinguished with emphasising of the required subjective adjustment (repentance and faith).

I. The Preparation (Catechumenate).

Literature: W. F. Höfling, *Das Sacr. d. Taufe*, 2 vols., Erl. 1846; von Zezschwitz, *System d. Katechet.*, 2nd ed. 1873; J. Mayer, *Gesch. d. Katechumenats in den ersten 6 Jahrhunderten*, Kempt. 1868; H. Funk, (ThQ. 1883 and 1886).

At first a **definite** (legally fixed) preparation for baptism does not seem to have preceded it. It consisted as a matter of fact in the seizure of seeking or receptive souls by the proclamation of the kingdom of God. But the firmer formation and constitution of the church rendered it necessary to make sure of the **good character** of the believers who sought for entrance and their moral unobjectionableness even in the eyes of the werld, and to keep away impure, especially also sordid persons who speculated on Christian brotherly love, or even hostile elements which might have insinuated themselves, and to confirm those who sought entrance, in earnestness, in the direction of their lives, in readiness "to do that which the Lord wills" (*vid. sup.* p. 121). There was required a **period of preparation,** devoted to prayer and fasting (Justin, *Ap.* I. 61), and more and more also to instruction proper in the faith. Tertullian designates these candidates for baptism *auditores*, *audientes*, *novitioli*, and also already *catechumeni* (*Præscr. hær.* 41, *De pœnit.* 6 sq., *De corona mil.* 2). Though the point of view of doctrinal instruction was not the first taken up (but that of supervision and moral influence), it has already gained greater importance. Irenæus gives the reason why Philip immediately baptized the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii. 27 sqq.) who was reading diligently in the prophets, in the words: "*nihil enim aliud deerat ei, qui a prophetis fuerat* **præchatichizatus**" (*Adv. h.* 4, 23, 2). With Origen also, along with the *κάθαρσις τῶν ἠθῶν*, the moral probation and propædeutic, the thorough ethical training, purification and introduction into the pious life of prayer, which stands in the foreground, there is combined the tradition of the first elements of the simple belief (*c. Cels.* 3, 50–54; *Homil.* 5 *in Judic.* § 6). A distinction of different **classes** or **grades** of the catechumenate such as has often been alleged, is not demonstrable in this period, unless we are to regard as the name of a particular class of catechumens the designation of the candidates for baptism, who are in the immediate stage of preparation for baptism by prayer and fasting, to whom the baptismal confession is imparted, as *φωτιζόμενοι* (*competentes*); they are just those whose catechumenate proper is closed. Origen indeed knows of a preceding careful probation and private treatment for the good of their souls, of those who send in their names for entrance into the community, and further in the case of those who have suffi-

ciently shown the earnestness of their devotion to the new life, and for that reason, have as catechumens their definite place at Christian preaching and divine services, a difference in the mode of instruction of individuals of different capacity, but not different ecclesiastical classes of catechumens: much rather he only distinguishes between the τάγμα of the catechumens, the beginners who have not yet received the symbol of purification (baptism) and the τάγμα of the baptized members of the community (cf. HASSELBACH, *De catech. ordinibus*, Stettiner Schulprogr. 1839). The very widely spread hypothesis of two (or if we include the *competentes*, three) classes of catechumens, namely: 1) ἀκροώμενοι, those who are only admitted to hear the sermon, 2) γονυκλίνοντες (*genuflectentes*) who are also permitted to accompany the prayers kneeling, viz. those that refer to them, rests entirely on the corrupt Greek text of the 5th Canon of the Synod of Neocæsarea (314), the meaning of which however can only be, that the catechumens who had fallen into sin were put away among the penitents (ἀκροώμενοι), and if they again fell into sin, were wholly expelled;[1] in accordance with the principle laid down in Can. Nicæn. 14, the catechumen who should have fallen away (during persecution), was to be a mere hearer (ἀκροώμενος) for three years, and only then to pray again along with the catechumens. According to the Apostolic Const. 8. 5 *sub. fin.*, after the sermon the deacon calls out, μήτις τῶν ἀκροωμένων μήτις τῶν ἀπίστων, therefore causes the latter to absent themselves, and then follows the invitation to the catechumens to pray etc. Ἀκροωμένοι therefore includes exclusion also from that prayer part of divine service in which catechumens might take part.

The general moral requirements made on candidates, already include that each in his own way must give up civil callings or trades incompatible with citizenship in the kingdom of God. As such were regarded all which directly or indirectly served the heathen idol worship and temple cults, and also the calling of play-actors, pantomimes, gladiators etc.

[1] Κατηχούμενος ἐὰν εἰσερχόμενος εἰς κυριακὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατηχουμένων τάξει στήκῃ, οὗτος δὲ ἁμαρτάνων ἐὰν μὲν γόνυ κλίνων ἀκροάσθω μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνων ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀκροώμενος, ἔτι ἁμαρτάνῃ, ἐξωθείσθω. The old Latin translation, both of the Prisca and the Spanish points to the reading οὗτος δὲ ἁμαρτάνων φανῇ (instead of ἐὰν μέν), γόνυ κλ. ἀκρ.—That sinning catechumens could not be treated as penitents, because the institution of penance presupposes a falling away from baptismal grace (KURTZ 9th ed.) is not decisive; the catechumen who, by the laying on of hands, has been received into this grade, is also regarded as a Christian (*can. Eliber.* 39).

II. Baptism.

Literature: Höfling, *vid. sup.* I; Th. Harnack, *vid. sup.* p. 68; F. Probst, *Sacramente und Sacramentalien in d. ersten Jahrh.*, Tüb. 1872.

1. In the foreground there stood at first the admission of such heathens as, being seized by the Christian faith, consciously and of their own will sought for admission. On the other hand it was not from the beginning clear what attitude was to be taken up towards children born in Christian wedlock, since they, born from the first into the Christian community, might appear to have been sanctified thereby. The possibility is not entirely excluded, that in the case of such, an actual act of baptism was generally regarded as unnecessary. As this however, even if it ever was the case, must very soon have gone into the background before the universal importance given to baptism, baptism had either to be conferred when the children, being suitably educated and instructed in Christianity, themselves sought for it, or else the institution of **Infant Baptism** must make its appearance. The latter must in wide circles have been the case pretty early. Origen (*Homil. in Levit.*) makes appeal to it as to an ancient tradition. But that the universal ecclesiastical tradition was not in favour of it is shown by Tertullian's opposition to infant baptism (*De baptism.* c. 18): "Why should the guiltless age hurry to baptism?" His polemic still starts from the conception of the church as a society of those who personally believe. "The Lord saith: Prevent not the little child renfrom coming to Me. Yes, but they may come when they have grown up, when they have been instructed whither they ought to come. We do not trust children with earthly treasures, much less then with heavenly. They must first learn to pray for salvation." At the same time, the influence of the view that the (external) act of baptism brings about the washing away of past sins, in spite of his paving the way for the doctrine of original sin, induces him to recommend the **postponement of baptism** over the period of youth which is so rich in temptation. Nevertheless it corresponds to the development of the church as the institution of salvation, above individuals, and its tendency towards confirmed participation in the life of the world, that in the course of the third century **Infant Baptism** gains ground increasingly in the Western Church (so that, *e.g.* by Cyprian, the earliest possible time of baptism is recommended [two or three days]). In the East, of course, it only becomes universally prevalent in the fourth century. On the other hand, as regards the accession of adults, the tendency was maintained to postpone baptism for a long

time, with the view of receiving in it the forgiveness of all previous sins.

With infant baptism there is connected the institution of God-parents, *sponsores*, *susceptores*, *fideijussores*, mentioned by Tertullian, and in the sense that they appear as making profession for the child and take the vow in his name (Tert. *De bapt.* 18).

The Baptismal Confession. A definite confession on occasion of reception of baptism must soon have become universal; the Apostolic Symbol (sign for recognition) in its simplest form may be traced back by means of pretty certain inferences beyond the middle of the second century (HARNACK in RE. I. 565–574). What we find designated in Irenæus, Tertullian and others as *regula fidei*, is nothing else than more or less free reproduction of the baptismal confession itself; Irenæus, *e.g.* expressly appeals to the fact that it is the belief which is confessed at baptism (*vid. sup.* p. 217). The baptismal confession was imparted to the catechumens by word of mouth, which procedure was confirmed by the subsequent conception of the *disciplina arcani* (*vid. infra*), hence verbal records are not found till pretty late. With reference however to heretical convictions as to the faith, which had to be repudiated, and with the growth of the consciousness of the church, the confession received a series of additions (*vid. infra*).

The **baptismal act** itself took place, as a rule, by means of immersion in running water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; other water (warm) was however permitted, and even *aspersio* instead of immersion (so already the Didache), a form which later was only applied in the case of the sick (*bapt. clinicorum*). The **Abrenuntiatio** before baptism is already known to Tertullian; the catechumens promise at the bidding of the priest: "*nos renuntiare diabolo et pompæ et angelis ejus*" (the Prince of the world as the Lord of the heathen world). This however is to be distinguished from the so-called **Exorcism,** the use of forms of adjuration such as were customary in the spiritual-theurgic treatment of the energumens (p. 240). The first trace of its use in general baptism we find in 256 at the Council of Carthage, and indeed with reference to the baptism of converted heretics (CYPR., *Sententiæ episcopor.* 7 and 8, ed. Hart. III. 441). The rite of baptism assumes to itself acts of still further purport, which are connected with the growth of theurgic views. Such is the **consecration** of the water; an **anointing** of the candidate for baptism on the forehead, ears, nose and breast, which is looked on as an allusion to the Christian priesthood. This anointing and the laying on of hands

(*invitans spiritum sanctum*) is regarded in the West, from the time of Cyprian, as the privilege of the bishop (Acts viii.) (explanation of baptism itself as the washing away of sins, of the laying on of hands as the positive transmission of the Holy Spirit); hence in the West the laying on of hands, where the bishop himself does not complete the baptism, is separated from baptism as a separate act (only to be completed by the bishop: **confirmatio,** *consignatio*); it subsequently remained separate even where the bishop himself baptized, hence *sacramentum utrumque.* On the other hand, in the Greek Church the two acts remain unseparated, and the anointing is completed by every priest at baptism. Giving of milk and honey: *infantatio* (Tert.). The baptized used to wear their **white baptismal garments** for some time afterwards.

In the case of catechumens who suffered martyrdom in the persecutions without having been baptized, the **baptism of blood** was regarded as a substitute (so likewise for the penitent who had not yet attained to full reconciliation, it was regarded as the restoration of baptismal grace).

III. Excommunication and the Discipline of Penance.

Literature: J. Morinus, De discipl. in admin. s. pœnitentiæ, Paris 1651; G. F. Steitz, *Das röm. Buss-sacr.*, Frankf. 1854, and in JdTh. 1863; Funk, (ThQ. 1884, 2); O. Ritschl, *Cyprian*, 1885; A. Harnack, RE. 8, 417; 10, 652.

Against sins which occurred in the Christian society and which appeared incompatible with its continued existence, there was directed the weapon of the **Bann** or **Excommunication,** according to apostolic example (1 Cor. v.; 2 Cor. ii. 5 sqq.; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14, 15; 3 John 10; cf. the foundation in Matt. xviii. 15–17). Proceeding from the community, it is conceived of as exclusion from the community of Christ and transference to Satan, *i.e.* to the powers hostile to God, which rule the world. At the same time the object is the rescue of the excommunicated; and even his re-reconciliation, when once the spiritual aim has been reached, is kept in view.

The exclusion is looked upon as a judicial act of the community under the presidency of the *probati quique seniores* (Tert. *Apol.* 39). In the nature of the case, on the close incorporation of the communities into the church, expulsion from the community becomes expulsion from the church, with recognition of the essential similarity and therefore also inner unity of the communities.

As such sins, which demand exclusion from the community, there appear gross moral excesses which appear unworthy of the Christian community and to make its hopes of salvation vain, such as

theft, murder, and especially adultery and all manner of sins of the flesh; to these however there is added, occasioned by times of persecution, apostasy from the Christian faith, the denial of it and everything in connection therewith which is to be regarded as a renewal of idolatry; finally, in the same degree as the church, holding by the apostolic tradition, sets itself in opposition to doctrines which are held to be falsifications of the true faith, **heresy,** and even **schismatical** separation from the community, even when it results from reasons other than those of belief proper. There are, according to 1 John v. 15, sins unto death with regard to which the Apostle does not venture to pray; in its application a wavering conception. If the apostolic age was still inclined to clemency, stricter points of view, as pointed out above (p. 128), soon prevailed. The supposition was that those who had once parted from sin, if they once more fell into it, forfeited communion, and after they had gained in baptism the forgiveness of their **earlier sins,** they had now no new means of being again renewed (cf. Heb. vi. 4 sqq. and x. 26). Thus the Presbyter in Irenæus 4, 27, 2: for those who now sin, Christ will die no more but will come as judge and demand an account; therefore be not proud, but afraid: "*ne forte post agnitionem Christi agentes aliquid quod non placeat Deo, remissionem ultra non habeamus delictorum.*" At the same time, with regard to the dangers of persecution and the expected coming of the Lord, the present state of the church seems to be such, that such sinners may be summoned *once more* to repentance; and so the Shepherd of Hermas represented the generally spread belief of **one** repentance, *i.e.* re-admission of the fallen. "*Servis Dei pœnitentia una est*" (*Mand.* II. 4, 1, cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* II. 13, 57, p. 419 P.; Tertull. *De pœnit.* 7.) At the same time principles wavered, partly as to the sins which in general excluded the possibility of again attaining the peace of the Church, partly as to the limitation to one re-admission. With reference to the current persecution, but also to other lapses into sin and erroneous doctrine, Dionysius of Corinth *e.g.* recommends (Euseb. 4, 23) re-admission with special limitation, and the letter of the communities of Lyons and Vienne (Euseb. H.E. 5, 2) praises the mildness of the confessors towards the fallen; according to Harnack (RE. 8, 421), the interceding and supporting cares of the confessors related to those only who had had an occasion in the persecution itself of practically making good again their original apostasy; that is undoubtedly not the opinion of Eusebius (H.E. v. 2), but the passages adduced H.E. v. 1, 26. 45. 46. 48. 49 seem only to prove this.

Fixed regulations as to the period of penance of the *pœnitentes* and as to the forms of procedure are not yet found clearly defined in the second century. For re-admission the essential thing is the confession of the penitents, the so-called **Exomologesis,** which includes all sorts of external humiliations with regard to the community, with the view of proving to the latter the earnestness of the repentance and desire for communion with the church and at the same time of appealing to its sympathy: fasts, chastenings in sackcloth and ashes, rags and dirt, lying on the ground, prayers, kneelings, especially before the clergy, tears, sighs, deprecations addressed to the individual members of the community, especially to specially honoured members, such as the confessors. In their whole mien a **satisfaction** (*satisfactio*) was to be offered to the community which had been insulted by their fall into sin. Corresponding to it, the **Absolution,** by which the excommunication is abolished, is at first an act of the community; the development of the constitution however makes it conditional that it shall be bestowed by the **bishop** in the name of the church.

But as the Christian society comprehends those who in **baptism** have received the forgiveness of their former sins, who also find in this Christian society the means of atoning for daily failings by daily repentance, prayer (five prayers), fasts and ecclesiastical offerings, consequently means of maintaining themselves in a state of grace with God, the exclusion of the fallen from the church becomes an exclusion from the means of salvation, and the pardon which is vouchsafed by the church appears at the same time as also forgiving sins in God's eyes (though also not without restriction), and there is an inclination to regard the satisfaction offered to the church as a meritorious offering. There is formed the notion of the church's so-called **power of the Keys,** and more exactly of a power of the keys which above all things is the attribute of the bishop. The expression, which springs from Matt. xvi. 19 sq., has there another meaning; but the binding and losing was early connected with John xx. 23, the retaining or forgiving of sins.

The Montanist movement was of great importance for the development of the Church. It met the growing inclination in the Church to greater clemency in the admission of the fallen, and at the same time the view, which was taking shape, of the bishop's power of the keys, with intensified demands. In particular it entirely rejected the so-called second repentance (that which led on to baptism is the first), not only in cases of murder and apostasy from Christianity, in which cases this stringent view had also other

representatives (Tertullian presupposes its validity with his anti-Montanist opponents also, *De pudic.* 5 fin. 12 fin. 19 fin. and passim), but also in the case of sins of the flesh. In particular Tertullian combats a declaration of the Bishop of Rome (Zephyrinus or even **Callistus** *vid. infra*) that he conferred pardon on adultery and fornication on the ground of repentance rendered; whether more than once, and so also in case of relapse, is not mentioned, but probably it is only the so-called second repentance which is under discussion.

At the same time, however, the polemic of the Montanist Tertullian is directed against the claim of the bishops themselves to the power of the keys. He indeed concedes to the bishops as the successors of the apostles and the guardians of the apostolic tradition a certain disciplinary power, but not the *potestas apostolorum*, the *potestas solvendi et ligandi*, so much the less as they are not in possession of the prophetic and miraculous powers of the apostles. Undoubtedly the church has the power of forgiving sins; but in its real essence the church does not consist of the number of the bishops, but the **Holy Spirit** is the real substance of the church; to Him, to God Himself belongs the attribute of forgiving sins. But the organ of the Spirit is the Montanist **Prophet** as the will-less organ of God. The Lord, not the servant, has to decide. The institution of the bishops therefore confers no right to do so, their decision would be mere human arrogance; in the prophet it is a pure act of God. But in these His prophets, the Spirit Himself declares: "*potest ecclesia donare delictum, sed non faciam ne et alii delinquant.*" In this way the difference between the peace bestowed by the church and the divine forgiveness of sins is decidedly maintained; for, inasmuch as the *reconciliatio* with the church is here denied to repentance, the penitent shall so much the more be led to humiliation before God: "*si pacem hic non metit, apud dominum seminat*" (De pudic. 3).

In Rome Hippolytus (*Refut.* 9, 12) rose up against lax principles with regard to the fallen, such as had been given currency to by Callistus, and with special reference to sins of the flesh (hence it is probably to him that reference is made in Tertullian l.c., as Hippolytus expressly says that he was the first (πρῶτος) to have established the above principle). If this clemency, which (in combination with dogmatic opposition to the Patripassian view) drove Hippolytus to the position of a schismatic (maintenance of the ancient stringency), shows the effect exercised by the expansion of the church in the world, so, at the same time, in the other assertion of Callistus there is revealed the importance

which attaches to the institution itself as against the moral quality of persons in it: viz. the assertion that a bishop might not be deposed even if he had committed mortal sin. The schism, which was called into existence in Rome by the above difference, seems to have found an end when Hippolytus as a schismatic Presbyter or anti-bishop along with his opponent, Bishop Pontian, was exiled to Sardinia (in 235; cf. p. 192, and the literature p. 202).

The conflict of the rigorists against the party which took account of circumstances goes further however, and again comes to the front (in Rome and North Africa) when the large number of those who fell away during the Decian persecution again makes the question a burning one. It is now combined however, as in the case of Tertullian's Montanist opposition, with a certain opposition to the growing monarchical power of the bishops. The elevation of Cyprian to the bishopric of Carthage (248) met with opposition, the opposing five Presbyters (among them Novatus) of their own power ordained a certain Felicissimus to be deacon. Cyprian was prevented, by the outbreak of the Decian persecution, from taking any steps in opposition, and his withdrawal into hiding was made use of by his opponents. Felicissimus set himself in opposition to a commission ordered by Cyprian for the visitation and regulation of the care of the poor, as an attack on the rights of the deacons. Cyprian excommunicated him and his friends. Now, in the heat of the persecution, many Christians apostatized and soon desired re-admission. Originally, under the influence of Tertullian and the view hitherto predominating in the African church, Cyprian held rigorist notions, but drew back from them under the pressure of the persecution, and desired only the delay of an ordinary period of penitence, the offering of penance and satisfaction, and reconciliation only after a regular investigation and decision by the bishop and community *after* the close of the persecution and the return of the bishop. Those who had fallen away however sought, as usual, the intercession of the **Confessors,** who with the personal consideration attaching to their merits as confessors, stood in a certain degree of opposition to *official* authority. They gave to those who asked for them *libelli pacis*, and on the ground of possession of the latter, the opposing Presbyters admitted without further question. Cyprian conceded that those who had such recommendation might *in periculo mortis* make confession and receive reconciliation at the hands of any Presbyter, and, in case of necessity, any deacon; and the General Council, held after his return, ordained with regard to the less seriously accused class, the *libellatici* (p. 194), that if they showed

themselves penitent they were to be admitted; those who had fallen more seriously however, were, on plain evidence of repentance, to receive absolution in mortal sickness. The excommunicated party of Felicissimus set up an anti-bishop, Fortunatus, but the schism was extinguished before the end of the century. At the Synod of 252, however, reconciliation was finally conceded to all penitent apostates without limitation to peril of death (Cypr. *Ep.* 57).

It was the **Novatian controversy** in Rome which had this effect. After the martyrdom of Bishop Fabian of Rome, which took place in the Decian persecution, the same persecution made the choice of a successor impossible for a period of a year and a half. In the college of presbyters and deacons which conducted affairs during this vacancy, the presbyter NOVATIAN (Gr. generally *Νοουάτος*), a man of distinguished theological culture (he conducted the correspondence of the community with Carthage and Cyprian), took a prominent position. When in 251 CORNELIUS was raised to the bishopric of Rome, the party of opposition, which had remained in the minority, and to which the most highly respected of the confessors belonged, immediately set up Novatian as anti-bishop; he was the candidate of the stricter party, which raised many accusations against Cornelius, among others that he had entered into alliance with bishops who had done sacrifice, and in the re-admission of Bishop Trophimus had sacrificed the stricter principles for the sake of the number of the adherents of the latter (Cypr. *Ep.* 55, 10 sq.). At a Roman synod, in the summer of 251 (60 bishops according to Euseb. H.E. 6, 43), Cornelius excommunicated Novatian, and declared that repentance as a means of cure was to be vouchsafed to all who had fallen. The counter efforts of Novatian had indeed no result in Carthage—here Cyprian had been compelled by circumstances themselves to remit the original stringency, to concede the possibility of the re-admission of the fallen, and on this account had also recognised Cornelius, and the synod of 251 had entered upon a *via media*—but succeeded well elsewhere, as where Fabius of Antioch and others declared for him. The presbyter Novatus of Carthage, hitherto on the side of the lax party of Felicissimus, now came to Rome and adhered to the side of Novatian. On the other hand Cornelius and Cyprian were successful in drawing away from Novatian, Maximus and other confessors who were highly esteemed in Rome, and moving them to make peace with Cornelius (they would postpone everything for the sake of peace and the advantage of the Church [*Ep.* 53]).

From their initial standpoint, the treatment of those who had

fallen during persecution, the Novatians soon advanced to the general principle of the non-readmission of **all who had fallen into mortal sin,** the reconciliation of whom *a*) would be an anticipation of the judgment of God, and *b*) a measure which would sully the glory of the church as the community of holy persons, and destroy the true nature of the church; for the true church is the association of all persons who really possess through baptism the forgiveness of their sins, who already stand in grace and are pure (*καθαροί*). All who have fallen are only to be left to the mercy of God, the work of which is not confined to ecclesiastical forgiveness of sins. This notion of the church, however, is victoriously met by one, which, if less ideal on one side, was more practically suited to the entry of the church into the life of the world and its pædagogical problem; the church as an **institution is the holder of all the means of salvation, without which none attains salvation**: *extra ecclesiam nulla salus;* by the admission of the penitent fallen person, salvation is not yet guaranteed to him, but he is placed in connection with the means which are indispensable for the attainment of salvation. Herein there is completed the consolidation of the church as a guiding power, and especially of the episcopate as the regulating power within it, while the indulgence with regard to the fallen, as a matter of fact, saved the existence of the church. The Novatians, seeing that they regarded their own as the only true because pure church, and therefore did not recognise other ecclesiastical communities, used on principle the habit of **baptizing** all who came over to their communion (*vid. infra*).

Novatian communities arose in almost all parts of the Empire, subsequently enjoyed, on account of their strict attitude and zealous ecclesiastical orthodoxy (in the Arian controversy), a comparatively favourable and friendly judgment on the part of the church at large, and maintained their existence in fragments on into the fifth and sixth centuries.

Later on also, and especially in the persecution under Diocletian and Maximin, different principles of discipline were set up, and led, especially in Rome under bishops Marcellus and Eusebius and their opponent Heraclius, to passionate conflicts which threatened the Roman community with dissolution and which ended with the banishment of both Eusebius and Heraclius (Langen, *Gesch. der röm. K. I.* 379). In Spain the canons of the Synod of Elvira (Conc. Eliberitanum *al.* Illib.), c. 305, show the continuance of very strict principles as to repentance, postponing as they do to the death-bed, absolution for a series of graver sins; on the other hand the penitential missive of Bishop

Peter of Alexandria in the time of Diocletian's persecution (in ROUTH, *Rel. s.* IV. 23) represents very lenient principles, seeing that in it—under the influence of the persecution which had already lasted three years—those who had fallen away under the persecution have the way to re-admission opened to them even during the persecution, on consideration of their greater or lesser culpability; those who secure themselves against persecution by bribery of officials, as well as those who withdraw themselves from it by flight and the surrender of their goods, are taken into protection; on the other hand censure is directed against those who had thrust themselves on martyrdom and then lost courage and apostatized. Clergy of this kind, even if they have again taken courage, may no longer remain clergy. The **Meletian Schism** which appears at this time in Egypt, having arisen on account of the conflict of Bishop MELETIUS of Lycopolis in the Thebaid with Bishop Peter, again shows the combination of different principles of discipline with reference to the fallen, as well as different principles on the justification of withdrawing from persecution by flight, with opposition tendencies in the constitutional sphere, here, as it appears, against the encroaching authority of Bishop Peter of Alexandria, or rather rivalry of and arbitrary attacks on his metropolitan position. The split afforded trouble even to Athanasius and intertwined itself for a considerable time with the beginnings of the Arian controversy, although the Synod of Nicæa had sought to adjust it in a moderate fashion (*vid.* RE. 9, 534–537).

The principles with regard to the **treatment of penitents** gradually assume a fixed character of such a kind that the latter have to pass through a series of stages: 1) they appear as προσκλαίοντες or χειμάζοντες, entreating the entering worshippers in the outer court of the church to intercede for them with God and the bishop, 2) next as ἀκροώμενοι, *audientes*, who were allowed to attend the preaching and reading of scripture at divine service, in a special place, 3) as ὑποπίπτοντες, *substrati*, who were also permitted to take part in prayer, kneeling—at the whole *missa catech.*, after the close of which the bishop laid his hand on them, finally 4) as συνιστάμενοι, *consistentes*, who were allowed to look on standing at the celebration of the Eucharist. For the individual stages a continuance during one or more years was enjoined, at the close the public confession of sin, the laying on of the hands of the bishop, the fraternal kiss and admission to the Eucharist (Can. Ancyr. 5, Can. Nic. 11).

IV. The Controversy on the Baptism of Heretics.

Sources: The Epistles of Cyprian (*vid. infra*)—Mattes in ThQ. 1849 and 1850; Höfling l.c. I. § 19; Steitz in RE. 7, 652 sqq.; Grisar in ZkTh. 1881.

Where the decisive preponderance is placed on the **institution of the Church** and the connection of the individual with it and its means of salvation, it appears obvious that only those means of grace which stand under the recognised authority of the church and are administered by her are recognised by her. Nevertheless in the controversy as to the baptism of heretics another view finally gains the victory.

Frequent testimony at the close of the second century confirms the wide diffusion of the view that **baptism** celebrated in heretical communities is not to be regarded as real baptism, but people who desire to pass over from such communities to the Catholic church, like other unbaptized persons, must first receive the baptism of the church. Tertullian (*De bapt.* 15): "*non idem deus nobis et hæreticis, nec unus Christus; ideoque nec baptismus unus, quia non idem.*" Clem. Al. *Strom.* I. 19: heretical baptism is not the proper genuine water. So likewise the tradition of the North African Church, where a synod under Agrippinus (200–220) expressly established the principle: "*baptizandos eos qui ab hæreticis ad ecclesiam veniunt*" (Cypr. *Ep.* 73 *ad Jubaianum*). So likewise this was the standing tradition of the Church of Asia Minor, and the synods of Iconium and Synnada (c. 230–235) expressly declared baptism performed by a heretic to be invalid (Firmilian of Cæs. in Cypr. *Epp.* 75, Euseb. 7, 7).

Against this, so far as can be perceived, constant and universal praxis, the other prevailed in Rome in the middle of the third century, viz. that in cases in which the heretical society baptized in the name of the Trinity, or in that of Jesus, such baptism was to be recognised by the Catholic church and only (as in the case of penitents) to be completed by the laying on of hands on occasion of their transition. The appearance of the Novatians at Rome, who, regarding *their* society as the true church, baptized those who joined them, seems to have contributed essentially to the kindling of the controversy, in which Stephanus of Rome (253–257) represented the Roman view and for its sake renounced church-fellowship with Bishop Firmilian of Cæsarea and other bishops of Asia Minor, but thereupon came to a violent split with Cyprian. Two ecclesiastical assemblies at Carthage in 255 and 256 declared against the validity of heretical baptism. The messengers of the

latter assembly were not received by the Roman Bishop Stephanus, and between the two heads of the church there arose a violent conflict. A third great ecclesiastical assembly of all the North African provinces, in the autumn of 256, acceded to Cyprian's view, and recognised the latter as correct: "*neminem foris baptizari extra ecclesiam posse, cum sit baptismâ unum in s. ecclesia constitutum.*" How can one (the heretical cleric), who has lost the Holy Spirit, perform spiritual acts (*spiritalia agere*), or give what he does not himself possess! Our procedure is not a *rebaptizare* but a *baptizare.* On the other hand Stephanus kept in view the ecclesiastical act in itself in its objective character, apart from the character of the society in which and by the organs of which it was carried out: "*Qui in nomine Jesu Christi ubicunque et quomodocumque baptizantur, innovati et sanctificati indicentur*" (cf. the principle of the Roman bishop attacked by Hippolytus, that a sinful bishop is yet to be recognised as bishop, p. 262).

Cyprian held to his standpoint. Firmilian, in his correspondence with Cyprian, expatiated in very bitter words against the *stultitia* of Stephanus, who yet boasted in the *successio Petri.* Dionysius of Alexandria disapproved the procedure of Stephanus and sought to bring about peace. The controversy found no clear solution at that time, but subsided after the death of Stephanus in the persecution under Valerian (257). Subsequently, however, the Roman view gained more ground. The Council of Arles (314) approved it, but with the regulation and limitation, that laying on of hands was to suffice in the admission of a heretic, only in cases when, being questioned as to the baptismal symbol, he gave the satisfactory answer, from which was to be inferred that he had been baptized in the name of Father, Son and Spirit; on the other hand he was to be baptized when, in reply to the question, he did not name the Trinity. Essentially similar is the decision at Nicæa, according to which, however, heretics who stand on essentially alien ground of faith, and those who raise offence with reference to the correct belief in the Trinity, were always in future to be excepted, because these were just cases in which a correct baptism could not be presupposed. In apparent contradiction with the view of the church as the sole instrument of salvation, but at bottom by a perfectly correct instinct when regarded from the conception of the **Catholic** church, the view therefore here conquers which sees the existence and the essence of the church guaranteed not in persons but in objective institutions, and therefore also in the objective form of the sacrament.

9. Divine Service and Religious Customs.

I. Divine Service on Sunday.

Sources (cf. p. 234): The liturgies in the 2nd, 7th, and 8th Books of the Apostolic Constitutions, in the last a liturgy consisting of several formularies intermingled.—The five so-called Mystagogic Catechisms of Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem (middle of fourth century) afford conclusions as to the close of the first period. In the numerous liturgies fixed in writing in later times, of which the Ethiopic, first published by H. Ludolf in 1691, seems to have a specially ancient foundation, undoubtedly old portions are preserved. Chief collections: Assemanni; Daniel and others *vid. sup.* p. 21, NO. 4; Neale, Tetralogia liturgica, Lond. 1841; Bunsen, Analecta Antenicæna III.; J. L. König, *Die Hauptliturgien der alten Kirche*, Neustrel. 1865—Works on: Th. Harnack (p. 68); F. Probst (catholic) *Liturgie der 3 ersten Jahrh.*, Tüb. 1870; Gottschick, *Der Sontagsgottesdienst der christl. Kirche vom 2–4. Jahrh.* (ZprTh. 1885, 214–235, 307–321); H. A. Köstlin, *Gesch. des christl. Gottesdienstes*, Freiburg 1887 (1–57).

Hand in hand with the consolidation of the ancient Catholic church in constitution and discipline goes also the formation of more fixed and symmetrical forms of divine service (cf. *sup.* p. 118 sqq.). Of decisive importance for this purpose was,

1. The separation of the holy Supper from the Agapes and its association with the assemblies for edification. Whether a temporary suspension, in time of persecution, of the Agapes which were easily exposed to suspicion and as to which evil reports were current, may have contributed to this end, is a question which may be left open. From the well-known letter of Pliny to Trajan (*vid. sup.* p. 161) this cannot, as usually is the case, be inferred; for there it is not Christians who being questioned make confession, but apostates, who declare that they have been Christians, but are so no longer, and who now say, that they had no longer participated in the common (innocent) meals (Agapes) since the renewal of the prohibition of the hetaireia. From this it does not follow that the Christians had suspended their Agapes, but rather the contrary (*vid.* Gottschick, l. c. p. 216 sq.; Fr. Arnold in the *Studien und Skizzen aus Ostpreussen* I. 1887, p. 276 sq.). The Didache still, on the one hand, presupposes the connection of the celebration of the Supper with the Agapes (Did. 9 and 10), but on the other hand, already knows of the Eucharist as the chief thing in the service of Sunday (chap. 13); and so we find it in Justin (*Ap.* I. 67) where the Supper appears as an essential component part of the Sunday service (as also as first Communion in attachment to the act of baptism *ib.* 65), without expressly, or more than by indication, thinking of the Agapes. The connection seems to have been gradually dissolved, the Agapes (the δεῖπνα ποικίλα of

Lucian) survive, and indeed in the character of love-feasts with common contributions, with religious addresses, prayer and song, and so that a share of the gifts brought to them is sent to priests and the poor and to imprisoned confessors (Tertull. *Apol.* 39; *Ad Martyr.* 2: "*imo et quæ iusta sunt caro non amittit per curam ecclesiæ et agapen fratrum*"; *De baptismo* 9; in Montanist hostile vein, *De ieiunio* 17). Degeneration into luxurious banquets makes its appearance. In spite of growing secularisation, the strict maintenance of the spiritual character (appertaining to the cultus) is shown by the fact that Agapes were held in churches, a practice which the Council of Laodicea of the fourth century forbade (c. 28) without being able to root out the custom (canon 74 of the Quinisexta). They are specially affected in connection with celebrations of the dead and feasts of martyrs. Under the title of Agape, however, there are also found private undertakings in the sense of benevolent feasts, somewhat in the sense of Luke xiv. 13 (which subsequently are taken under protection against the hyper-spirituality of the Eustathians, who would not take part in them, Syn. Gangr. c. 11).

2. The next point to be considered is, that, on the soil of the Græco-Roman world, **Christian worship which culminates in the Eucharist is involuntarily placed under the point of view of the celebration of the mysteries,** after the fashion of the Græco-Asiatic mysteries. This is already announced in Justin, who finds in the Mithras mysteries an aping of the mystery of bread and wine, established by the demons beforehand (*Apol.* I. 66, cf. *Dial. c. Tryph.* 70, 78). Clement of Alexandria however shows himself to be entirely dominated by this point of view in his estimation of the Christian gifts of grace, illumination, consecration, and perfection (cf. Bratke in StKr. 1887, 647 sq.), and Tertullian does not judge otherwise (*De præscr. hær.* 40). If however the Christian assembly for edification is turned into the celebration of a mystery, it is available only for the initiated, and so in Justin's representation every trace of the admission of the unbaptized is lacking (which in the apostolic age is undoubtedly presupposed at the assemblies for edification), because here the main accent—the cultus character proper—rests on the mystery of the Eucharist.

3. On the other hand however, the public reading and exposition of Scripture was too important a means of attraction and introduction to the Christian faith, of completely gaining men, of continuous missionary activity, for all unbaptized persons to be able to remain excluded from it on principle. When the actual presence of times of persecution did not compel special prudence, the **preaching** which

was developed out of the edificatory exposition of Scripture and address, must have been regarded as a powerful instrument for those also who were not yet decided; and above all it was the institution of the **Catechumenate** (*vid. sup.*), the pædagogic importance of which compelled the church to place these novices of Christianity even before baptism, not only under the didactic, but also under the edificatory influence of Christian assemblies of the community. Hence there arose a part of the divine service accessible to all (*missa catechumenorum*), and a mysterious part (*missa fidelium*) set apart for the consecrated and authorized members of the community, in such a way however that the cardinal point of the whole as cultus was contained in the latter part, viz. the Eucharist, in which the celebration culminated.

4. With this distinction there is connected the practice of the so-called **Disciplina arcani,** according to which certain parts of the cultus, usages and formulæ, viz. the usages and formulæ of the Supper, the act of baptism and the baptismal confession, the Lord's Prayer and one or two others, were treated as portions of the secret service, and therefore were never once even **spoken about** openly and unreservedly in the presence of the uninitiated. Justin had still spoken unreservedly of the acts of baptism and the Supper to his heathen readers. But the keeping secret of these things, which was besides suggested by times of persecution, and essentially demanded by the view above indicated (No. 2), begins from the age of Tertullian to gain predominance, and attains the highest point of its development in the following period (fourth and fifth centuries), in which the churches had to admit masses of unbaptized persons who showed an interest in Christianity but still refrained from baptism. Thence arose the procedure in the treatment of the catechumens, according to which only at the end of the time of preparation, and indeed only by word of mouth and as a secret to be kept, were these things, and in particular the confession of faith imparted (Rothe, *De discipl. arcani*, Heidelb. 1841; Bonwetsch, in ZhTh. 1873; *vid.* Zegschwitz, in RE. I. 637 sqq.; Zahn, ZWL. II. 316 sq.).

5. Further, the appearance of the **specific idea of the priesthood** (p. 237 sq.) was important for the development of Christian worship, which idea necessarily involved a transformation of the views of the essential part of worship. If, according to the original idea, which still decidedly pervades Tertullian (*De orat.* c. 23), worship was the **spiritual self-sacrifice of the community in prayer,** in which the value of the **oblations** offered to the Creator from His own gifts only consisted in their giving expression to the free self-surrender of the

sacrificing community (cf. Iren. *Adv. hær.* 4, 18), along with the idea of the priesthood, the **idea of sacrifice** also now began to take another direction. The Eucharist appears as the sacrifice offered by the priest (*sacrificium offerre*, Tert. *De cultu fem.* 11 ; *s. celebrare* Cypr.) as *dominica hostia*, as an act of sacrifice, having a value in itself, through its objective priestly accomplishment (*vid. infra* No. 7).

6. Of the elements of divine worship already named by Justin : **reading of Scripture, preaching, prayer, and the Eucharist,** the first two form the kernel of the *missa catech.*, with which however elements of prayer and, already at an early period, **psalmody** are combined : the prayer of the church after the dismissal of the catechumens and penitents, which the community performs standing and turned towards the East, in such fashion indeed that one person prays and the community responds, forms the transition to the Eucharist. The type is the order of divine service in the 2nd Book of the Apostolic Constitutions. As regards the individual elements of divine service, 1) the singing of **Psalms** and **Hymns** in the assemblies of the community, as also at Agapes and in the Christian home, is early familiar. Biblical psalms, but especially also a number of shorter biblical passages such as the Trishagion (Isaiah vi.), and of New Testament passages, the *Magnificat* (Luke i. 46 sq.), *Benedictus* (Matt. xxi. 9), *Nunc dimittis* (Luke ii. 29), the little (Rev. i. 6) and the great Doxology (Luke ii. 14) are used. Gnostics introduced freely composed Greek hymns (Bardesanes, Harmonius), but the songs which the Christians sung to Christ as their God in the time of Pliny (antiphonally or with hypophonic responses by the congregation) may also already have been of this sort. The singing of the congregation was probably recitative. Ignatius is said to have already introduced antiphonies (alternate singing), as to which the certainty is its comparatively early appearance in the Church of Antioch (*vid.* the former period, where also the literature). 2) The **Reading of Scripture** is the public reading of portions of the Old Testament and the Gospels, or rather the Harmony of the Gospels by Tatian in the Syrian Church (Just. *Apol.* I. 67, *τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν*), to which was added that of other post-apostolic writings highly esteemed in Christian circles. (The Apostolic Constitutions 2, 57 mention a fourfold reading, the Law and the Prophets, and after singing of the Psalms in which the congregation responds, the Gospels and Epistles with the Acts of the Apostles [Apostolos]). The closing of the Canon leads to definite separation of the canonical Scriptures, alongside of which however many highly esteemed post-apostolic produc-

tions long retained the character of public church reading books (*ἀναγινωσκόμενα*). In the sphere of dominion of the Greek language the translation of the seventy interpreters enjoyed the highest regard from the very beginning and is in church use; but alongside of it there already comes, in the East, the Syriac translation of the Bible, and in the West the Latin (the alleged Itala). Bible codices are found in the possession of the communities for purposes of worship, as well as for the private use of those who did not possess copies. Wealthy Christians exerted themselves, in association with scriptural scholars, with a view to the multiplication of copies (Origen and his friend Ambrosius; Pamphilus) the number of which in the Diocletian persecution shows itself to be significant. They were partly preserved at the places of worship, partly by the lectors (Routh, *Rel.* II. 322) on whom lay the duty of reading the Scriptures at worship, though not exclusively, as the gospel was sometimes read by the deacons, when the congregation had to listen standing. 3) Out of the simple paracletic-prophetic address following on and attached to the reading of Scripture (*vid. supra*, 2 Clem. p. 123) there is now developed the more artistically formed **Homily** or **Sermon**, which is more comprehensive and serves the purposes of doctrinal understanding proper, and is thus intended to promote not only edification, but also conviction of the Christian faith in its increasing theological formation. This involves that rhetoric corresponding to the higher Greek culture of the time should soon make its way in; *extempore* speaking becomes the exception, and is specially remarked. Origen gives the widely influential type of homily. The sermon in divine service is given by the bishop or presbyter, but also, on the bishop's commission, by the deacon, and indeed also by eminent laymen (*vid. supra* Origen!). 4) **Prayer** appears partly in short vows between the single acts of worship, partly it is attached in longer independent formation to the sermon, spoken partly by the bishop, partly by the deacon. The general church prayer belongs, in the service which has been divided into two parts, to the beginning of the *missa fidelium*, it is preceded however by different prayers for catechumens, energumens, penitents, closing the *missa catech.*, after which these respective classes were dismissed.

7. The **Eucharist**, originally the designation of all celebrations of thanksgiving, which were performed at Agapes and the Supper (Didache 9 sq.), now becomes the solemn designation of the Lord's Supper, which forms the mystery in the cultus, and which follows the general church prayer. The simple forms, as made known to us

by Justin, soon receive a complicated liturgical development. The Didache required the confession of sins before the breaking of bread and giving of thanks (14, 1; cf. 4, 14), so that the sacrifice of the Christians might be pure, an *exhomologesis* which is to be understood not so much as a public ritual confession of sins **before God,** as in the sense of Jas. v. 6, of a mutual confession of failings against brethren (cf. the connection of Did. 14, 1 and 27, also Ep. of Barnab. 19, 12), so that it stood in the closest connection with the kiss of peace with which, after the general intercessory prayer, the Eucharistic act was introduced. In Irenæus also (1, 13, § 7; 3, 4, 2) we find the trace of this ritual confession, and according to the representation in the 2nd Book of the Apostolic Constitutions, chap. 2, attached to it is the presentation of the gifts, which are received by the deacon, the exhortation to placability and against hypocrisy, on which the *osculum pacis* immediately follows. In Tertullian and again in the 8th Book of the Constitutions the kiss of peace precedes the offering of the gifts. After the preparation of the elements and the sign of the cross, the thankoffering proper and consecration prayer, the words of institution and the elevation form, in this further expansion of the liturgy, the elements which are carried through with various prayers and singings. The bishop or presbyter distributes the (usually sour) bread, with the words *σῶμα Χριστοῦ*, the deacon the wine mixed with water in the cup with the words *αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ποτήριον ζωῆς*. The blessing by the bishop on the kneeling congregation and the deacon's word of dismissal end the celebration. The whole act appears

1) Essentially as an **act of thank-offering,** in which thanksgiving is offered both for the divine revelation of salvation, and specially for bodily (the gifts of creation) and spiritual food, and prayer is made for the perfection of the community and the coming of the kingdom. The oblation of the earthly gifts as sacrificial gifts (which has its more comprehensive significance in the Agape, but is also retained for the divine service of the Eucharist) symbolizes the devotion of the believers in faith and love. The **sacrificial meal** however also gives 2) to the sacrificers (**sacramentally**) participation in communion with Christ, also represents the sacrificial death of Christ, and therefore ministers to the nourishment and maintenance of the new life by communion with Christ, along with the closer union of the members with one another; thus the common participation in the blessed bread and the blessed cup becomes the pledge of the coming kingdom of God and the **food** of **immortality** *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*, Ign. *Ad Ephes.* 20, 2), the

elements becoming the mystical bearers of Christ or the divine Logos. For this second aspect of the Eucharist as sacrament the point of attachment lies in the words of institution which have been entwined with the sacrificial act and which we must already presuppose in Justin, and its completion in the so-called ἔκκλησις (Iren. 4, 18, 5) or ἐπίκλησις of the **Holy Spirit** which in all the ancient liturgies (except the Roman) follows the words of institution (cf. PFAFF's Fragm. 2. on Iren. I. 859 St.). The theological explanations of this mystical procedure however lead partly, and over a wide area, to a symbolical conception, partly to the conception that the elements by the consecration are as it were adopted by the Logos as His bodily organs and in this sense His body and blood, and become the bearers of His activity (Justin), partly to a dynamical appropriation of saving powers through the mediation of the Holy Spirit invoked. Under the altered (theurgic) conception of the notion of sacrifice (*vid. sup.* No. 5) and the work of the priest, the realisation as present of the atoning passion of Christ in the Eucharist already culminates in such a way, that, according to **Cyprian,** Christ's passion is just the sacrifice which the priest offers (*Ep.* 63, 17 Hart.: *quia passionis eius mentionem in sacrificiis omnibus facimus, passio enim Domini sacrificium est quod facimus* etc.). After the sacred celebration the blessed elements are brought to the houses of the sick and prisoners; cases also occur here and there, where some of the blessed bread is taken home by members and consumed in the family at morning prayer. Participation by children (of the baptized) is also found in both the African and Oriental Churches.

Connected also with this turn of thought is in the next place the fact that the **oblations** (and in general all religious performances) now assume a **meritorious** character. Seeing that, in the Eucharist, prayer is made for those who have offered the gifts, the dead and especially the martyrs are drawn into this association in prayer. Members of the community offer gifts in their stead, so that they are now remembered in prayer. Next, the oblation for the dead acquires the character of a meritorious action, which is reckoned to the offerer as a good work, and places those for whom it is offered within the power of the priestly intercession.

II. The Circle of Feasts.

Literature: J. Bingham, Origines s. antiq. eccl. lat. ed. Grischovius, vol. ix. Hal. 1724, 4.; W. Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten a. d. christl. Archäol.*, voll. 1–3, Leipsic, 1817–20; H. Alt, *Das Kirchenjahr*, 2nd ed. 1860; Linsenmayer, *Entw. d. Kirchl. Fastendisciplin*, 1877; Th. Zahn, *Gesch. d. Sonntags*, Hannover 1878.

Cf. K. L. Weitzel, *Gesch. der Passahfeier der 3 ersten Jahrh.*, Pforzh. 1886. G. E. Steitz in StKr. 1856 and Steitz-Wagenmann in RE. II. 270 et sqq.; Hilgenfeld, *Der Paschastr.*, Halle 1860; E. Schürer, De controv. paschalibus, Leipsic 1869 and ZhTh. 1870.

The Christian **weekly cycle** is now arranged by the distinction given by the church to the **Sunday,** and in it the Sunday is distinguished as the joyful feast of the resurrection of Christ by standing (not kneeling) at prayer, and freedom from the exercise of fasting; on the fourth and sixth days (Wednesday and Friday) however, in analogy to, but at the same time in conscious variation from the Jewish custom of fasting on Monday and Thursday, fast is held in remembrance of the Passion of Christ (Did. ch. 8, 1. Hermas. *Sim.* 5, 1). These are the *dies stationum*, the turning-points in the history of our Lord's Passion, the days of the betrayal and the crucifixion. Alongside of it however there is already a significant basis of a Christian **yearly cycle of feasts.**

The **Paschal Controversies** after the middle of the second century give some light on the subject. Here we see—

1. The **practice in Asia Minor,** which celebrates the Christian Passover corresponding to the Jewish Paschal Supper on the 14th day of the Jewish month Nisan, on whichever day of the week it may fall. On that day fast is held, and then, towards evening, the second Supper is festally solemnized as the **Passover supper of the new Covenant** (*σωτήριον πάσχα*). It is founded upon the fact that on this day the Lord Himself ate the Passover with His disciples (before His death, which in this way of looking took place on the 15th Nisan), and support is found in the ancient tradition of the Church of Asia Minor, going back to the Apostle John, which had always celebrated the festival in this fashion; **the time appointed by the Mosaic law is regarded as binding also for the Passover in its Christian sense.** Christians of Asia Minor are therefore **Quartodecimans.** It is at least doubtful, however, whether the chief representatives of ecclesiastical tradition, reaching back through Polycarp to the Apostle John, varying from this so-called Jewish-Christian conception, did not ground from the beginning the strict maintenance of the 14th Nisan not on the procedure of our Lord on His last evening, but rather on the **death,** which took place on the

14th Nisan, of Christ the true Passover Lamb, and therefore rather celebrated the 14th Nisan as the day of Christ's death (Schürer l.c. p. 238 sqq.)

2. In the other portions of the Church however, the whole Latin West, Egypt, Palestine, also Pontus etc., the observance (the τηρεῖν) of the 14th Nisan (which as a rule is regarded as the day of Christ's death) is rejected, and it is required that the fasts which introduce the Christian Passover celebration should end on no other day of the week than the Lord's Day, that therefore the Sunday should close the fast and bring in the celebration of the Passover, *i.e.* the Paschal Supper of the new covenant, the festal celebration of the Lord's Supper (Const. Ap. 5, 19). Hence it follows in the next place that, for this way of treating the Christian Passover, two sides come into prominence, inasmuch as for the proper feast-day (of the Passover) the reference to the resurrection, corresponding to the importance of Sunday, comes to the front, but for the preparatory time of fasting the reference to the time of the Passion (the Christian Paschal sacrifice), with which is next connected the fact that to the word πάσχα (Hebrew, Pæsach) there is early attributed an allusion to πάσχειν; Tertullian designates by *pascha* both the day of death (*De orat.* 18) and the Easter Feast (*De bapt.* 19). The expressions however for these two aspects, πάσχα σταυρώσιμον and π. ἀναστάσιμον do not belong to the ancient church. It corresponds however to the historical origin of the Catholic Paschal celebration, that the name πάσχα gradually attached exclusively to the Easter festival. The duration of the Paschal fast is at first very indefinite. Irenæus (Euseb. 5, 24, 12) knows that in one place they fast one day (which seems to suit the Quartodecimans), in another two days (cf. Tertull. *De ieiunio* 2: *dies in quibus ablatus est sponsus*—Good Friday and Saturday, Const. Ap. 5, 18), elsewhere longer.

The variation of Paschal practice first became the subject of discussion between the Roman bishop Anicetus and Polycarp who was visiting Rome (about 155), without their coming to any agreement, but also without on that account disturbing the peace of the church. Next, about 170 (Keim 167, Wadd. 165), controversy arose in Asia Minor itself as to the Quartodeciman celebration, in which Melito and Apollinaris took part, the latter as its opponent, on the ground that Jesus rather died on the 14th Nisan (according to John). Blastus seems to have been a champion of the Asiatic celebration (Pseudo-tert., *De hær.* 22). He defended it in the West and against him Irenæus wrote his Περὶ σχίσματος (Euseb. 4, 20), as later also did Hippolytus.

At last however, about 192–194, Bishop Victor of Rome, in his missive to the most eminent bishops (Euseb. H.E. 5, 26), comes forward against the Quartodecimans. It has been conjectured that opposition to Montanists, among whom the Asiatic celebration of the Passover is likewise to be presupposed, explains the harshness of Victor's advocacy. Many synods were held on this subject and in the West. Egypt, Palestine, Pontus, and the Syrian East (Osrhoëne), declared for the Roman conception. But Polycrates of Ephesus and the Asiatics held fast to their tradition, and appealed to the authority of Melito, Polycarp, and further of the Apostles John and Philip. Victor went so far as to excommunicate them, but was decidedly censured therefor, even by Irenæus, although the latter was attached to the Roman practice.

In the Paschal celebration, fasting, which was weekly exercised on the so-called station days (Wednesday and Friday) as a half-fast (till nones), in memory of the Passion of Christ, otherwise used (Just. and Did. 7, 4) also as a spiritual preparation for baptism, or voluntarily as a solemn religious performance (support of prayer by fasting *vid.* Did. 1, 3), acquires a greater extension: *time of fasting*, at first a time of grief and penitence of fluctuating duration of several days. In Passion Week in particular, according to the preponderating Roman practice, the Sunday, which is otherwise exempt from fasts, is drawn in. Here there is a fast of forty hours, according to the duration of our Lord's rest in the grave. By expansion there is gradually developed therefrom the forty days' fast: the season of **Quadragesima** (Lent), which sought its analogies in Christ's forty days' fast in the wilderness, and the fasts of Moses and Elias, even when its duration was not actually so great. In this Quadragesima season strict fasting is limited to the station days. The Montanists however had introduced for the other days of the last two weeks the so-called Xerophagies, *i.e.* abstinence from all fat foods (flesh, eggs, butter, milk, naturally of course wine), and these as a matter of fact naturalised themselves.

With the Paschal celebration the **reckoning of the year** received a special importance for Christians. At first people were attached to the Jewish calendar. But from the beginning of the third century it began to be considered erroneous. Down till the destruction of Jerusalem the Jews had placed the 14th Nisan on the first full moon after the vernal equinox, but then in their reckoning of the months left the equinox out of account. Hence there now begin the Christian reckonings of the Passover. The Christian party of the **Protopaschites** stuck to the Jewish reckoning, according to which

the term often fell a full month earlier than according to the Christian observation of the equinox. The first to be distinguished for his Christian reckoning of Easter is Hippolytus, who started from the 18th March as the equinox and computed a cycle of sixteen years, according to which every sixteen years the Easter full moon fell on the same day of the year, and every 112 years on the same day of the year and week (Easter table for 112 years). Others reckoned otherwise, till finally at Alexandria the 21st March was recognised as the vernal equinox. Great confusion, however, and want of uniformity had resulted in different places, so that the Council of Arles (314) required uniform celebration according to the direction of the Bishop of Rome. Definitive order followed at Nicæa (*vid.* following period).

In sharp contrast to the season of Quadragesima with its character conditioned by the celebration of the Passion, there now came the Easter or Quinquagesima season (season of Pentecost). The transition between the two is formed by the specially solemn Easter Vigil (Divine service at night till cock-crow). The whole period has the character of a joyful time for the church, in which the Eucharist is daily celebrated, prayer made not fasting and not kneeling but standing. The fortieth day is celebrated as the Ascension, the fiftieth as the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

Besides these, comes only in our period, and indeed in the Greek East of the Church, the **Feast of Epiphany** (6th January) as the feast of Christ's **baptism** and the appearance and revelation of Christ, and His Messianic dignity, along with which the reference to the birth of Christ as the *præcedens* came in subordinately. It is remarkable that according to Clem. Al. *Strom.* I. 21, 147, we must suppose that in Egypt the Basilidians were the first to concern themselves with the celebration of the baptism of Christ. To the West the feast still remained entirely foreign, and the church in general knew no Christmas Feast.

On the other hand in the church the **Feasts of Martyrs,** for the commemoration of those who had poured out their blood for the faith and thereby entered into the higher life, and therefore the days of their deaths, begin to be celebrated as the birthdays of the blessed life (*natalitia*). Loving attachment gathers their bones and treasures them, and their *natalitia* are celebrated by visits to their burial places, with prayer, oblation, and celebration of the supper (cf. p. 273 sqq.). There was assured belief in the intercession of the martys for the communities (although on the other hand oblations were brought *for* the martyrs), and indeed the conception of an

atoning, sin-annulling power of their martyrdom (Origen, Cyprian) was not wanting. An actual invocation of the martyrs, however, we do not yet find.

III. Consecrated Places and Sacred Art.

The **places of assembly for divine worship**, at first private places in Christian houses, become regular places or even buildings consecrated to the ends of worship, which are called **praying places**, προσευκτήρια, House of the Lord, κυριακή, *domus Dei* (Tert.), and as the places of assembly of the ecclesia, *ecclesia* itself. Origen already alludes to the decoration of these places, and in the times of greater peace in the third century numerous church buildings must have arisen. Nevertheless the famous church at Nicomedia, near the Emperor's Palace, and which was destroyed on the outbreak of Diocletian's persecution, must still have been a very modest building, as the Pretorians, at Diocletian's command, were able to level it to the ground with crowbars in a few hours. It is only the age of Constantine which brings in the period of artistic building.

As to the forms of architecture we are only scantily informed. From the beginning it is obvious, that the forms offered by the **ancient house** may have had concurrent influence even in the erection of buildings for worship, but also that larger buildings also, meant for other purposes, may have served for models. These questions are both concerned in the explanation of the ancient Christian **basilicas**, which become known from the time of Constantine the Great (*vid. infra*). The marked rise of church building in the time of Constantine already presupposes a certain Christian art tradition. The Apostolic Constitutions (II. 57) require the **oblong form** and **orientation**, and the exceptions which are mentioned in the fifth century, presuppose a pretty general diffusion of the rule. The following are regarded as essential requirements (from the time when the Eucharist, separated from the Agape, forms the climax of divine service). *a*) The **Supper-table**, τράπεζα, *mensa*, but also already called *ara* and *altare* by Tertullian and Cyprian; and *b*) a raised place for the reading of Scripture and address, *pulpitum*, *suggestus*. Besides these however, the development of the constitution gives rise to a separation of the places for clergy and laity; in the eastern part stand the throne of the bishop and the seats for the presbyters on either side; in the western part the seats for the laity (Const. Ap. l.c.). In this manner the way is gradually prepared for the division into three, which emerges at the close of the period, viz., a **forehall** for heathens, catechumens, and penitents, the "*nave*" proper of the church for the believers, and the raised part, βῆμα, ἄδυτον, or **sanctuarium**, with the apse, in which are found the altar and episcopal cathedra.

Alongside of the places of worship **their burial-places** (*Cœmeteria*) also acquired a high religious importance for the ancient Christians. From the very beginning, if we except Egypt, where the embalming of bodies and their preservation in the houses must have occurred among Christians also (Athan., *Vita Antonii*, opp. II. 502), the church decided in favour of **burial** in distinction from cremation, while in antiquity both forms, *inhumatio* and *crematio*, proceeded alongside of one another, and in the Roman Empire, at least in **Italy** (it was otherwise in Greece) cremation had after the end of the Republic long enjoyed a great preponderance, on the other hand since the age of the Antonines a reaction had set in. Attachment to the **Jewish** custom worked in favour of the Christian custom, as also the burial of Christ and the reverence due to the body as the temple of God, while, on the other hand, it also recommended

itself from the standpoint of the doctrine of the resurrection. Minucius Felix regards the Christian custom as a return to the older and better usage. At the same time subterranean caves or burial-chambers dug out in the side walls of ravines or the slope of hills, were utilized by preference. Alongside of the *areæ* laid out in the open fields there arise the κρύπται. Particularly in large towns where it was necessary to go deep down, there thus arose extensive systems of subterranean *cubicula* with corridors and galleries, the **Christian Catacombs**[1] such as we know them in Milan, Sicily, Alexandria, Africa, but especially at **Rome and Naples.** Their origination goes back to the first centuries; their original aim however can scarcely have been greater secrecy, for the graves of the Christians enjoyed the protection of the Roman law like all graves, and the entrances to them are by no means hidden. But the lively sense of community substituted for the principle of the individual, or exclusively family grave which ruled to a great extent both in Judaism and heathendom, the **burial place of the community,** which gave realization to the community and equality of all in death. It may be more exactly asserted, that the family-grave expands in the Christian spirit into the abode of the great Christian family. This was the actual process; a Christian family of rank permitted others to associate with them in the use of their cemetery.

The catacombs are not originally conceived of as places of worship proper, although sepulchral rites and the visitation of the graves on commemoration days gave them an actual religious character. The opinion that the catacombs served as places of worship during the persecutions of the first three centuries is wrecked by their construction. They are far too narrow for that purpose; and those which afford greater space, such as those at Naples, lay so open to publicity and in such immediate neighbourhood to heathen graveyards, as to be entirely unfitted for secret assemblies. Hence in the main at least the idea of the catacomb-church must be given up. After the catacombs had gradually ceased, from about the beginning of the fifth century (devastation of Rome by Alaric), to be used as burial-places, and were still visited only by pious and reverent pilgrims, who frequently scratched their pious vows on the walls (*graffiti*), this also ceased from the time of the Lombard invasion, as Pope Paul IX. caused all relics of known martyrs to be brought from the catacombs into the Roman churches and cloisters. Most of the catacombs fell in and became inaccessible, only a few always continued to be visited. It was not till the sixteenth century that an accidental discovery awoke a renewed interest. Explorations were now instituted at various times. The one led by Ant. Bosio († 1629) was here the first[2]; others followed, till in our time Giovanni Battista de Rossi has made the investigation of the catacombs his life work and out of them has made the ancient Christian world rise again to an unsuspected extent.[3]

---

[1] The name occurs from the fourth century, at first for the cemetery of St. Sebastian "ad catacumbas" probably a local designation, which, as this cemetery remained accessible during the whole Middle Ages was universalized (*vid.* V. Schultze, p. 40.)

[2] Bosio, Roma sotteranea, 1632, translated into Latin and expanded by Aringhi, 1651. Cf. Bellermann, Die ältesten christlichen Begräbniss-stätten, bes. die Katak. in Neapel, Hamburg 1849.

[3] Rossi, Roma sotteranea Cristiana, 3 vols. 1864-1877, and Bulletino di archeologia crist. Rome 1863 sqq.—Workings up of his results by Northcote

In their **burial customs**, apart from their rejection on principle of the burning of the corpse, the Christians in many ways adhered to the universal customs of the country and the age, so far as they did not come into direct contradiction with Christian convictions. The pious duty which was universally held in high regard in antiquity, of honourable burial, and care for the maintenance uninjured of burial-places (also the menacing of all who should trespass upon them) holds good with them also. Although the Christians know that the earthly remains of those who have fallen asleep are everywhere in the Lord's hand, so that no act of human violence is able to destroy their hope of resurrection, even when it throws the ashes of the martyrs into the Rhone (Euseb. H.E. 5, 1), and although it is said, that the last honours due to the dead are more for the sake of comforting those who are left behind than of any use to those fallen asleep (Aug. *De civ.* 1, 12), yet the human body as God's handiwork and image now acquires a double claim to pious treatment: *non patiemur figuram et figmentum Dei feris ac volucribus in prædam iacere.*[1] Care for honourable burial is regarded as a pious work, the burial of strangers and the poor as a Christian duty of love.[2] But of course the Christian burial-places, excluding no rank, are open only to the Christian brethren.[3] The universal custom in treating the body, of closing the eyes, of washing and clothing it in clean garments is retained; anointing and perfuming, otherwise rejected by strict Christians as ministering to effeminacy, are willingly granted to the dead.[4] We also find treatment with material for perservation. Only the wreathing of the bodies and graves, as also the use of torches, is rejected by ancient Christian severity (universally?) as associated in thought with the libations, thurifications and offerings to the dead of the heathen religions[5]—which subsequently was entirely altered. Christian feeling also rejects the Jewish and in general ancient notion of a pollution of persons and the house by the presence of corpses. It rejects the customary exaggerated expressions of grief. Definite testimony is lacking as regards a definite period of mourning and mourning garments, but in these matters we must suppose adherence to custom (the Roman *Novemdiale*). Psalmody takes the place of the heathen *næniæ* or death songs. For speeches over the body or grave there is no authentic proof before the time of Constantine (as to oblations and celebration of the Eucharist cf. p. 279).

The adherence of Christians to universally transmitted custom is further shown by the numerous objects placed along with the dead, which were still found in the catacombs. Household instruments and other objects relating to the life of the deceased were laid partly in the grave itself, partly beside it; ornamental objects, rings, armlets and necklets, clasps, gems, combs and hair-pins and ear-rings are at the same time proof how little the rigoristic declamations of many ecclesiastical writers against luxury may be regarded as the measure for the determination of the circumstances of the mass of

---

and Brownlow, R. sott. 2nd ed. 1879; French by Allard (1871); German by F. X. Kraus (2nd ed. 1879).—Cf. Th. Roller, Les catac. de Rome, 2 vols. Paris 1881, with many illustrations; V. Schultze, Die Katakomben, Leipsic 1882.

[1] Lact. Div. instit. chap. 12; Orig. c. Cels. 8, 30.

[2] Cypr., Ep. 37; Tert., Ap. 39.

[3] *Licet convivere cum ethnicis, commori non licet*, Tert., De idol. 14.

[4] Tert., Ap. 42: Min. Fel. 12, 9.

[5] Just. Mart., Ap. I. 24; Tert., De cor. mil. 10; Min. Fel. 38, 6.

Christians, even though it may be supposed that in this respect the pre-Constantinian age was distinguished from later times by greater simplicity. We further find playthings, dolls, little figures of terra cotta, bronze or glass savings-boxes, little bells, small lamps, many-coloured stones and counters, and also marks such as were attached to slaves as signs for recognition. Further all sorts of toilet articles, mirrors, ear-spoons, combs, false hair, perfume boxes, etc. Finally, numerous glass vessels.

These things show us the life of the ancient Christians in the world of Roman civilization surrounded with the manifold products of the Roman **trade in art**, on which the technique and the spirit of antique petty art is stamped. From the use of them Christians have as little excluded themselves as from the general forms of intercourse and trade, etc. That **hatred of art** should be ascribed to them, is explained by the utterances of conscientious and strict Christians against the exaggerated luxury of the age and in favour of the simplicity and limitation of the care for the body to the simple and indispensable, which became Christians, as also, specially, by their warring against the dominion of mythological representation in general and the wanton sensuality of the cultus in particular. The great mass of Christians however was certainly not scrupulous in regard to these utensils which minister to daily life, the mythological significance of whose customary pictures and symbols was now hardly conscious. Clement of Alexandria (*Pæd.* 3, 11), desires that Christians should limit the use of ornaments of gold, silver and precious stones, to the most modest extent, to perhaps a marriage or signet-ring; but even with them that they should avoid those with engraved figures of the gods or emblems of war or with the cup, and choose rather the dove, the fish, the ship in full sail, the lyre, the anchor or even the fisher, in the latter case thinking of the Apostle and the little child drawn out of the water (of baptism) (cf. Tertull. *De bapt.* 1), *i.e.* existing representations, in the case of which, however, the Christian can think of something devout. Thus there arises in connection with the latter a **Christian Symbolism**, for certainly the other objects mentioned by Clement, the symbolical application of which already appeared obvious to him, are chosen from this point of view. The **dove** (Tert. *De bapt.* 9) recalls the Holy Spirit, but also Noah's dove of peace, and pure simplicity; the **fish** is already known to Tertullian as a symbolical designation of **Christ** (*De bapt.* 1: *nos pisciculi secundum ἰχθὺν nostrum Iesum Christum in aqua nascimur.* Origen on Matt. xiii., 584 Χριστὸς ὁ τροπικῶς λεγόμενος ἰχθύς. The Sibylline acrostic, Sib. 8, 217–259 the initial letters of which give Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς (sic) Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτὴρ σταυρός; Euseb., *Const. oratio ad s. cœt.* 18 (F. Becker, *Darstellung Christi u. d. Bilde d. Fisches*, 1866; H. Achelis, *Das Symbol des Fisches*, 1888). The **ship** which hastens towards the the haven in full sail,[1] offered an obvious symbolical reference; the **anchor** admitted of explanation in the sense of Hebr. vi. 19, the **Lyre** according to Eph. v. 19; the **fisher** early becomes the symbol of Christ Himself, and there were many similar symbols. But quite specially was the latter represented in the figure of the **Shepherd**, *e.g.* on the **cup of the sacrament** (Tert. *De pudic.* 7, 10 *pastor, quem in calice depingis*).

In the burial places of the catacombs however an important field is now opened to the representations of Christian art, as is shown by the wealth of paintings on the walls of the Roman and Neapolitan catacombs. The Christians naturally avail themselves of the existing art-technique and attach themselves

[1] Ναῦς οὐριοδρομοῦσα, Clem., Pæd. 3. 11, 59; which has been falsely turned into the ship sailing towards heaven (οὐρανοδρομοῦσα).

entirely to the system of decoration and ornament customary at heathen burial-places. To this class belong, among the roof and wall pictures of the *arcosolia*, carvings of flowers and fruit, wreaths of vines and grapes, and all sorts of forms of plants and animals, poppy-heads and pomegranates, doves, peacocks and all sorts of birds, gazelles, goats, panthers, masks and heads, Nereids, dolphins, etc. Much in these decorations points to an origin in mythological and mystery notions, but is of course only felt now as decoration. But certainly in much of it Christian symbolism is now introduced as in the above mentioned, and in many other forms, *e.g.* in the application of the palm (Rev. vii. 9), of the wreath (Rev. v. 9), of the Vine (John xv.), and of the Lamb. The Romish explanation goes farthest in the hypothesis of conscious Christian symbolism as the veiled presentation of the ideas and secrets of the Christian faith; the other extreme is represented by HASENCLEVER (*Der altchristliche Gräberschmuck*, 1886), who sees essentially *only* ornament in the decoration of the graves; the figures were only afterwards combined with Christian ideas. The truth may lie between the two (cf. HEINRICI in StKr. 1882, 720; V. SCHULTZE. Katak. 97, and ZWL. 1886, 303. At all events the specifically Christian character appears more decidedly in the Biblical figures and scenes, which are represented in the graves. The foremost is that of the **Good Shepherd**, according to our Lord's parable; as to the rest, at least in the age before Constantine, the representations which are supposed to allude to parables are uncertain. On the other hand there is a wealth of Biblical figures out of the Old Testament, partly as an expression of the universal foundation of the Christian faith, partly as types of Christian redemption: Adam and Eve, Noah's ark and dove, Moses at the burning bush and striking water out of the rock, David and Goliath, the story of Jonah, Daniel among the lions, etc. Those from the New Testament are still scanty, of which the awaking of Lazarus, and probably also the adoration of the wise men belong to the oldest. There is however already the figure of our Lord also, not merely in the type of the Good Shepherd, but also as a historical presentation. While Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and others still think of the Lord as without form or comeliness (Isaiah liii. 2 sq.), a picture in S. Pretestato represents Him in a noble type as a beardless youth with an amiable expression and in antique garb, accompanied by two disciples, while the woman with an issue of blood touches the hem of His garment from behind (V. SCHULTZE, p. 145) There are numerous instances of the figure of **Orpheus** with the lyre, as in the middle part of the famous roof picture in S. Domitilla, surrounded by the pictures, separated from it by scenes of landscape, of David with the sling, Moses with the staff which struck forth water, Daniel among the lions, and the raising of Lazarus. It is disputed whether Orpheus is here regarded as a mythological type of Christ or as heathen prophet of Him.—F. PIPER, *Mythologie und Symbolik der christl. Kirche*, 2 vols. 1847–51.

10. The Fundamental Features of the Christian Life.

Literature: NEANDER, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, I. 1-138 of the 3rd ed. Berlin 1845; BESTMANN, *Gesch. der christl. Sitte* II., 1883 et sqq.; N. MOSLER, *Zur Gesch. des Cölibats bes. d. ersten christl. Jahrh.*, Heidelb. 1878; FUNK ThQ. 1879; UHLHORN, *Die christl. Liebesthätigkeit*, I. 2nd ed. 1884; A. HARNACK in the *Monatsschrift f. Diakonie*, IV.

Out of the little collections of Christians scattered over the Roman world, who separated themselves from the surrounding heathen, in order to hope for the coming of the kingdom, and,

being intimately bound together by the common faith and the spirit of brotherly love, to afford space for the free rule of Christian inspiration in their midst, there more and more became a great association with fixed forms of constitution, recognised foundations of ecclesiastical tradition and definite regulations of life which took a distinct stamp. In spite of its supra-terrestrial aim it yet more and more seeks to establish itself in the world which surrounds it, as it also endeavours, in those of its individual members who participate in the culture of the age, to place the content of their religious belief in relation and alliance with the intellectual view of the culture which dominates the age.

This development leads, on the one side, to the result that the moral requirements which are rooted in the Christian faith also take the stamp of a permanent **Christian manner of life,** required by the church and consecrated by her, and place individuals under its power. In particular there proceeds hence a purifying influence, in reaction against the corruption of the over-refined and over-excited Roman culture, in favour of **married** and **domestic** life, which is placed under the influence of **religious consecration** and thereby made more inward and deep, and in which a serious effort after **purity** and **decency** is again made. On the other hand, in this Christian society, which is already developing into an important social power, there is an increase of elements which are attracted to it or retained in it by impure or self-seeking motives, or which at least are far removed from the power and ideality of the faith, which gives the power to withstand strong temptations of the flesh, or—under persecution—to stake all upon it. Hence indeed, on the one hand, there is always still the relatively favourable position of an age, in which a great part is still not added to Christendom by birth and custom, but enters into it from personal conviction, under circumstances which, at least in time of persecution, rather deter than attract; but also, on the other hand, there are the dark phenomena which are accumulated with the numerical growth of Christians, which gave its development to the penitential system, the numerous hateful traits, *e.g.*, in the Roman community in the age of Hippolytus, the falling away in masses, after times of relaxation and rest, in the persecution under Decius and again under Diocletian.

An outstanding trait in the active moral evidence of Christianity still remains—the **comprehensive, cordial and practical brotherly love,** the Christian common-spirit, which makes the care of the poor, the sick, widows, orphans, the necessitous of all sorts, a self-evident duty of the community, which is performed with the means

gathered for the purpose by the bishops and deacons, without thereby excluding private activity in works of mercy. Thus, according to tradition, the Roman bishop Urban I. (223–230) could assert with assurance that in all Rome there was no Christian beggar, and about the middle of the third century the Roman community (Eus. 6, 43) had about 1,500 widows and other necessitous persons, who were all maintained by the grace and love of man of the Lord. And this helpful brotherly love reaches far beyond the local community. The Roman community sent its subventions as far as Syria and Arabia (Euseb. 6, 5), as also to Cappadocia (Basil *Ep.* 70). For the redemption of imprisoned Numidian Christians Cyprian of Carthage in a few days collected 100,000 sesterces (= £700). Travelling Christians, recommended by the *litteræ formatæ*, could reckon upon their maintenance everywhere. Self-sacrificing love did not however stop at fellow-believers. At the time of a devastating plague at Carthage the Christians assumed the care of the unburied corpses and so saved the city from further infection (*Vita Cypr.*, chap. 9, cf. Cyprian, *De Mortalitate*), and similar courage of self-sacrificing love was shown by the Alexandrian Christians under similar circumstances. On another side the moral character of Christianity is determined by the fundamental trait of "keeping oneself unspotted from the world"; a preponderatingly **negative, ascetic** morality is regarded as the ideal. Here belongs the exaltation of voluntary renunciation of worldly possession, or at least the moral appreciation of its worth only from the (negative) point of view of inward freedom from it.[1] Here the original, essentially primitive Christian motives combine their influence with Stoic views of philosophic freedom from wants. So likewise in the reserved attitude toward ornament, abundant enjoyment of life and luxury. Here we have the universal dominance of the fundamental characteristic of the war against **sensuality,** which again finds an increasing echo in Christianity become Hellenic in the Platonic-Pythagorean spiritualism, with its opposition of spirit and sense; the high esteem for virginity, as the purer human condition which is especially receptive of communion with God and religious contemplation (Athenagoras, the Alexandrians, but also with special exuberance, Methodius, on the other hand Tertullian too, etc.). It is true indeed, that against the extremes of **Encratitism** the church maintains the justification of marriage; but already the entry upon a second marriage is easily regarded as a taint.[2] It is rejected by Montanism and the Montanist Tertullian, and in this two points of

[1] Clem. Al.: *quis dives salvetur.* [2] Athenagor., *Suppl.* 33.

view commingle, viz., the notion of the indissolubility of the marriage bond even beyond death, and the lower point of view which sees in marriage, alongside of the aim of the production of posterity, a mere concession to the flesh, which is to be limited to the smallest possible measure. The Montanist view of the rejection of a second marriage does not however gain acceptance, but yet it is regarded as better, after death has dissolved marriage, to remain widower or widow.

Related to this matter and in connection with the growing consideration enjoyed by the **clergy,** is the increasing requirement of a higher sanctity in this point as befitting them. 1 Tim. iii. 2 had already asserted that a second marriage did not become the bishop (= presbyter); that an unmarried life suits the cleric better becomes the increasing view of the age, although by no means as yet a universal law. Marriage concluded before ordination remains valid, and also the requirement that after ordination the higher clergy should refrain from marriage intercourse, as is most decidedly expressed by the Council of Elvira (can. 23), does not gain general prevalence; this is more the case with the requirement that no marriage should be entered upon after ordination (Can. Neocæs. 1). According to Can. Ancyr. 10 (314) it is to be permitted to the deacon, but only when, at his consecration, he has expressly so stipulated. Entry into marriage with heathens, Jews and heretics is regarded as exceptionable and is expressly forbidden by the Council of Elvira; it it is not however justified that one of the parties should be converted to Christianity so as to get separation from his or her spouse. —Re-marriage after the severance of the first marriage is unfavourably regarded, even the innocent party ought to remain single, *propter pœnitentiam.* At the same time this principle is by no means carried out.

The high estimation of virginity leads in the first place to the actual phenomenon that many Christians of both sexes remain in the unmarried condition, in the hope of thereby being more intimately united with God. So a regular class of **ascetics** begins to be formed, who seek to serve God in a life of abstinence, with fasts and the exercise of prayer and meditation, so far without external separation from the family, in their ordinary calling, and in the third century without any absolutely binding obligation, though such vows (especially of virgins dedicated to God) are found already towards the close of the period. As in the case of the so-called **Encratites** (p. 175), there arise out of the ancient Christian view fertilised by the spiritualist philosophy of the age on the basis of

the Origenist theology, views driven to extremes, which see the only true Christian morality and the true way to salvation in the unmarried life of abstinence (rejection of the use of flesh and wine) and esteem it as the life like that of the angels. It is not less so in the case of Methodius (*Conv. decem virginum*) who otherwise opposes Origen. Monasticism is in the act of beginning, as especially the Origenist Hieracas at Leontopolis (end of third century) shows, around whom there gathered a society of ascetics who allowed themselves to be guided by him in learned theological studies and in the life of the *Ἐγκράτεια*. To him *Ἐγκράτεια* seemed properly the specifically new element that Christ had brought. That about the same time the monkish flight from the world found a new form of life in the settlers in the desert, the anchorites, cannot indeed be proved by the entirely fabulous legend of Paul of Thebes, but will show itself to be not improbable from the beginnings of this phenomenon at the threshold of the following period (Antony).

On another side the moral character of ancient Christianity is determined by its **relation to the state and public civic life.** Its attitude in this relation naturally remained one of great reserve exactly in the case of the more conscientious Christians (*vid. supra*, p. 79). Along with the decided enforcement of the duty of obedience to authority, in cases where it is not God rather than man who must be obeyed, in which case however patience is the Christian's duty, there was some correctness in the ancient reproach of uncivic feeling, in contrast to a state-life which had grown up in such indissoluble association with heathenism, and from a standpoint which awaited the coming of the kingdom of God which was to make an end of the kingdoms of this world. Hence the disinclination to military and state-service, partly on account of unavoidable conflicts with the state-religion, partly because of implication in earthly cares, partly, as regards military service, because of special considerations against the sword and the shedding of blood (Matt. xxvi. 52). From a quite similar point of view, holders of strict views took objection to the taking part by Christians in the system of criminal justice which had to decide in life and death, and to capital punishment in general from the Christian standpoint. The Council of Elvira decreed (c. 56) that Christian magistrates ought not to attend church[1] in the year in which as Duumviri they had to adjudge life and death. If, at the same time, in this reference the third century shows

[1] Otherwise understood by Hefele (History of the Councils, I. 181), viz. of the supervision of the city priesthood and temple affairs, and leading of public processions as carried out with heathen references, which were necessarily linked with the position of the Duumviri.

great liberality of feeling, if we find Christians in the position of officials of the very highest rank, such as a bishop, Paul of Samosata, as the highest political officer of Queen Zenobia in Antioch, this must be regarded less as a sign of a higher conception of positive moral tasks in life, than as a sign of the strong relaxation and secularisation of Christianity in general, as it confronts us in many characteristics. Here belongs the unhesitating pursuit of profitable money matters by Christian bishops (Cypr. *De laps.* 6). All sorts of impositions and oppressions begin to be compatible with Christianity (Const. Apost. IV, 6). Ecclesiastical laws have to take account of a multitude of the grossest sins, especially of sins of the flesh, even to the extent that parents act as the panders of their daughters (Can. Illib. 12).

On another side the Christianity of the age saw its religious moral ideal in **martyrdom,** with its courage and rejoicing in suffering out of a firm faith. The martyrs are the heroes of the church, and rightly, and the objects of special reverence on the part of Christians. In place of brave but humble suffering, there does indeed emerge in the heat of persecution a defiant challenging attitude full of fanatical hatred against the heathen and of the passion of strife. To the martyr's death a higher merit is ascribed, which covers sins and permits the martyrs to enter Paradise immediately (the *prærogativa martyrii*, Tert. *De resurr.* c. 43), and indeed possesses an atoning power for the sins of others (Orig., Cypr.). The question was asked whether it was permissible to flee from persecution, and strongly negatived by Tertullian (*De fuga in pers.*), but answered in the affirmative by the majority of considerate opinions, just as, on the other hand, voluntary forcing oneself upon it and even provoking it was condemned. At the same time, the glory of martyrdom had often to cover a guilty past.

The legal conception of Christianity, as it was already formed in the earlier time, now received an increase of importance through the **ecclesiastical** conception of it. The good works required and recommended by the church, especially **alms-giving** and **ascetic performances** are regarded as **meritorious,** covering sins and gaining grace (cf. specially strong Cypr. *De opere et eleëmos*). Connected with this is the distinction, which also made its appearance earlier (Hermas, also the Didache), between a higher (meritorious) and a lower, common morality, the distinction between *præcepta* which were universally valid and special *consilia evangelica* (Origen), linked among the Alexandrians with the distinction between the lower standpoint of the believer and the higher of the Gnostic.

But this point of view is also connected with the application of the ecclesiastical view, which may be designated as **doctrinal legalism,** according to which deviation by false doctrine is of greater weight than moral failings,[1] and in which the correct perception that salvation is not merited by good works, but is received by faith as a divine gift, is itself again distorted into the legalistic notion that salvation depends on the acceptance of correct doctrine.

11.—Manicheism.

Sources: 1) The chief works of Arabian Mohammedans, which are indeed modern but drawn from ancient Manichee writings and maintain ancient traditions, viz., AN-NADIM'S List of the sciences (*Fihrist al-ulum*, finished A.D. 988, collected ed. of Flügel, Leipsic, 1871). The part of it "*On the doctrinal opinions of the Manichees*," with a translation and commentary in Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und Schriften*, Lps. 1862, and AL-SHARASTANI (†1153). History of Religious Parties, Arabic ed. Cureton, Lond.1842, German by Th. Haarbrücker, Halle 1851, also some **Persian** sources (Firdusi and Mirchond, *vid.* DE SACY, Memoires sur. div. antiq. de la Perse, Paris 1793, 294 sqq., and Journ. Asiat. III. ser. v. 12 [1883] p. 528). Of Christian Orientals much in EPHRAEM SYR. († 373) and in "*The Destruction of the heretics*" of the Armenian Bishop ESNIK (fifth century) (*vid.* NEUMANN in ZhTh. 1834, and the not very trustworthy French translation by le VAILLANT DE FLORIVAL, *Refut. des diff. sectes des paiens p. l. doct. Esnig.* Par. 1853)—2), *Acta disputationis* ARCHELAI et MANETIS (ed. ZACAGNI, Coll. mon., Rome, 1698, also in GALLANDI III. ROUTH, *Reliq.* sub. V and Mgr. 10), preserved in a Latin translation from the Greek, but originally composed in Syriac according to JEROME, *De vir. ill.* 72, a fact which became doubtful, but is definitively established by KESSLER; a compilation referring to a feigned disputation of Bishop Archelaus of Cascar in Mesopotamia with Mani, yet of important historical value, probably originating in the Edessene Church in the first half of the fourth century. *Vid.* ZITTWITZ in ZhTh. 1873, and OBLASINSKY, *Acta disputat.* Lps. 1874. Important fragments of it have also been preserved in Greek.—3) The numerous controversial writings of AUGUSTINE in the I. and especially in the VIII. vol. of the Benedictine edition (Ml. 48): *C. epist. Manichœi q.v. fundamenti, Contra Faustum Man., Contra Fortunatum dispp., Contra Adimantum, De actis cum Felice M., Contra Secundium, De natura boni, De duabus animabus, De moribus M., De utilitate credendi*, as also *De hœres.* c. 46.—Along with the data given by the hæreseologists, the *Cateches.* 6, 20 sq. of Cyril of Jerusalem, PHOTIUS, *Bibl. cod.* 179 and the Greek controversial writings: TITUS BOSTR. (fourth cent.) Πρὸς Μανιχαίους, ed. Lagarde, 1859. ALEXANDER of Lycopolis, Λόγος πρ. τὰς Μανιχ. δόξας, in Gallandi IV. Greek forms of renunciation for converted Manichees, in Cotelerius, *Patr. Apost.* I. 543, Cf. further DRÄSEKE in ZwTh. XXX. 439 et sqq.

Works on the subject: Jo. de BEAUSOBRE, *Hist. crit. du Man.*, Amstdm. 1734. F. Ch. BAUR, *Das manich. Religions system.* Tüb. 1831. G. FLÜGEL, *vid. supra.* K. KESSLER, RE. 9, 223 sqq.

---

[1] Orig. Comm. ser. in Matt. 33.

Towards the end of our period, when Christianity was already near the point of obtaining recognition and attaining dominion in the Roman Empire. there arises from the Neo-Persian Empire a new religion with claims to universal validity similar to those of Christianity, and begins even within the sphere of the Christian Church a threatening propaganda, which indeed is finally conquered by the church and suppressed by the Christian state power, but makes its after effects felt in the history of Christian sects in the following age and deep into the Middle Ages.

MANI (Manes, Manichæus), whose original name is said to have been CUBRICUS, was born about 216 in the Babylonian city of Mardinu, the son of a noble Persian, Fatak Babak, who had immigrated from Hamadan (Ecbatana), settled in the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon and attached himself to the sect of the Moghtasilah (Baptists) in South Babylonia. Mani's mother was descended from a race related to the Parthian Arsacidæ. Mani is also said to have received religious revelations. At the age of 25–30 years he came with his religious doctrine before the Sassanid Schapur I.; next however he journeyed for long years to the countries of the East, as far as China and India, and sent out disciples who proclaimed him as the last and highest prophet of divine truth. It was not till the last years of Schapur that he returned to the Sassanid Persian Empire, there gained adherents and also made an impression at the court, but fell a victim to the hatred of opponents, was taken prisoner and fled. After Schapur's death he returned and gained the favour of Hormuz I., but under his successor Bahram I. he was crucified and his body flayed; his adherents were cruelly persecuted.

The pretended previous history of the Manichees, as gathered from the acts of Archelaus, about the Saracen trader Scythianus, who reaches back to the age of the apostles, his disciple Terebinthus who called himself Budda and wrote the doctrinal writings (*Mysteria*, *Capitula*, *Evangelium*, and *Thesaurus*), which then passed into the hands of his freeman (Cubricus), like many stories there told of the circumstances of Mani's life, is worthless legend, the origin of which KESSLER (RE. 9, 229 sq.) seeks to explain.

Mani, who spoke Persian and Syriac and invented an alphabet of his own, was the author of many missives which were still known to the Mohammedan narrators. Of the seven chief works mentioned in the Fihrist, the **Book of Secrets**, is also mentioned in the Acts of Archelaus. The *Book of precepts for hearers* seems to be identical with the *Epistola fundamenti*, Mani's best known writing, as the *Book of making alive* is identical with the *Thesaurus vitæ* known to Westerns; what he wrote in Persian was probably the "Holy Gospel," which according to the Persian sources was entitled Ertenki Mani, and composed by Mani in a cave in Turkestan and furnished with pictures, and which was opposed by the Manichees to the gospel of the church.

The **doctrine of Mani** is entirely dominated by a strongly naturalistically and materialistically conceived dualism. Light and Darkness stand over against one another as good and evil, but not as ideal principles, but at once as material original elements, which unfold themselves into a kingdom of light and a kingdom of darkness, which being of immeasurable expanse yet border upon one another on one side. The kingdom of light has a heaven of light and an earth of light, Æons and numerous spirits of light belong to it; in the kingdom of darkness Satan rules with his demons. By him an attack is made on the kingdom of light; on which the God of Light with the spirit of his laws (the Mother of Life) begets the original man, who being armed with the five pure elements must fight against Satan, but is momentarily subdued and eman-

cipated by the God of Light by means of the "living spirit." But one part of the light of the original man was already swallowed up by the darkness, the five dark elements have already mingled with the races of Light. The original man, descending into the depths, does indeed cut off the roots of the dark races, in order to limit their further increase, but from the mingling which has once taken place there arise the elements of the present world, the formation of which now takes place at God's command, so that in this formation (the unfolding of organic creation), the redemption of the fettered light is prepared beforehand. The living spirit forms the sun and moon, as the great gathering points of the light which is to be freed and brought back. In the sun dwell the original man (*Jesus impatibilis*) and the light spirits, in the moon dwells the mother of life. The twelve constellations of the zodiac form the great draw-wheel with buckets which carry the portions of light freed from the world to the moon and farther to the sun, to the *lucidæ naves*, for further purification. In the elements and then in the organisms (especially those of the plant kingdom) the Light strives towards emancipation (the *Jesus patibilis* of the Western Manichees).

The **creation of man** by the princes of darkness appears only as the limitation of this physical process of redemption, as the attempt to retain the light in the finite world of the sensuous. Adam is begotten by Satan with sin, covetousness and lust; the light, concentrated as it were in him, is to remain under the power of the prince of darkness; alongside of him Eve, enticing sensuality, is placed as companion. The Æons of light indeed seek to draw him away from sensuality, the lust of sense incites to procreation. In Adam's son **Seth** (Cain and Abel are not sons of his, but were begotten by Satan with Eve) the divine light relatively preponderates, as in general the latter is stronger in men than in women. Over against the influence of the demons, which works seductively through the lust of sense, error and false religions, stands the influence of the light-spirits which guide the process of the redemption of the light from the fetters of darkness and seek to lead men to true insight by means of prophets such as Noah and Abraham, perhaps already Adam himself (but not Moses and the Jewish prophets who are representatives of the false religions), also it is true Zoroaster and Buddha. The name of **Jesus** also appears here, but in the character of a heavenly spirit in sharp contrast with the Satanic Messiah of the Jews (*vid. supra, Jesus impatibilis*); his appearance is purely Docetic. Mani declares himself to be the last and highest prophet, who takes up the work of the *Jesus patibilis* (=original man) and of Paul (cf. Marcion) and as guide, ambassador of light, and paraclete brings full knowledge. In him and his imitators, the chosen, the separation of the light shines out successfully. (In the sphere of conscious spirit there is completed that which is devised in the whole creation, the wrenching away of itself by light from the bonds of matter.) Those who do not as yet belong to the elect here, have severe purifications to pass through hereafter. In the end the bodies and souls of the unredeemed fall a prey to the power of darkness; with the complete emancipation of all light-elements there comes the end of the world; the world, no longer held by the higher spirits falls together in flames, while the perfectly righteous are received into the glory of the kingdom of light which is now once more separated from the kingdom of darkness.

Redemption takes place here by abstinence from sensuality and by appropriation, or assimilation of the elements of light from creation, and is denoted by the obligation of the threefold seal for the perfect man: by the *signaculum oris* he shuts himself off from all animal food and the use of wine, but also from

all impure speech; by the *sig. manuum* from all avoidable occupation with the things of the material world and all working on them, by the *sig. sinus* finally from all sexual pleasure. To the perfect the killing of beasts and also the destroying of plants, even the breaking off of fruits and twigs, is forbidden; frequent and strict fastings are incumbent on him, a great number of fast-days which are fixed according to astrological principles, in addition, strictly regulated times of prayer (four times a day) introduced by washings. The supplicant turns himself towards the sun and moon, or also towards the North; the prayers which have been preserved appeal to the God of Light, the kingdom of Light, the glorious angels, but also to Mani himself. In addition to the few **elect** who satisfy these requirements and who alone are in possession of perfect knowledge, there are the majority of adherents (*catechumeni*, *auditores*) on whom very modified demands are made (the ten Commands of Mani). They must refrain from all worship of idols, from magic, greed, lying, harlotry etc., and may not kill any living being. They must however pay the greatest reverence to the *elect*, provide them with food and afford them every service. They too must lead a life retired from the world, not however in a sense which excludes secular labour and vocation. For it however they stand in need of the intercession and blessing of the perfect, whose merit stands for the defective righteousness of the adherents.

The sect is held together by the hierarchy of the **teachers** (Mani and his successors), the **rulers** or **bishops** and the **elders**, who with the **electi** and the **auditores**, correspond to five, the sacred number of the kingdom of Light. Augustine knows twelve teachers and seventy-two bishops of the sect, but **one** of the teachers seems always to have stood in place of Mani as the president. Their **worship**, at least that which was also open to the *auditores*, was simple, limited to prayers, hymns and certain ceremonies of invocation. The Sunday was universally celebrated with an entire fast, while the *electi* celebrated the Monday to themselves. They annually celebrated the day of the death of the founder, in March, by the **feast of the chair of teaching** (βῆμα), by prostration before the empty adorned pulpit which was raised on five steps. The Christian writers know little as to the celebration of the mysteries. However a baptism with oil and a eucharistic celebration with bread only are ascribed to the sect.

The character and origin of Manicheism. If in one portion of the syncretistic-Gnostic sects the Christian elements are only very superficially combined with Oriental religious views, Manicheism can still less lay claim to be regarded as a Christian sect in its essential kernel. It is only a **dualistic religion**, originating from Persia and certainly in touch with Christian ideas, which gained increasing influence with its spread westward, which in rough rejection of both Judaism and ecclesiastical Christianity itself lays claim to aim at being a world religion. It is to be maintained that **Parseism**, with its opposition of the Light God Ormuzd and his Light-spirits (Amschaspands and Izeds), and Ahriman with his Devs, is to be regarded as a constitutive factor in its formation, even though in modern times (especially by KESSLER) the insight has been gained that to an important extent it is under the influence of Babylonian religious phenomena. The link of connection for the latter must be found in the contact of the youthful Mani with the so-called **Mogthasilah** (Baptists), that sect in the swampy districts of the lower Tigris, to which Mani's father adhered, and to whose fundamental influence the sect of the **Mandæans** still to be found in that neighbourhood in the present day may be referred. This sect, first depicted under the misleading name of the **Christians of S. John** by the Carmelite missionary Ignatius a Jesu (*Narratio orig. rituum*

et errorum Christianorum S. Joannis, Rome 1652) possesses an extensive religious literature written in an Aramaic dialect (cf. Th. NÖLDEKE, Mandäische Grammatik, Halle 1875). Of it M. NORBERG has published the "Great Book" (*Sidra rabba*, also called *Ginz*=Thesaurus) under the title *Codex Nasoreus liber Adami appelatus* (Lond. 1815 sqq.), better by J. PETERMANN as *Thesaurus s. liber magnus* (Berlin 1867). Not only the name Baptists (*Subba, Sabians*) which they bear in contrast to other sects, but also the exclusive recognition of John the Baptist as the only true prophet speaks for some connection which cannot as yet be cleared up, of these Moghtasilah with the ancient gnosticising disciples of John or Hemerobaptists of the Clementines (*vid. sup.* p. 134), and for an influence of the Elkesaites, in which indeed the Jewish element was already greatly replaced by elements of Oriental heathenism (probably Babylonio-Chaldäic). At the same time the fundamental element proper seems much rather to consist in Babylonian religious views. They themselves call themselves Mandæans after one of the æons or revealing powers of their very richly developed religious mythology, *Manda d' chajjé* (γνῶσις τῆς ζωῆς), it might also be said from Gnosis itself, **Gnostics.** Their doctrine of Æons shows many forms related to those of Ophitic Gnosticism, and now the doctrine of the Manichees is in manifold contact with the same. *Vid.* GESENIUS, article *Zabier* in Ersch and Gruber's Encycl. D. CHWOLSOHN, *Die Sabier und der Sabismus*, Petersburg, 1856, and especially K. KESSLER, RE. 9, 205 sqq.

Finally a Buddhist element is also undoubtedly active in Manicheism (cf. A. GEYLER, *Das System der Man. u. sein Verh. zum Buddhism.*, Jena 1875). The propaganda in the Roman Empire however led to an increased accommodation to Christianity.

The spread of the Manichee sects in Persia, where after the death of Mani they had to suffer the severest persecutions, in Mesopotamia and Oriental countries, was very significant. For centuries Babylon, and later, Samarcand was the seat of their chief. Also during the Mohammedan invasion they maintained themselves in great permanence and their communities reached as far as the borders of China and India, while in Persia and Mesopotamia towards the end of the tenth century they retired more from the cities to the rural districts. Their influence on the Greek Empire was continued in the dualistic sects (Paulicians) of the seventh and following centuries.

In the West Manicheism already makes itself remarkable about 280 (Euseb. *Chron.*). According to the edict under the name of **Diocletian** (HÄNEL, *Codicis Gregoriani fragm.*, Bonn 1837, p. 44), the genuineness of which is certainly not uncontroverted, the latter had already given command to the Proconsul of Africa to burn the leaders of this sect originating in the hostile Persian Empire along with their books, to behead their adherents and punish them with confiscation of their goods. It is only after Constantine that their swift spread in the West seems to have taken place. From the time of the Emperor Valentinian I. strict penal edicts are repeated and the ecclesiastical writers begin their polemic. **North Africa** was their chief stage in the time of Augustine; here Faustus of Mileve, their most respected representative, directed his literary attacks against the church, and Augustine, who in his youthful years had long belonged to the catechumens of the sect, unfolded his energetic polemic against it, and disputed for two days at Hippo with the Manichee Felix, who in the end declared himself convinced. The Vandal rulers of North Africa persecuted the sect with special energy, in particular Hunneric, who caused many to be burned or transported to the European countries of the Mediterranean (*vid. infra*).

SECOND PERIOD.

From Constantine I. till the End of the Sixth Century.

Survey.

The Christian Church gains toleration, recognition and dominion in the Roman Empire, learns to regard itself as an essential and influential member in the great organism and acquires wealth of resources and a privileged position in it. The church of the confessors becomes an educative church of the people and a privileged state-church, influential, but also itself influenced by secular and political interests. The working up of the Christian belief for thought by means of Græco-Roman culture, a process which was already begun, is completed in the theology of the Fathers, which is now at its most flourishing period. The most capable talents gather about Christian questions, which stir the central point of the spiritual interests of the age. The philosophic development of ecclesiastical orthodoxy is closely connected with the juristic conception of the church, which is perfecting its hierarchy. **Monasticism** keeps the higher idea of its world-estranged nature before orthodox and hierarchical Christianity, which however has at the same time become worldly. The church is involved in the fortune of the Empire, divided up since the time of Theodosius the Great and struggling with the incursions of the Germanic peoples. It is not indeed able, with its religious-moral means, to maintain the sinking, and in the West, subject power of the Empire, much less to inwardly regenerate the Roman world, but is able not only to assert itself amid these storms and with the means supplied by Græco-Roman culture to give itself a first clearly stamped permanent form in doctrine, constitution and culture, but also to gain with this inestimable spiritual heritage a fruitful soil among the Germanic races.

Sources: the continuators of Eusebius: Socrates Schol., H.E. libb. VII. (down to 439), Hermias Sozomenos, H.E. libb. IX. (to 423), both ed. by H. Valesius, Paris, 1668 and frequently, Hussey, Oxon. 1853 and 1860; on them A. Harnack, R.E. 14, 403 sqq. Theodoretus, H.E. libb. V. (to 428); the excerpts from Philostorgius (to 423) in Phot. cod. 40. The fragments of Theodosius Lector (to 518). Evagrius Scholast., H.E. libb. VI. (431–594). All of these ed. by Vales. Paris, 1673 and frequently.

Theodoret also in Sirmond's ed. and in the Halle ed. of Schultz and Nösselt and recently ed. by Gaisford, Oxford 1854. Ed. of Eusebius and all these continuators by Gu. Reading, Cambridge 1720. Cf. JEEP, *Quellenunters. zu der gr. Kirchenhistor.* 1884. ZACHARIAS RHETOR, Church History, used by Evagrius, in Syriac in Land, *Anecdota Syr.* III. 1870 (cf. G. Krüger, *Monophysit. Streitigkeiten*, Jena 1844, p. 20 et seqq.). CHRONICON PASCHALE, ed. L. Dindorf, 2 vols., 1832. THEOPHANES Confessor (*vid.* following period). NICEPHORUS CALLISTI (p. 7), H.E. ed. Fronto Duc., Par. 1630, 2 vols. Tyrannius RUFINUS, Hist. eccl. Euseb. libb. 9 Rufino interp., ac libb. 2 ipsius Rufini ed Cacciari, Rome, 1741 (p. 7), SULPICII SEVERI, Chronicorum libb. 2 (*hist. sacra*; to 400), ed. Car. HALM, Vienna 1876. Cf. BERNAYS, *Ueber die Chronik des S. S.* 1861 and Harnack RE., 15, 62 sqq. PAUL. OROSIUS, Historiarium libb. VII., ed. Zangemeister, Vienna 1882. JEROME *De viris illust.* and his continuators in Fabric. *Bibl. ecclesiast.* (p. 23). The chronicle of Jerome and its continuators Prosper, Idatius, Marcellinus Comes, Victor Tunnunensis, Isidore the Spaniard in RONCAGLIA'S Vetust. latin. script. chronica, Padua 1787, also Ml. 51. 66. 81–84. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, Rerum gestarum libb. 31, ed. Eyssenhardt, Berlin 1871, Gardthausen, Leipzic, 1874 sq. (to 378; the first 13 books from Nerva to 358 are lost); EUNAPIUS, *χρονικὴ ἱστορία* (Dexippus, continuation to 404), ed. Dindorf 1870 (hist. græc. min. I.). ZOSIMUS, *ἱστορία νέα* (to 410), ed. Imm. Bekker, Bonn 1837, Mendelssohn, Leipzic, 1887. PROCOPII CÆSAR. Opp. ed. Dindorf, Bonn 1833–1838, the History of his time (Wars with the Persians, Vandals and Goths [to 555], in German by KANNEGIESSER, Greifswald, 1827–1831, 4 vols.; the last two by Coste in *Die Geschichtsschr. der d. Vorzeit*, 6 *Jahrh.*, 2nd and 3rd vols. 1885 (cf. F. DAHN, Pr. v. Cäs., 1865). AGATHIAS MYRINÆUS Hist. libb. V. (552–558), ed. Niebuhr, Bonn 1828.

The Imperial Laws: CODEX THEODOSIANUS (438), c. comm. Gothofredi ed. Ritter, Leipzic, 1757 et sqq. 6 vols., ed. HAENEL, Bonn 1842. CODEX JUSTINIANEUS (534), ed. Paul Krueger, Berlin 1877 (and in the editions of the *Corpus jur. civ.*). The Acts of the **Councils** (p. 19) and the so-called Synodicon Vetus, a short narrative of the Councils down to 869, in Voelli et Justelli, Bibl. jur. Paris, 1661, and Fabricius, Bibl. gr. XII, 360 of the 2nd ed., also contained in Mansi. G. HERTZBERG, *Gesch. des röm Kaiserreichs*, 1880, and *G. des byzantin. u. des osm. R.*, 1883 (*Allg. Gesch. in Einzeldarst.* ed. by Oncken).

SECOND PERIOD.—CHAPTER FIRST.

The Fall of Paganism in the Roman Empire.

Literature: J. V. A. de Broglie, *L'église et l'empire Romain au 4. siècle*, 3rd ed. Par. 1869; as 3rd and 4th vols. are added Julian the Apostate, and Theodosius 3rd ed.; A. Beugnot, *Hist. de la destruction du Pagan. en Occident*, 2 vols. Paris 1835; E. v. Lasaulx, *Unterg. des Hellenismus*, Munich 1854; V. Schultze, *Gesch. des Untergangs des griech.-röm Heidenthums*, I. *Staat und Kirche im Kampfe mit dem Heidenthum*, Jena 1887; H. Schiller, *Gesch. der römischen Kaiserzeit*, II. *Von Diokletian bis zum Tode Theodosius d. Gr.*, Gotha 1887.

1. Constantine and his Sons.

Eusebius, *Vita Const. libb.* 4 and *De laude Const.*; Manso, *Das Leben Constantin's d. Gr.*, Breslau, 1817; Burckhardt, *Die Zeit C. d. Gr.*, Bâle 1853, 2nd ed.; Th. Keim, *Der Uebertritt C. d. Gr. zum Christenthum*, Zürich 1862; Th. Zahn, *C. d. Gr. und die Kirche*, Hamburg 1876; Brieger, *C. d. Gr. als Religionspolitiker*, ZkG. 4, 163; V. Schultz, ibid. 7, 343 sqq.; Görres, *Krit. Unters. ü. d. licin. Christenverf.*, Jena 1875; Antoniades, *Kaiser Licinius*, Munich 1884.

1. Constantine, born in 274 at Naissus, in Upper Mœsia, was the son of Constantius Chlorus and Helena, a woman of low origin, who was only subsequently raised to the position of legitimate wife. As a youth he performed military service in Egypt and was kept at the court by Diocletian, and after his retirement, by Galerius the actual Augustus of the East, till in 305 he escaped to go to his father who was now Emperor of the West. After his father's death he was proclaimed Augustus by the soldiers, and recognised by Galerius as at least Cæsar. In the subsequent complications and controversies for supremacy, after the death of Augustus Severus (307) and that of Galerius (311), Constantine joined the preponderance in the West, next overthrew the cruel Maxentius, drowned in the Tiber in 312, and entered Rome in triumph. After the death of Maximin (Daza) the Augustus of the East in 320, he came into conflict with Licinius who had hitherto been Cæsar, after whose overthrow and death (324) he stood forth as sole ruler.

2. Like his father, Constantine seems from his youth to have reverenced that monotheism of an emancipated Neo-platonic tinge which by preference allied itself with the service of the sun-god. He inherited from his father an inclination to extend toleration to the Christians; according to Eusebius (*Vita Const.* I. 28–34) Constantine, of course only much later, narrated to him that before the victory over Maxentius in October, 312, he saw above the declining sun a bright cross with the inscription τουτῷ νίκα; in the night

Christ appeared to him; he was to avail himself of this sign; whereupon he had prepared the banner of the cross equipped with the monogram of Christ (*labarum*, λάφυρον). Other narratives know only of a dream, even Lactantius (*De mort. pers.*) only knows of the monogram placed on the shields of the soldiers in consequence of a dream.[1] The legend, the historical kernel of which is hard to find, does however attest a contemporary regard for the Christian sign. As a matter of fact the cross afterwards appears on the helmet of the Emperor, and the statue erected in Rome after the entry of the victor (Eus. H.E. 9, 9) with the lance in the form of a cross, and the inscription which ascribed the freeing of Rome to the sign of salvation (*Vita Const.* 1, 40), is a speaking proof of the decision with which Constantine turned towards the new faith.[2] Subsequently (in the war with Licinius) the Labarum was carried by selected soldiers.

3. According to the usual hypothesis Constantine had already issued in 312 an edict of toleration for the Christians no longer preserved, to which the **Edict of Milan** in 313, issued by Constantine along with Licinius, made reference. It is probable however that no such edict is to be supposed, but that the reference goes back to the direction to the judges in the edict of Galerius (Eus. 8, 17, 9; *vid. sup.* p. 198) which was issued in common by the three regents Galerius, Licinius and Constantine, therefore before May, 311. The **Edict of Milan** declares, that no one shall be hindered who desires to adhere to the Christian or another religion, so that *quicquid divinitatis in sede cœlesti, nobis atque omnibus. . . . placatum ac propitium possit existere.* In place of the comprehensive expression *quicquid divinitatis* there next comes *summa divinitatis.* At the same time the former demonstrable property of the *corpus Christianorum* shall be restored by the fiscus and by private persons, so that the latter, into whose legal possession it has passed, shall be indemnified out of the Imperial good-will. The new religion therefore here passes into complete toleration alongside of the old.

4. There soon follows by degrees a series of legal encouragements of the church, such as the exemption of the clergy from municipal offices, an exemption inherited from the pagan priests, and, moreover, a favour which was conceded to the Jewish presiding officers; legal regulations for the protection of the Christians against the hostilities of the Jews (315); recognition of the manumission of

[1] Cf. on this point Brieger, l.c. pp. 194, 209, especially also on the attempt to find in the monogram a symbol capable of a pagan as well as a Christian explanation.

[2] Against Brieger's doubt *vid.* V. Schultze, l.c. p. 343 sqq.

slaves in the churches as in the pagan temples (316); even in 321 a recognition of **Sunday** as a feast day on which **public** civic *business*, *e.g.* judicial proceedings are to be intermitted, while of course field-labour is allowed. The Egyptian week with the planet names of the days had gradually naturalised itself alongside of the reckoning by the *nundinæ*, which of course was still continued. The explanation of the Sunday as *dies solis* afforded the possibility of its universal encouragement, without thus appearing to enforce directly an ecclesiastical celebration.

5. With all this, the legislative measures in favour of the Christian religion did not prevent the survival of the heathen customs, designations etc., connected with the life of the state. On the triumphal arch erected after the victory over Maxentius (by the **heathen Senate** however) the "nutu J.O.M." may still have stood, which was only converted later into the words *instinctu divinitatis* (Brieger, ZkG. 3, 294). The formula is broad enough to be taken in the general sense of indefinite monotheism, and yet avoids any definite pagan colouring (Piper, St. Kr. 1875, 60–110). Constantine retains the title of Pontifex Maximus; pagan symbols continue for a while on the coins, even though there are some with Christian symbols as well, and personally, Constantine, even till towards the end of his life, was intimate with Sopater the Neo-platonist (with tendency to pagan revival).

6. The growing tension between Constantine and his co-regent (and brother-in-law) **Licinius** drifted further, and at the same time became an opposition in their attitude to Christianity, and twice (315 and 323) led to open war. Licinius sought, though without employing actual sanguinary measures, to do the utmost damage to the Christians, in whom he feared adherence to his rival; he prevented assemblies of the bishops as suspicious to him politically, caused churches to be closed, put away Christians from his surroundings and from the administration and the army; things went as far as the confiscation of goods and deprivation of freedom—in fact forty Christian soldiers (the martyrs of Sebaste) are said to have suffered martyrdom by cold. According to Eusebius (*Vita Const.* 2, 5) he went into battle with the consciousness that the war between Constantine's Christian God and the ancient gods must be decided 323 (24).

7. In this sense Constantine also made use of the decisive victory and the favourable opinion which it occasioned. While as sole ruler he proceeded with most thorough political and civil reforms, not only were the earlier legislative regulations in favour of the

Christians extended to **the whole empire,** but also the faith of the Christians and their worship of God were established as to be advanced for the common good. No one was indeed to be forced into belief, but exiles were to be recalled and established in their rights and dignities, churches and burial-places were to be restored, and the highest dignities made open to Christians. Gifts and the remission of taxes, as also the right already conferred to accept bequests, made the church rich, and Constantine also encouraged the bishops to make friends for Christianity with these rich resources. Constantine's craze for building turned towards the building of churches in the Holy Land, on the Holy Sepulchre once more discovered, on the Mount of Olives and at Bethlehem, at the places where Helena the mother of the Emperor evinced her religious reverence; but also at his residences at Nicomedia and the newly raised Constantinople. By commission of the Emperor, Eusebius had to see to the preparation of fifty costly MSS. of the Bible. Churches were endowed out of the common-good of the towns.

At the same time, even now the pagan religion and its institutions were not to be attacked. The privileges of the priests were confirmed, and Constantine retained the dignity of Pontifex Maximus. Naturally, destructive measures were taken against individual cults which gave offence and were immoral, such as that of Venus at Aphaca in Phœnicia, that of Æsculapius at Ægæ with its impositions, and that of the Nile-priests at Heliopolis; many little used temples in the East were ceded to the Christians; others fell victims to popular passion. Finally Constantine forbade private Haruspices and limited the state religious acts and is said finally to have entirely forbidden sacrifice (*Vita Const.* 2, 45. 4, 23. 25). Subsequent history points to some such regulation, but at least it was not thoroughly successful.

The elevation of the hitherto insignificant **Byzantium** into the **New Rome** was of importance for the great revolution. At its foundation in 326 there is still a half-pagan celebration, in which the Neo-platonist Sopater, as *Telestes*, and the Hierophant Prætextatus play a part; so likewise at its consecration in 320; several heathen temples are also raised in the new residence. At the same time Byzantium became naturally the centre of the new ideas and the new kind of dominion, as against conservative **Old Rome,** where most of the families of rank clung closely to the old paganism. Hence also, in spite of the preference given to Christianity, many pagans remained in Constantine's *entourage.*

Constantine is not the ideal Christian saint which the church has already made him on the ground of the flatterings of Eusebius, nor is his character morally converted through the influence of the Christian faith (the dark stains are just in his later life);[1] but it is also incorrect to place his attitude towards the church merely under the point of view of a great ruler acting with a conscious purpose (Burckhardt). He presents a certain religious sympathy, which is rooted in his monotheistic view and his belief in divine guidance of human affairs and his appreciation of such religious points of view for the guidance of public matters. With all his postponement of the specific dogmas of the church, for which he has little appreciation, he perceives, in the institution of the church which is so powerfully rooted in men's affections, a great and wholesome and also politically uniting power, and regards himself as the instrument of providence to make use of the same for the good of the Empire and just for that reason to maintain the unity of this great organism. Hence the intelligibility of the need of gaining from the very beginning an influence in the decision of ecclesiastical questions, such as emerges in the Donatist affair (Rome and Arles 314), subsequently in the Arian controversy, as also in combating heretical parties abhorred by the church, which would destroy its unity (Valentinians, Marcionites, Cataphrygians). Inasmuch as in this matter Constantine lent a willing ear to the opinion of the church, the divisiveness of heretical opinions appeared to be incompatible with the *felicitas temporum* he had introduced (*Vita Const.* 3, 65). Thus there is evolved for him the conception of exerting all his influence on his age in religious and moral matters, and his care for the church appears to him according to the well-known words as analogous to the action of the bishops; he is the ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἐκτός. It is thus not incredible that he (*Vita Const.* 4, 29) should have held public discourses on God, providence and divine judgment. Characteristically he seeks to create an entry for religious influence in his sense into the **army** without undertaking direct proceedings against pagan religious opinions. All soldiers have to celebrate the Sunday, and for pagan soldiers he establishes a prayer which involves the (**one**) Godhead and gives expression to thanks for victory

[1] The killing of his father-in-law Max. Herculius and of the Cæsar Bassianus are acts of political self-defence; but he put to death his brother-in-law Licinius against his oath, and this and the murder of his young son Licinianus, and that of his own hopeful son Crispus (326) remain dark blots; on the other hand the alleged murder of his wife Fausta is shown to be a fable; *vid.* GÖRRES in ZwTh. 1887, 343 et sqq.

conferred, and to prayers for the Emperor and the Empire (*Vita Const.* 4, 19 sq.).

It was not until his last sickness in 337 that Constantine received the long deferred baptism: but according to tradition this first Christian Emperor was apotheosised by the Senate!

After the bloody family drama of the comprehensive murder of relations, to which not only the two nephews of Constantine I., Dalmatius and Annibalianus, to whom he had destined a share in dominion, but others also fell victims, though Gallus and Julian escaped—Constantine was succeeded by his three sons: Constantine II., in the Northern part of the West, who fell as early as 340 in war with Constans as to the limits of his dominion; Constans in the West, who was slain in 350 in the war with Magnentius the Frank; and Constantius (on whom in the first place the responsibility for the above bloodshed fell), who succeeded in the East, and after conquering Magnentius, remained sole ruler from 353 till 361. In them, Christianity, under a form which is very little worthy of commendation, confronts paganism with ever-increasing exclusiveness; the line of parity which, in spite of visible preference for Christianity, is always maintained by Constantine I., is overstepped. Constantius in particular, the most powerful of the three brothers, is to be regarded as the real originator of violent measures against paganism. As early as 341 a law against superstition and sacrifice was issued; a law of 346 (Constans and Constantius) forbade the visiting of the temples, but could not be carried out, especially in the West. Constantius had to pay regard to the opinion of Rome, and ordered the temples outside the city walls to be left untouched, because from them was derived the origin of the festal games, of the celebration of which the Roman people was not to be deprived. Hence, about the middle of the century, the Vestals, the worship of Jupiter, Sol, and the Mater Deum, still existed in Rome. Constantius, as sole ruler, in 352 and 356 forbade all sacrifices on pain of death, and also conversion to Judaism. The lofty Christian conviction which the Christians had maintained against their prosecutors, that religion was a matter of free will (Lactantius: *religio cogi non potest*), quickly subsided, and the Old Testament duty of the extermination of the Canaanites began to be recalled (Jul. Firm. Mat.). But the prohibitions of Constantius were unable to break the tenacious opposition of Rome, where paganism enjoyed complete toleration. In Alexandria, too, its power was still much too great. Elsewhere decided progress was made; temples were devastated, not only in favour of Christian

churches, but also for the satisfaction of private avarice. Once more the political point of view is identified with the religious. As Constantine I. had already connected unity of worship with unity of administration, and here exactly lay his deepest sympathy with the Christians, Constantius now identified the new order of things with his dominion, put the pagan opposition under the aspect of treason, and was inclined to see conspiracies in the exercise of heathen customs (Haruspices, sacrifice), perhaps not without superstitious fear of them!

Christianity is now accepted in wide circles; so far as it comes into close contact with the movement of the world, the multitude streams in; the Court, having become Christian, attracts all who seek influence and favour by the acceptance of Christianity. But the representatives of the Church, partly out of a worldly, partly out of a fanatical sentiment, praise and support the procedure of the Emperor, at least where ecclesiastical party positions do not bring eminent teachers of the Church into opposition and thereby sharpen their eyes for the infringement of ecclesiastical rights by the encroachments of the emperor (Athanasius, also Hilary; particularly keen, Lucifer of Calaris).

2. The Reaction of Paganism. Julian.

Sources and *Literature*: Juliani Opp. ed. Spanheim, Leipsic 1696, 2 vols. (along with Cyrilli Alex. Contra Julianum libbr.), Hertlein, Leipsic 1875; Juliani Imp. libb. c. Christ (restored from Cyril), ed. Neumann, Leipsic 1880 (German transl. Ibid. 1880); Iamblichus, Adhortatio ad philos. ed. Fr. Kiessling, Leipsic 1813, De vita Pythag. ed. Kiessel, Leipsic 1815, (Iamblichus) De mysteriis Aeg. ed. Parthey, Berlin 1857; G.C.A. Hurless *Das Buch von den aegypt. Mysterien. Zur Gesch. der Selbstauflösung des Heidn. Hell.*, Munich 1858; Ammianus Marc. (p. 295) Bks. 21–25; The Invectives of Gregory of Nazianzen (*vid. infra*); the Panegyrics in Libanius.——A. Neander, *K. Julian u. s. Z.A.*, Leipsic 1812; D. Fr. Strauss, *Der Romantiker auf dem Throne der Cæsaren*, Mannheim 1847 (serving rather the tendency for the present than the history of the past); G. Wiggers in ZhTh, 1837; J. F. A. Mücke, Julian, Göttingen 1867–69; H. A. Naville, *Jul. l'Apost.*, Neuchatel 1877; Fr. Rode, *Gesch. d. Reaction K. J.*, Jena 1877; G. H. Rendall, *The Emperor Julian*, London 1879; J. Wordsworth in Smith and Wace's Dict. of Christ. Biog. s. v. Jul. (very copious). A. Harnack in RE. VII.

The gross outcome of these measures shows, what had long been no secret, the internal disruption and weakness of surviving paganism. But what vital power still remained in paganism, and especially whatever of intellectual effort after the revival of the moribund religion had made itself felt since the close of the age of the Antonines, was now forced to gather itself together once more.

And they were still no small forces which contested the victory of Christianity. Ancient Roman tradition showed the Roman State in its foundations intertwined with religious institutions, and worked as a conservative force. The educated world lived in a literature whose glorious bloom had grown up amid the gods of Greece, and classical literature and belief in the gods were sisters (Libanius). And this literature was cultivated in the schools of rhetoric and philosophy in the great cities, Rome, Alexandria, Athens, Antioch, etc., by publicly appointed teachers (among them the celebrated names of Libanius, Himerius, and Themistius) and continuously formed the element of higher culture. In especial, however, those efforts after religious restoration had gained definite form and direction in **Neo-Platonism** (pp. 188–190) and worked further in the latter also during the fourth century, in doing which they naturally pass more and more into mysterious and turbid theurgical superstition, as is shown by Iamblichus († 333), whose activity lay in Athens and Asia Minor. Neo-Platonism found itself undeceived in its hopes by the turn of events under the sons of Constantine, and rancorously opposed the new religion. Thus just the higher strata of society in part exhibit a more tenacious and conscious adhesion to paganism, which otherwise was only to be found in the rural populations untouched by the movement of the age. This adhesion was the more tenacious, the more tyrannical and unworthy the form under which Christianity appeared.

Thus the elements of an important opposition to the new tendency of the age were abundantly present, an opposition, it is true, which on the whole had too little fresh inspiration in its purpose, too much artificially reflected feeling, to possess much martyr-joy — the steadfastness of an Aristophanes in Egypt (Libanius) apparently stands isolated. Libanius and Themistius held panegyrics on the Christian emperors too, after the usual fashion, and the Neo-Platonists angrily retired. The judgment of men of the world probably also saw in Christianity a simple kernel of religiosity, in itself not to be despised, but overladen with barbaric superstition.[1]

Now Julian was led as it were involuntarily, by his personal fortunes and development, to give welcome to all these opposition tendencies and to attempt a reaction with the instruments of government. He was a nephew of the first Constantine; his father and several older brothers had fallen victims to the policy of Constantine's sons, on their accession to power. It was only sickness

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus on Constantius: *Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens.*

that saved his elder half-brother Gallus, and his own tender youth that saved himself from the like fortune. Julian's education had first lain in the hands of the influential Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was related to the imperial house: Mardonius, a eunuch, had been his pedagogue. Subsequently he had to live along with his half-brother, Gallus, in a castle in Cappadocia, surrounded by Christian clergy, and himself engaged in clerical vocations—it is said also as lector; at all events he here gained the knowledge of the Bible. From 350 he was allowed to study in Constantinople and Nicomedia, which opened to him the classical world and literature after the manner of the sophists of the time. In Nicomedia he had been obliged to promise not to attend the famous Pagan sophist Libanius; instead, however, he read his works. Here in the province of Asia Minor, in Nicomedia, as also in Pergamum and Ephesus, he passed into the precincts of the Neo-Platonic philosophy and manticism, especially under the influence of the philosopher Maximus. Here he formally, but quite secretly, returned to paganism. Next, in 354, political suspicion led to the execution of his brother Gallus and to Julian's being taken prisoner. Nevertheless he was soon again set at liberty, and was then able to remain a short time at Athens, the home of all classical memories, which were strongly cultivated by the school there, and here, though still retaining the mask of Christianity, he had himself secretly initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. His military and political career now began. In 355 he was elevated to the Cæsarship by Constantius, and was occupied for several years as a general in Gaul in military activity which brought him glory, but which for that reason also excited the mistrust of the Emperor. When the best part of his troops were to be called away, they rebelled, and proclaimed Julian Augustus. Julian gave himself up to the movement, decamped with his troops eastward from Vienne, now let fall the Christian mask, and commanded the opening of the temples on his progress. While Julian approached the capital, Constantius died suddenly in Cilicia in 361. Julian now made his entry into Continople as Emperor and pressed on the campaign against Persia.

Julian's measures in behalf of religious restoration were now intended to be limited to the restoration of the rights of the pagan religion, without persecution of the Christians by force. In accordance with his command, the restoration of the temples and the sacrificial service was proceeded with, and Julian himself gave the example of a conscientious observance of the duties of the pagan cultus. All ancient privileges of the mystagogues and colleges of

priests were restored, on the other hand the immunities and payments of grain conferred by his predecessors were taken from the Christian clergy; the church administrations were to rebuild the destroyed temples of the gods, or pay their estimated value, and give up temple properties which had come into Christian use. The church, from a corporation favoured by the State and equipped with recognised rights, was to be repressed into a merely tolerated association. But he also forbade the Christians to come forward as public teachers of the *studia liberalia*; in consequence of which, *e.g.* the rhetoricians Prohæresius in Athens and Fabius Marius Victorinus in Rome had to resign their posts (paid by the State), a measure which even the pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, described as harsh (*inclementia*). The object in doing so was not that of withdrawing the Christians from the advantages of Hellenic culture; for there were still but few such Christian rhetoricians, and the Christians of that age who were seeking after higher culture, still received their culture as a rule from pagan teachers, in spite of the gradually rising scruples against it.[1] Rather the intention was that pagan exposition of classical literature should remain an active means of combating the Christian ideas, and that the sacred remains of classic culture should not be profaned by unbelievers. Julian however felt the necessity of a positive renewal and strengthening of paganism, a penetration of it with more ideal elements. For that reason he wished to raise the pagan priestly class, after the example of the Christian clergy, into a force for popular education. The priests were to assume a worthy demeanour, were not to go to the theatre or wine-house, or to pursue any dishonourable trade; on the other hand they were to occupy themselves with pious books (Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, the School of Zeno), and daily to exercise their duties of worship along with their families. The importance of Christian preaching caused him also to make priests appear on the orator's stage in a purple robe. At the same time the pagan cultus was to be made attractive by the development of temple music and hymnology, and in hospitals (Xenodochies) Christian exertions were to be imitated. The reform thus goes beyond the antique point of view. Julian appears as a pagan pietist and mystagogue, who desires to make of the public cult a religious-moral establishment after the fashion of the mysteries—that phenomenon of classical antiquity which stands in closest analogy with

[1] Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzen in Athens—contemporary with Julian.

the significance of the Christian cultus. He also sought to raise the estimation of the priests as against secular officials.

Julian, of course, did not allow himself to be carried so far as an actual persecution of the Christians, beyond the withdrawal which has been recorded of the acquired rights of the Church; but growing irritation at the failure of results and the pagan indifferentism which plainly revealed itself, made him partizan even from his own standpoint, and not disinclined to mild force; and where, in cities of mixed population, the Christians fell into an oppressed state, which was probably also increased by Christian fanaticism, he showed himself indulgent towards the pagan party. In apparent impartiality he at once recalled the bishop who had been exiled under Constantius in consequence of ecclesiastical controversies on doctrine (Athanasius), placing his hopes on the quarrels of Christians among themselves. And the ruler did not think shame to appear in the literary arena with his work against the Christians (*κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγοι*). The attempt also, on his progress Eastward, to restore again the Jewish Temple at Jerusalem, in which, according to the legend, the workmen were terrified and hindered by flames which broke forth out of the ruins, was an interference on behalf of a national religion justified in its way, in opposition to Christianity.

Naturally, considering the manner in which Christianity had been advanced by the family of Constantine, numerous apostasies were not lacking; but they were not able to free Julian from the premonition that he was swimming in vain against the stream. Tradition makes him threaten stricter measures when he had once chastised the Persians; and who shall say whether he would not have been forced to it? But the whole work of this nobly disposed, but, by education and vain struggle against the force of the time, embittered personality, speedily collapsed, when after scarcely two years' reign he fell in battle against the Persians (363). The words of the dying man, "Thou hast conquered, Galilean," cannot be certainly verified, but denote the impression of the event. The legend which is found in Ephraem Syrus[1] (still in the fourth century) expresses a similar feeling. Julian, doubting his luck in war and his gods, had intentionally taken off his armour in order to find death in battle without the Galileans witnessing his shame. "Struck by a spear, he turned in astonishment, and thought of that with which he had threatened the church by letter on his departure." There is also a legend, however, that it was a Christian spear from which he came by his end.

[1] Ephraem's Songs against Julian in Bickell, ZkthTh. 1878, 335 sqq.

3. Decline and Fall of Paganism.

Literature: H. Richter, *Das weströmische Reich bes. unter d. Kaisern Gratian*, etc., Berlin 1865; Güldenpennig und Ifland, *Der K. Theodosius d. Gr.* 1878; G. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenlands u. d. Röm.* III., Halle, 1875.

Julian's sudden death alters with one stroke the position of affairs; the foundations which Constantine and his sons had laid in regard to ecclesiastical matters, after a short interruption, again gain recognition and develop their consequences. Jovian, who was elevated to the throne by the troops encamped beyond the Tigris (363–367), was a Christian, but in deference to the opinion of the army proceeded indulgently towards the late regime and with the promise of general toleration. Naturally, however, he went back to the legal conditions before Julian; former privileges and respect were again conceded to the church (Soz. 6, 3; Theodor. 4, 4), and the bishops might again enjoy the favour of the Emperor. Steps were taken against sacrifices only in so far as they prosecuted magical aims. On the whole the position remained the same under Valentinian I. (in the West till 375), and Valens (in the East, † 378).[1] The repression of paganism began, however, more decidedly under the youthful Emperor Gratian (375–383) in the West, who, a zealous Christian and friend of Ambrose, no longer assumed the Imperial honour of Pontifex Maximus, and probably allowed the title to lapse; prohibited the *hostiæ consultatoriæ*; to the grief of the Romans banished the altar of Victory (the *custos imperii virgo*) which stood before the Curia of the Roman Senate, abolished the privileges of the Vestal Virgins and seized their real estate. These measures of Gratian, as well as of his young twelve-year old brother Valentinian II. (383–392), are already under the influence of Theodosius I., who from the death of Valens (378) ruled over the East, and after Valentinian II.'s violent death once more united the whole empire. If at first, in the perilous condition of the empire, which was so seriously menaced by the Goths, he hesitated to make use of thorough measures, afterwards however he forbade apostasy to paganism, proceeded against sacrifices (of the *incertorum cultores*), and in 384 and 386, under the influence of the zealous Præf. Prætor. Cynegius, proceeded with the entire suppression of temple worship in the East. He freed the Christians from the acceptance of the *ἀρχιερωσύνη* obligatory on the *Curiales*, at the festivals connected with the temple cultus, the existence of which

[1] Cod. Theod. IX., 16, 9. But Libanius, II., 163, mentions a law against bloody sacrifices.

is still assumed (386). The Christian fanaticism of the populace, especially of the monks, spurred on by individual bishops, such as Theophilus of Alexandria, destroyed sanctuaries. [Rome and Alexandria, however, still stood inflexibly opposed to Christianity, and here no thorough procedure was permitted; and in the country, cases occurred where Christian proprietors allowed temple sacrifices to exist by their own preference. Meanwhile, in 391, there followed in East and West a general prohibition of the visitation of the temples, and in 392 a strict prohibition of all sorts of idolatry on pain of high-treason. In Alexandria, in 391, the **Serapeum** was destroyed amid wild conflicts, by the violent bishop, Theophilus, without the earth opening itself and the expected inbreaking of chaos, and without the Nile denying its beneficent overflow.

In Rome paganism was once more officially protected by the usurper Eugenius, who had been elevated to the throne by Arbogast, and was himself a Christian, but entirely under the influence of the zealous pagan Nicomachus Flavianus. After his overthrow,[1] Theodosius, in 394, confiscated the temple properties anew and forbade the defraying of the sacrifices from the resources of the State. In the same year the Olympian games were celebrated for the last time.

After the death of Theodosius (395) the measures against paganism were proceeded with in the East under Arcadius (395–408) and Theodosius II. (408–450), with the zealous co-operation of bishops and troops of monks, who were sent out[2] for the conversion, *i.e.* for the violent destruction, of the sanctuaries in the provinces, and this was not always done as the law commanded (Cod. Theodos. XVI. 10, 16, anno 399), *sine turba et tumultu*. In Alexandria, where the higher culture was still largely represented by philosophic paganism, Hypatia, the highly esteemed pagan philosopher, fell (415) into the hands of the Christian mob on occasion of the quarrel of Bishop Cyril with the Procurator Orestes. Pagans were excluded from positions in the state and army (416, 417). The older ordinances were made more stringent in 423 against "the still existing pagans," *i.e.* against the practical exercise of their idolatry, for persons are placed under legal protection in an edict of the same year. And that such remainder should still be abundantly present not only in districts remote among the rural populace—the in-

[1] *Vid.* the poem in De Rossi, Bullet., 1868, p. 49 sq. Mommsen (Hermes, 4, 350).

[2] Theodoret, 5, 29; cf. Marci Diaconi vita Porphyri episc. Gazensis, ed. M. Haupt, Berlin, 1875 (APrA.), and thereon J. Draeseke in ZWL. 1880, 20 et seqq.

habitants of Maina in the Peloponnese however remained entirely pagan—but also among the representatives of classical and philosophic culture, is self-evident. In the latter regard **Athens** especially remained the protector of the Neo-Platonic philosophy in its decision against Christianity, till JUSTINIAN (529) closed the Athenian school and exiled its philosophers to Persia. On his commission, the Monophysite Bishop John of Ephesus as late as 546 sqq. traced out and converted existing pagans, who were still numerous in Constantinople, patricians, sophists, grammarians and physicians. A certain Phocas escaped by poison from the expected conversion. John vaunted of having made 70,000 Christians in his journeys in Asia. The celebrated temple of Isis at Philæ is an example of the fact, that, in the provinces, many famous temple services defied the Imperial legislation.

In the **Roman West**, under the weak HONORIUS (395–423), the former laws did indeed continue and were renewed. But as in Rome the sentiment of the noblest families remained old Roman, and their representatives were still found in the highest positions, Honorius, under the necessity of the times, was unable to maintain the law of 408 which excluded pagans from the *palatium militare*, and had expressly to abolish it (Zos. 5, 46). The pagan priesthood, too, were still acknowledged in their legal position as public officials.[1] Similarly Honorius, as early as 399, had declared, contrary to the wish of the African bishops, against the destruction of temples which still existed but were emptied of their idolatrous contents, and championed the retention of popular merry-makings and banquets which were descended from the pagan cultus.

In the provinces, however, things went the length of violence. In Gaul, Bishop Martin of Tours (375–400) went ruthlessly forward with the destruction of sanctuaries. Elsewhere pagan revenge still awakes, *e.g.* in Suffecte in Africa, (Aug. *Ep.* 268), in Calama in Numidia, where in 408 a pagan festival gave occasion for an attack on the Christians, or pagan fanaticism against Christian preaching.[2] Under the inroads of the hosts of the *Völkerwanderung* Roman Christianity suffered very severe shocks and losses by the withdrawal of the Roman garrisons from the provinces and from

[1] During the siege of the city of Rome by Alaric (408) it is said that Bishop INNOCENT of Rome secretly consented to the wish of the pagan senatorial party, that sacrifices should be offered in the Capitol and other temples for the repulsion of this danger (ZOSIM., H. Rom. V., 41; cf. SOZOM., H.E. 9, 6).

[2] For the murder of the Christian missionaries at Anaunia in the Rhaetic Alps during the feast of the Ambarvalia, *vid. Acta Sanct.*, Mai VII., 38.

the frontiers on the Rhine and the Danube, while amid these confusions the rural populace only clung so much the more tenaciously to their pagan customs fostered in secrecy, which were overcome neither by Roman ecclesiasticism nor by the raw Arian Christianity of the barbarians by which it was beleaguered.[1]

4. Pagan Secular Culture on the Defensive and Christian Apologetic.

Julian, in his treatise against the Christians (p. 302), had still conducted the attack following the older literary opponents of Christianity, especially Porphyry, as against a contemptible aberration of the age, though with so much the more irritation, the less he could hide from himself the power of the Christian idea. To him Christianity is a corrupt Judaism with some shreds of Hellenism. But the contemptible Galileans have retained just what is evil in Judaism and admitted in addition the indolence and immorality of many heathen. The originally purer ideas have sunk into prayer to the dead Jew; they despise the gods, but put the martyrs in their place. Their writings, full of absurdities, are unsuitable to serve as the foundation of the higher education of the spirit and character.[2] After the death of Julian, pagan culture sees itself more and more forced into the defensive. Culture and view of the world are so determined by the classical literature, that in spite of all the change in the religious consciousness of the age, in which these men themselves stand, they are unable to break with the religious ideas, and disclaim this foreign Christianity. A powerful influence is still exerted by the old solidary interconnection of pagan rites and superstitions with the whole foundations of political existence, so that not only the popular consciousness regards the incidence of the misfortunes of the time, and in particular the shock given to the Empire by the barbarians, as the punishment sent by the deserted gods, but the educated classes also regard the desertion of the old religious foundations, the uprooting of religion and morality, as the

[1] For the condition of Italy, *vid.* Maxim. Taurin. c. 440, for that of Gaul *vid.* Conc. Arelat. II., ann. 443, for Africa the treatise De promiss. et prædict. Dei in the works of Prosper. How deep seated the tenacious maintenance of pagan customs was even in Rome and in the higher circles in Africa, *vid.* Salvian, De gubern., VI. p. 106; VIII. p. 165.

[2] Fundamentally underlying this is the opposition of the essentially naturalistic pagan view to the theologico-theistic view of Christianity. Of a much inferior sort is the treatise contained in the works of Lucian, but belonging to the fourth century, or much later still: **Philopatris**, with its derision of monasticism and the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Niebuhr, Kl. hist. u. phil. Schr. II., 73.

cause of the general depression, and make barbarian Christianity responsible therefor. Now, however, it is no longer possible to claim the exclusive validity of paganism, but only **toleration** for it.

A representative of this pagan culture on the defensive, was the noted rhetorician LIBANIUS in Constantinople, afterwards in Nicomedia. He joyfully hailed Julian's accession, but with a sense of justice and fairness he also interested himself in the Christians and against fanatical oppression; and the spirited panegyrist of Julian was nevertheless afterwards on terms of respectful intercourse with Christian teachers who prized his culture. At the times when Theodosius proceeded against the pagan temples and was further urged to do so by the bishops, Libanius composed his famous speech in protection of the temples (Περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν), in which he makes appeal to the fundamental principle recognised by the Christians, that religion is not a matter of compulsion but of free conviction (His works, speeches, letters: Opp. ed. Reiske 1791 sqq.; the treatise on the sanctuaries more complete in SINNER, *Mon. ss. patrum græc.* s. IV. delectus, 1842 Paris). Libanius died in 395. SIEVERS, *D. Leben d. Libanius*, 1868.

THEMISTIUS, a teacher of eloquence in Constantinople from the middle of the century, in his speech on the celebration of Jovian's accession to the consulate, praises his tolerant principles, and says that he would not have men serve the purple in place of God. Themistius glances with censure at the numerous weather-cocks who to-day attend the altars and sacrifices and to-morrow the holy tables of the Christians. He bases his discussions, however, on the general religious and syncretistic thoughts of the age: God has planted the disposition to piety in the whole of human nature, but has left the special kind of divine worship to the will of each individual. Similarly he expressed himself next against Valens (*Orat.* VI. *de religionibus*), indeed, according to SOCRAT. 4, 32 and SOZ. 6, 36, he had recommended the same principles of toleration to him in regard to the orthodox. Themistius was not only nominated a senator by Constantius, but also entrusted by Theodosius with the education of his son Arcadius. Dindorf's edition, 1832.

Here, therefore, the *religio cogi non potest*, which Lactantius had once spoken in the name of the Christians, is realised. But the view is returned to, that there must exist different ways of realising the religious idea which is common to all, which, however, is only approximately attained. There commonly stands in the background the notion of the one highest God, who, according to the expression of Themistius, as Heraclitus says of nature, loves to hide himself, and is worshipped just because the knowledge of Him does not lie on the surface and is not to be attained without effort. And in these circumstances the rivalry of the different religions ought to stimulate zeal for the worship of God.

Similar also is the view of Q. AURELIUS SYMMACHUS (circa 355–415, Præf. Urbi 384, Consul 391), who grew up entirely in the traditions of a Roman family of rank (his father had already been Præf. Urbi). After the re-abolition of the altar of Victory, which had been first set aside by Constantius and then restored by Julian, he, as the ambassador of the pagan senatorial party to Gratian, in vain represented their desire for its re-erection. In the representation on the same matter, which as Præf. Urbi he made to the youthful Valentinian II., he represents the Roman point of view: Rome desires to live after her own manner seeing that this cultus has subjected the whole world to her laws; since the knowledge of divine things is locked up from men, it were best to hold to the

confirmed authority of antiquity. But the power of moral conviction is lacking to this standpoint, with its touching prayers for toleration for what has been handed down from the fathers; he would not disturb the Emperor in his private religion, and his last word is the faded idea of a Highest Being whom each man follows after in his own fashion, and to whom none really attains. In contrast to it, the Christian conviction of the Divine revelation represents the victorious power of undoubted reality of the religious relationship. All the elegance, polish, and lightness of the diction of Symmachus are unable to conceal the impression of spiritual hollowness and poverty; only those letters of the X. Book (Altar of Victory) are raised to the warmth of an actual interest. Opp. M. G. antiquiss. VI. with the *Vita* by SEECK; cf. H. RICHTER, *Westr. Reich.* p. 550 sqq., 587 sqq., 599 sqq.

The tendency which indeed accepts Christianity, but has all its spiritual interests entirely in the traditional *belles lettres*, and so lives amid spiritual views of quite another sort, is represented by the rhetorician D. MAGNUS AUSONIUS († 390) of Burdigala (the teacher of Prince Gratian, afterwards decorated with political honours, until finally he entirely devoted himself to the Muses at his home).

On the other hand, in the work of AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, which is so uncommonly important for the history of the time, we meet with the sentiment of the pagan clinging to the ancient, believing in auspices and auguries, maintaining, though in the blended fashion of his age and with the background of the *numen cœleste*, the polytheistic notion, which endeavours, however, to think with moderation and fairness even in presence of Christianity (pp. 303, 305).

The celebrated poet CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS, a zealous venerator of Stilicho, and to whom, on a proposal of the senate, a statue was erected in the Forum of Trajan in the name of the (Christian!) emperors Arcadius and Honorius, remained entirely alien to Christianity (OROSIUS VII. 35 calls him *paganus pervicacissimus*). The spiritual atmosphere in which Ausonius lived was fundamentally very little different from that of a Claudian, and yet the one was reckoned a Christian, the other a pagan!—The noble Roman RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS (Magister officiorum at the Western Court, in Rome Præf. Urbi) in the poem *De reditu suo* (*ad Itinerarium*)—his journey home from Rome to Gaul in the year 416—shows decidedly pagan sentiments and contempt for Christianity (*deterior circaeis secta venenis*, I. 525), and especial wrath and irritation against the monasticism which at that time was making great advances just in the West. R. NAM. *De reditu suo*, ed. L. Müller, 1870. Translated by Itasius Lemniacus, 1872.

The well-known MACROBIUS THEODOSIUS also (the author of the *Saturnalia* and of the commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*), who reverently attaches himself to the pagan party of Symmachus, Nicomachus, and the Neo-Platonic philosopher Prætextatus—the latter is to him the privileged *confidant* of divine things—in his writings stands quite outside of Christianity, though he may subsequently have gone over to it (if he is the same who in 422 as *vir illustr.* appears in the position of a *præpositus sacri cubiculi*, Cod. Theodos. VI., 8, 1).

On Greek soil the historians EUNAPIUS (p. 295) and ZOSIMUS (ibid.) maintain inveterate enmity to the new victorious religion. But this is done most tenaciously and on principle by the representatives of the Neo-Platonic philosophy. In particular the school of philosophers at Athens remains the focus of this sentiment; here in the fifth century (411–485) PROCLUS stands out with special eminence. But about the turning point of the fourth and fifth centuries we also

still find in Alexandria a decided cultivation of pagan Neo-Platonic philosophy, the most famous representative of which was HYPATIA, murdered by the Alexandrian mob during an insurrection (HOCHE, in Philologus, vol. 15, 1860). From hence, however, bridges lead over to Christianity.

Over against this gradual retreat of paganism in the field of popular life and literary culture, the aggressive, rapidly advancing power of Christianity consists in practical momenta of quite other sort than literary contention, but all the same the consciousness of the age is also mirrored in the latter.

During the whole of the fourth century the Christian teachers still regarded it as indicated that they ought to repel the hostile attacks of a Porphyry in controversial writings, which however have been lost along with those of Porphyry himself (Euseb., Apollinaris, etc.); so likewise Euseb. Pamph. wrote against Hierocles and his glorification of Apollonius of Tyana as against the figure of Christ.

This activity naturally received a new impetus by the accession of Julian, against whom Gregory of Nazianzen hurled his invectives (two speeches) full of unmeasured passion, and later, Cyril of Alexandria directed his broadly planned polemic (p. 302). On the other hand the Μονογενὴς ἢ Ἀποκριτικός (ed. Blondel, Paris 1876) of MACARIUS MAGNES (c. 400) still lies in the line of the questions propounded by Porphyry, etc.

For the rest, the sudden change, the raised self-consciousness, and, indeed, also the trust in the arm of flesh are reflected in the treatise, *De errore profanarum religionum* of JUL. FIRMICUS MATERNUS, in which the Emperors, Constantine's sons, are summoned to the forcible destruction of idolatry with appeals to the Old Testament example of the rooting out of the Canaanites; a treatise of rather small value (*Corp. scr. eccl. lat.* v. II., together with *Minu. Fel.*, ed. by Halm). On the other hand, the *Cohortatio ad Græcos* (in the works of Justin Martyr), which is probably to be placed in the time of Julian, and which has with some probability been conjectured to be a work of the younger Apollinaris (p. 173), is of higher merit and of finer style; the apologetic treatise of THEODORET of Cyros: Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικὴ παθημάτων (*De curandis Græcorum affectibus*, Opp. ed. Hal., vol. IV.) is the theological continuation of the traditional analysis of dogmatical and ethical conceptions to the advantage of Christianity.

The growing miseries of the time, the incursions of the barbarians, and the deep convulsions of the Roman Empire, give higher importance to the accusations against Christianity which abundantly sprang from antique notions; these miseries appeared as the penal judgments of the deserted gods. And, as a matter of fact, in the universally increasing dissolution the new element of Christianity must have had a further decomposing effect, and, while since Constantine the attempt had been made to place the sinking ancient world on this new basis, it had at least not been able to regenerate it as a whole. The considerations which are thus suggested, as it were the germ of a Christian philosophy of history, led the rich, deep and energetic spirit of Augustine to the composition of the treatise *De civitate Dei, libb.* XXII.,[1] an apology for Christi-

[1] J. L. VIVES, Bâle 1522, and frequently; DOMBART, Leipsic 1872, 2 vols.; cf. REINKENS, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie des heiligen Augustin*, Schaffhausen 1866; EBERT, *G. d. christl.-lat. Literatur*, 1874, pp. 214–230.

anity in the grand style. The gods have never afforded protection against the perpetual incursions of evil, and have never troubled themselves about the moral conduct of men. Long before the appearance of Christianity the germs of destruction were contained in destructive vices (from the Roman point of view he recalls the decay of the old simplicity of morals since the destruction of Carthage). His glance, however, exalts itself further to a universal providential guidance of human affairs. In the world-rule of Rome, which is more moral than her belief, something providential is recognised. The highest purpose of this kingdom of the world is indeed not a heavenly, but an earthly end: the temporal ordering of things; the moving force is fame, love of it (as the mere ideal) here dominates all other (lower) desires; therefore Rome owes her fortune to quite other virtues than the worship of idols. The long duration of the Roman Empire, which has actually been vouchsafed to it, appears as its reward; earthly, indeed, but still a reward. As therefore earthly prosperity is not linked to the worship of the pagan gods, so is little to be hoped from them for a future life. Philosophy also, in particular Neo-Platonism with its relatively best conception of divine things, finds no mediation between the human and the divine, such as only appears in the Christian idea of God becoming man. Now, however, into the midst of the world-kingdom (the Roman Empire as the representative of all earthly order) there comes Christianity, the Christian society as the *civitas cœlestis*. Both the *civitates* of God and of this world are rooted in the Creation and the Fall, and work themselves out in history and develop themselves in opposition till the final repulsion—the again transcendent end in the judgment of the world and restoration of eternal bliss.

While Augustine wrought at this work, he summoned the Presbyter Orosius (p. 7 sq.) to adduce a most comprehensive historical proof against the objection that the present time suffered under special sufferings because it had neglected the gods. The endeavour, by mustering all historical sources, to prove comprehensively how the earth in all ages had sighed under heavy sufferings, now leads for the first time, at the hand of the Christian belief in the Providence of the One God guiding all things (*vid.* Ebert, I. 326), to an attempt at a proper **history of the world,** conceived of as the history of humanity guided by God.

On the other hand, the apologetic treatise of the Presbyter Salvian of Massilia, *De gubernatione Dei* (properly *De præsenti judicio*), meets the anxious doubts, which arose amid the convulsion of the Roman Empire under the heretical and pagan Germans, and in the frightful confusion of Roman society, whether indeed human affairs were really guided by God's providence, and why then pagan Rome had been fortunate and Christian Rome was doomed to fall, with references to the fact that the history of the world is already part of the judgment of the world; the treatise turns into a frightful complaint against the demoralization of the Catholic Romans, to whom is held up the mirror of barbarian simplicity of morals; but at the same time, the solution lies also in the fact that the true Christians, *i.e.* those who live in ascetic renunciation of the world, to whom all worldly detriment is an advantage, are *ipso facto* exempt from the universal judgment.

CHAPTER SECOND.

The Legal Position and the Development of the Hierarchical Form of the Church.

Literature: G. J. PLANCK (p. 21 under No. 4), Vol. I., Hannover 1803; L. RIFFEL, *Gesch. Darst. des Verh. zwischen Kirche und Staat*, I., Mainz 1836; B. NIEHNES, *Gesch. des Verh. zwischen Kaiserthum und Papstthum*, I., 2nd ed. Münster 1877.—R. LOENING, *Gesch. des deutschen Kirchenrechts*, I., 1878.

1. The Legal Position of the Church of the Roman Empire after Constantine.

THE reserved attitude of the oldest Christian communities towards political and secular life had indeed begun to be mitigated long before Constantine, by a greater willingness to enter into secular life and culture.[1] But it was only the favouring of the church and its elevation to dominion vouchsafed by Constantine, that brought about that deep grasping revolution, by which the church, quickly expanding herself into a comprehensive and abundantly organized institution, became fitted into the organism of public life in the Roman Empire as a leading factor. She receives legal protection, property and means of power, and determining influence on the leaders as well as the masses. Her ideas come into the foreground of spiritual interest, and transform the view of the world; her demands become active in morals and law, but she herself also is filled with secular interests of property and power; her ideality suffers harm. She receives a predominating **legal** stamp, and at the same time passes into great dependence on the State power. And yet this course was necessary, as historical development is carried out among sinful men. The church had to go this road in order to fulfil her world-historical mission.

I. The altered position of the Church shows itself on the one hand in her **equipment with rights recognised by the State.** To these belong:

1. **The property which flows in upon the church and the clergy.** Corporate property, as we saw, existed before Constantine, in spite of the uncertain legal position. Much richer sources now open up under state recognition, in which the analogy of the pagan temples and colleges of priests is transferred to the

[1] *Vid.* the revolution in the estimation of secular official position between the Council of Elvira and that of Arles, HEFELE, History of the Councils, I., 208.

Christian churches. The development and animation of the idea of the Church now leads to the transition of the idea of corporate property into that of **property of the institution.** It is no longer the whole company of the members of the Christian community that is the holder of ecclesiastical property (property destined to church uses), but the individual episcopal churches as the saving institution founded by God, and represented by the bishop (Loening, I. 215). Constantine proceeded with presents of landed property, assignments from the means of the State, supplies of corn for the purpose of providing for the poor and for orphans through the bishops, and the like. Considerable concessions from what had hitherto been temple property, as well as endowments out of communal resources followed. But especially important was Constantine's law, by which the Catholic Church became capable of receiving **legacies** (321). This law[1] was most willingly met by pious inclination (Greg. Naz., Orat. 20, Opp. I. 321) and the latter was so much promoted by the clergy, that in the year 370, Valentinian I. was obliged to issue a law against the underhand dealings of the clergy and monks as to inheritance, so far as regarded its being given to clergymen. Jerome did not complain of this law, but of the fact that it was necessary, and individual conscientious bishops made energetic declarations against the latter, without on that account neglecting to recommend legacies for the church. In addition, as regards church property, there is its **inalienability** in the dead hand, which occasions its growth. Also the exertions of the church to assure itself of the heritage of deceased clerics who have no blood relation (Loening, I. 227 sq.) belong to this subject.

2. The privileging of the clergy by the granting of *a*) **certain immunities.** In accordance with the privileges of the pagan priests (whose office itself was often an expensive *munus* which exempted from other services), Constantine had already in 313 conceded to the Christian clergy freedom from all personal public performance of service, which was subsequently repeated (321), and besides was conferred by Constantine on the presidents of the Jews. Meanwhile, as, according to the Roman municipal constitution, the propertied classes (*Decuriones* and *Curiales*) were under obligation to undertake certain *munera publica* (*munera patrimoniorum*) which involved considerable expense, such persons sought to avoid these obligations by entrance into the lower grades of the clergy. Hence Constantine desired (320) that in future only poorer individuals should be admitted to the places of deceased clerics, which again would considerably have lowered the status of the clergy. Hence there were numerous changes in the law in the immediate future. Constantius desired (in 361) to make the entrance of a Curialis into the clergy dependent on the consent of the Curia, but with the alternative of the cession of his property to the children, or to the extent of two-thirds to the Curia. It was subsequently attempted to make the entry conditional on the appointment of a substitute at the expense of the cleric. Finally, however, resignation of property became the universal law.

b) **Exemption from certain taxes.** The entire freedom of church property from taxes which, as it seems, was first intended by Constantine, was however soon limited, and the subjection both of church property and the property of the clergy to the *tributa ordinaria* (ground tax, contract and the poll-tax of the colonists on their goods) becomes the rule; they were not even exempt from all the *extraordinaria*, but only from the *exactiones sordidæ*, *munera sordida*, compulsory services attached to the land and soil, very oppressive and disturbing, from which Constantine exempted the clergy, as also the

[1] Cod. Theod. XVI., 2, 4; Cod. Just. I., 2, 1; cf. Loening I., 220.

established rhetoricians and in general numerous classes of persons. Honorius (412) released them expressly and in their whole extent from the *extraordinaria*. Meanwhile the State found itself compelled by the increasing distress of the age and the pressure which bore heavily on the rest of the landed property, partially to abolish the freedom of the Church from the land burdens and finally to withdraw it entirely. For the Western Empire this was done by Valentinian III.

3. Amid heathen surroundings the society of Christians had had cause (cf. 1 Cor. vi.) to settle its civil disputes within itself and with avoidance of secular justice, and the authority of the clergy, especially of the **bishops**, had led to creating for them the freely conceded authority of **arbiters**. In this matter a fixed custom had been formed even since the time of Cyprian. Constantine, in his endeavour, which is here also discernible, to raise the authority of the episcopate, ordained as early as 321, that the conflicting parties who had already made their appearance before the judge, might even yet, *before* sentence, bring the matter in dispute before the bishop,[1] and again, in 331, that even on the proposal of one of the parties to the process the *audientia episcopalis* should be competent and that there should be no appeal from his decision, and also that the secular authorities were bound to execute it. However this was subsequently limited to the extent that the bishop should be competent as arbiter only on *mutua promissio* (not on one-sided *provocatio*).

Ecclesiastical decorum now required of the **clergy** that in such legal disputes they should apply to nobody but the bishop. Accordingly the Council of Hippo of 393 (cf. Conc. Carth. III.) threatened the clergy with deposition on evasion of the episcopal arbitration, so also Conc. Chalced. 9 with canonical penalties. But the **civil** law left it to free choice even when both parties were clerics; he who felt himself injured might appeal to the secular judge with success. It was only later, under Justinian, that this was altered.

4. Besides, the State now recognised expressly the **ecclesiastical disciplinary power** over the clergy, without however acknowledging the possession by the bishops of a criminal jurisdiction proper. Naturally, also, ecclesiastical discipline proper, connected with the sacrament of **penance**, received another colour, inasmuch as the Church, with her essential arrangements, had become an institution recognised and favoured by the State. Ecclesiastical discipline thereby assumed much of the form and spirit of a secular judicial forum. On the other hand, however, the religious-moral judgment of the Church, with the weight of a spiritual authority speaking in the name of God, could also turn against the organs of secular authority, and even in certain circumstances against its very highest bearers, with success, so far as the power of public opinion or the religious conscience of the person concerned came to her assistance; a weapon which certainly the ambition and lust of rule of eminent bishops grievously abused.

5. As the professed **representative of the wretched and unfortunate** in presence of the hardships of mere secular justice and of the human passions of the mighty of the earth, the Church in the spirit of love and mercy laid claim to a certain right of **intercession**, to be applied for the protection of the oppressed, but also for those condemned to death, the ancient Christian view not holding the punishment of death in general to be quite Christian (*vid.* former

---

[1] G. Hänel, XVIII. Const. *quas Jac. Sirmond . . . divulgavit*, Bonn 1844, Col. 445; cf. Eus. v. Const. 4, 27; Sozom. 1, 9; Const. App. 2, 45 sqq.

period, p. 287). Ambrose regards this as a beautiful distinction of the clerical office and a triumph of the Church, but warns against abuse of it (*quantum sine perturbatione fieri potest, ne videamur jactantiæ magis causa facere quam misericordiæ, et graviora inferre vulnera dum levioribus mederi desideramus*). But these words ring, not only with the voice of love, but at the same time with the churchman's proud and lofty feeling of his influence (Ambr. *De offic. ministr.* II. 21, 29). A state-law under Theodosius (392) and again under Arcadius (398), along with recognition of this right of intercession when it was exercised at the right time, had to oppose the gross abuse that clergy, and especially monks, sought to obtain by force, and to protect, persons who had already been judicially condemned, and it was found needful to make the bishops responsible. With this the so-called right of **asylum** was closely connected. As the Vestal virgins in Rome had already made claim to a right of intercession, so also the right of asylum is a transfer from pagan temples to Christian churches, which had formed itself by usage. It was necessary to take legislative steps against abuses of it (as when debtors sought by means of it to withdraw from their obligations, or Jews sought to gain exemption from punishment by fleeing to the sanctuary, and feigning to have gone over to Christianity, etc.), still within these limits it was legally protected (Theodos. II. in the C. Th. IX. 45, 4). It was meant to afford momentary protection against popular rage or private revenge, but not to withdraw men from civil justice. Hence it was also forbidden to the clergy to give food to those who fled to them for refuge. Nevertheless, it frequently afforded the opportunity for mediation between parties.

II. In all the points mentioned we have been mostly concerned with things which, proceeding from gradual ecclesiastical development, only received a legal stamp, protection and furtherance, by the recognition of the Church on the part of the State, inasmuch as the latter came to the support of the Christian point of view. It is true that thereby the nature of the Church, which originally rested entirely on the principle of voluntariness and independence, is altered. By the fact that the **Church becomes the object of State legislation she is at the same time transformed in her inner nature also, and assumes the character of a legal institution which establishes legal claims on her members**, and in regard to them supports herself on the **State's power of force**; but thereby she passes into a relation of great dependence on the state powers. The interest of Constantine and his successors in the activity and the united influence of the Church brings strong influences to bear on the concerns of the Church. It is Constantine who in the Arian controversy brings about the **first general Synod**, who interferes with decided effect in the Donatist movement, both times in the interest of the maintenance or rather the restoration of the unity of the recognised Church; for only the **catholic true Church** is to be recognised, not the **heretical associations.** Against them the state-power places its arm at the disposal of the Church; their churches are taken away, their worship forbidden, their chiefs banished: **heresy begins to be a crime against the State.** In these circumstances the Emperors and their counsellors are obliged, in cases of controversy, to take a side, and in this way there begins a positive influence of the Emperors, or more accurately, of those who had their ear, on ecclesiastical decisions, strengthened and furthered by the fact that the conclusions of ecclesiastical representatives acquired **the force of law by Imperial promulgation.** Theodosius declares that only those who hold the true doctrine recognised by him may bear the name of the Catholic Church.

Recollection of the right of **freedom of conscience** which was formerly so highly prized, is not entirely lacking in eminent teachers of the Church. But the need of guarding the existing church organism against disturbance and excitement amid dogmatic controversies, cause the allusions to it to fall into the background. The secular power is called in for the ecclesiastical exclusion of aliens, both justified and unjustified. Movements which extend beyond the province of questions of belief and ecclesiastical usages, and involve social disturbances, such as **Donatism**, also go the length of requiring an interference of the power of the State; and so an Augustine comes to the point of justifying the *coge intrare* (Luke xiv. 23) against obstinate Donatists inaccessible to all representations. But the legal conception reaches perfection in the fact, that **false teachers,** even where no actions civilly punishable can be laid to their charge, are visited with **civil penalties,** with arrestation of private property, with corporal or even capital punishment. The execution of the **Priscillianists** by the usurper Maximus (385), although based on the accusation of magic, is however apprehended in this sense, and censured by ecclesiastical opinion. But Leo I. already says of the Church (Ep. 15, of 21st July 447), "*et si sacerdotali contenta iudicio cruentas refugit actiones, severis tamen christianorum principum constitutionibus adiuvatur, dum ad spiritale nonnunquam recurrunt remedium, qui timent corporale supplicium.* Hence, although it is recognised in theory both by Constantine and later Emperors that the decision in questions of faith is the attribute only of the Church, in its regular representatives, the synods, the bishops, the maintenance of whose decisions is the affair of the administration—as a matter of fact the thing is frequently quite otherwise, and the decision lies with the court.

When on one occasion Constantine, at table in the presence of bishops, vindicates for himself also the character of a bishop (as those were the bishops τῶν εἴσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, so he was ἐπ. τῶν ἐκτός, Eus., *De Vita Const.* IV., 24); nothing is less meant thereby, than the so-called *ius circa sacra*; the latter grew in the manner depicted out of the legal treatment of the Church on the part of the State, and involved the protection of the Church and the maintenance of her laws. Constantine exercised all this pretty extensively, but that has nothing to do with the above expression, as in general no juristically formulated idea is to be associated with it; according to the context it seems to affirm that Constantine sought to work in the province of political life, and by influence on his official instruments, for the spread of a pious disposition, or rather for the repression of paganism (cf. p. 300).

Among the most important of the rights claimed by the Emperors is that of **calling œcumenical** (and other) **Synods** as the regular instruments of ecclesiastical legislation (*vid. infra*), as again, by their promulgation of them, they lent their decisions the force of state-recognised law. Also, the clergy recognise in the Emperor their highest judge (even Athanasius does so), and the Bishop of Rome regards it as his privilege to be judged by the Emperor only. The notion, which was gradually strengthened with time, of the high Imperial power, subject only to God, also works upon the Church, as conversely the conduct of the Church worked not less advantageously on it. Finally the Emperor exercises a very important influence on the filling of the most important bishoprics (appointment and deposition), especially of the see of the metropolis.

2. The Clergy.

Literature: Thomassini, Vetus et nova eccl. discipl., Parts I. and II., Paris 1691; Bingham (p. 21, under No. 4), Vol. I., III. of the edition of Grischovius.

The age of Constantine found in existence the division of the clergy from the laity, the gradation of the former into different grades, and the application of the idea of the priesthood to the higher clergy, finally the position of the episcopate as that of the proper representatives of the Church as a saving institution, on which the existence of the Church rested, and which in its solidary unity possessed the leadership. It was just this Church's unified power, dominating men's souls, which above everything else won for her Constantine's sympathy.

The favouring of the Church by Constantine, and its growth in number of souls introduced thereby, whereby gradually pretty nearly all the members of the Empire were won for it, occasioned first of all a splendid **increase in the numbers of the clergy,** which received a still further very powerful incitement from the privileges and favours already mentioned. Civil and political interests were encroached upon by the exceedingly great in-thronging to the clergy; hence the measures above-mentioned with a view to avoiding the loss of the obligations incumbent upon the propertied classes by their accession to the privileged clergy.

To the growing abundance of the Church's resources there corresponded, especially in the communities in large towns, the claims on the Church's care for the sick and poor. Gifts and bequests to the Church were for the poor, they formed the *patrimonium pauperum*, while the support of the cultus and the provision for the support of the clergy were to be taken from the regular offerings of the community. Meanwhile altered circumstances, the growing splendour of the episcopal appearance and the growth into an extensive administration from the middle of the fifth century, necessitated other arrangements, so that the entire revenues were divided into four parts—*a*) *pro mensa episcopi; b*) *pro clero; c*) *pro fabrica eccl.; d*) *pro pauperibus*—an arrangement which spread from Rome as its centre. In the communities in the great towns there are now found the **Parabolani** (church attendants on the sick) and **Copiatæ** (κοπιαταί, *fossores* or *fossarii*, buriers of the dead) to an extraordinarily large number, plainly far surpassing the real need, a following who waited upon the nod of the bishop; hence frequently limited by law. This lowest but still clerical grade was sought by many with the view of sharing in the ecclesiastical privileges of the clergy, hence Theodosius II. (C. Theod. XVI. 2, 42 and 43, of the years 416 and 418) enjoins that the *parabolani* are not to be chosen from among the rich (*qui hunc locum redimant*), but from among the poor. He lowers their numbers to 500, two years later he allows 600; in both cases for Alexandria, where they ministered to the terrorism of Bishop Theophilus; hence it had to be laid down: *ut nihil commune clerici cum publico actibus vel ad*

curiam pertinentibus habeant. Constantius in 357 conceded the immunity (exemption from trade tax) indeed to the *copiatæ*, but only for the pursuit of petty trades. Of the *Lecticarii*, as the parabolani were also designated, Theodosius II. only allowed not more than 950 in Constantinople (Cod. Just. I., 2, 4); Anastasius, however, restored the original number of 1,100. In the great cities the parabolani and copiatæ formed a kind of guild under the supervision of the bishop.

The quickly increasing duties of administration and the legal business which they involved greatly increased the numbers of ecclesiastical officials; *οἰκόνομοι* were required for the administration of property, in larger towns several; hence in Constantinople there appears a *μέγας οἰκόνομος*; alongside of them there are treasurers, legal assessors (*σύνδικοι, ἔκδικοι, defensores*), notaries (lectors or higher clergy), keepers of the archives (*χαρτοφύλακες*), etc.; therefore not clerical functions proper, but frequently exercised by clerics. As regards the clergy proper, here also there frequently occurs a very considerable increase in the *personnel*, as *e.g.* in the lower grades of clerics, such as the **Acolytes**, and especially the **sub-deacons**, who, destined for the subordinate functions, are equal to the *ὑπηρέται, ministri* (it is only the Latin Church of the middle ages which includes them in the *maiores ordines*).

For the **Diaconate** Rome indeed held fast to the requisite number of seven (p. 239), and on the whole their smaller number gave them a certain distinction in contrast to the increase of the presbyters; elsewhere, however, people did not bind themselves to that number (Sozom. 7, 19). In their quality as servants of the bishop, not only in the cultus, but especially in the supervision of morals (as the eyes of the bishop) and in the administration of property and the care of the poor (as his hand), they frequently acquired a preponderance over the presbyters, in spite of the higher ecclesiastical consecration of the latter; and now, with the growing extent of the episcopal administration, the **Archdeacon** at the head of the college of deacons (*τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν διακόνων ἡγούμενος*, of Athanasius, Theodoret I. 26,) comes to the front, in the church of Alexandria elected by the deacons from amongst themselves (Jerome, Ep. 85 ad Euagr.), elsewhere and probably more generally chosen by the bishop; at the same time seniority is to some extent to be taken account of in the choice (Syn. Agath., can. 23). As the right hand of the bishop in the administration of Church property and the exercise of the judicial powers of the Church, also in the supervision of the lower clergy, and in advising in the appointment of clerics to office, he attains a very important influence, so that his subordination to the clerical dignity of the presbyterate, which is maintained in spite of his personal position, is enjoined without much outcome. As early as the time of Jerome the archdeacons regarded it as detrimental to their career to receive consecration as presbyters (Hier., *Comm. in Ez.*, 48 Ml. 25, 484). In many cases they were next for the succession to the episcopate.

Among the higher clergy the rank of **Presbyters** received the greatest numerical increase on account of the tremendous growth of the Church, as being equipped by their properly sacerdotal character with the competence essential for acts of worship and the exercise of the care of souls. They had everywhere to satisfy the increased need, while the original point of view of the unity of the episcopal community was maintained even in the largest towns, and an increase in the number of the bishops could only be thought of on the founding of a new church by mission (or on the great growth of a town which hitherto had had no bishop). In this way an increasing crowd, not only of the serving clergy but also of the presbyters came under the leadership of the one

bishop and raised his prestige. Indeed the raising of the prestige, the dignity and splendour of the bishops as the proper representatives of the Church was further promoted in the greater part of the Church by the decided tendency to set aside as much as possible the χωρεπίσκοποι, (*vid. sup.* p. 246), the rural bishops. As early as 314 the Council of Ancyra, *e.g.* had prohibited the rural bishops from ordaining presbyters and deacons. The Synod of Antioch of 341, (Can. 19), likewise forbade this and in doing so presupposed a relation of dependence on the nearest town-bishop (Bishop of **the City**, ᾗ ὑπόκειται αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ χώρα), who has also the right to create such a rural bishop. The Can. Neocæs. 14, and Can. Nic. 8 also show the lowering of the prestige of the rural bishops. In the sixth Sardicene canon (343) it is forbidden, to set up a bishop in a village or in a small town for which a single priest is sufficient: *ne vilescat nomen episcopi et auctoritas ;* the bishops of the province shall only set up a bishop in places where one has already existed ; only when a town becomes so populous that it seems worthy of a bishopric, shall it receive a bishop.

The Synod of Laodicea (after that of Sardica and before that of Constantinople in 381) substituted for the rural bishops so-called **Periodeutai**, **Visitatores**. (presbyters in the commission of the city-bishop) ; the still existing rural bishops are to do nothing without the will of the city-bishop. The endeavour to make the episcopal position of the highest possible consideration, is reinforced by cases of obvious impropriety. Basil the Great found the rural bishops (of whom he had still fifty in his diocese, Greg. of Naz., *De vita sua*, p. 8) not capable of their office, they frequently admitted quite unworthy individuals to the clergy (persons who desired, perhaps, to avoid military service). According to the expressions of Basil we must conceive the position of these rural bishops in such a way that they who themselves presided over the church of some chief market town, ruled over a number of village churches with their own presbyters (Basil, Ep. 290 and 142 and 188, *i.e.* Canonica I. can. 10). Basil required that the rural bishops should give him an exact list of all the clerics of their dioceses, and for the future ordain no more without his sanction (Ep. 54). With the suppression of the rural bishops, therefore, presbyters took their places with increased authority to preach, administer the sacraments, care for souls and lead the community, but still in distinct dependence on the city-bishop. At the same time Theodoret still mentions rural bishops (Ep. 13) in his metropolitan diocese. In **North Africa** a considerable number of the bishops who were here so numerous were nothing else than rural bishops, but it is true without essentially less consideration than the city-bishops. In other parts of the West little trace of them can be found. At the Synod of Riez of 439, with an appeal to the eighth Nicene Canon, a post as chorepiscopus is assigned to an individual who had been illegally consecrated as bishop, but with the exception of the name of bishop nearly all episcopal rights are denied him, with the one exception of the authority to confirm the baptized in his own church (Hefele, II. 200).

If, therefore, here the ruling principle was that in the rural district belonging to a city the bishop on his own initiative destined presbyters according to his free selection for the rural churches (*ecclesia plebana*) to attend to divine worship, who were also entirely dependent on the bishop in regard to their maintenance (*parochus, plebanus*), this involved, it is true, the continued dominance of the idea of the unity of the episcopal community (corresponding to the *civitas*, the urban district, *vid.* LOENING, I. 213), but their remoteness was of itself sufficient to bring about independence in the affiliated communities. In the large cities, where the need of creating other churches along-

side of the one episcopal chief church had long begun to be felt, and where this must now have happened in increasing measure, the clergy for these churches likewise do not pass out of connection with the chief church, but yet a kind of independent parochial system is formed, at least in so far as supplying of such a church is *permanently* confided to a definite presbyter, as we know to have been the case in Alexandria (Epiph., *Hær.* 49, 1), and must suppose to have been the rule in Constantinople, since here in the case of some merely affiliated churches, in distinction from this procedure, only a supplying of them in rotation from the chief church is ordained, (vid. JUSTINIAN I., Nov. Const. Novell. III.). For Rome also a similar relationship to that of Alexandria and Constantinople is to be supposed (Ep. Innocent I., *Ad Decentium* of 416); here, however, the relationship of the presbyters who functioned in the individual churches, to the bishop, remained so close, that they did not consecrate the elements of the Supper, but received from the chief church their portions of the bread consecrated by the bishop.

In general the rural presbyters fall a little behind the city presbyters in consideration, (*Neocæsar. can.*, 13). They are not to issue (for which their independent position might afford occasion) canonical letters (letters of peace which would legitimise strangers elsewhere as Christians), but only to address their letters (of recommendation) to the neighbouring bishops. The greater number of presbyters under one bishop now leads to the emergence of an **Archipresbyter** or **Protopresbyter** at the head of the college of presbyters, to whose share it naturally fell to represent the bishop during vacancies of the see (so far as the higher clerical character was requisite for that purpose). At the same time they never gained an importance equal to that of the archdeacons.

The Bishops now chose all the lower Clergy, including the presbyters. They themselves, so far as court or party influences of other kinds do not operate here and break through the ecclesiastical point of view, are chosen by the rest of the bishops in the province, as far as possible with their personal participation, but at least three of them shall be present and the rest assent in writing. But, in theory at least, there is maintained the principle essential for the ecclesiastical view, that the rest of the clergy also shall take part in the election and that the assent of the people shall not be wanting: *qui præfuturus est omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur* (Leo I., Ep. 10, c. 3). In fact the main point on that view is the election by the clergy and the people. It is true that the Western Councils gave up the regulation of c. 4 Nic. (as a rule full provincial Synods for the purpose of election of bishops), but strictly maintained: 1) That the written assent of the provincial bishops is to be collected by the metropolitan; 2) the majority decides; 3) in all cases the approval of the metropolitan is requisite; 4) consecration of bishops in the presence of three bishops. For the rest, cases still occur, contrary to the ecclesiastical regulations, where an esteemed influential and popular man from the ranks of the laity, from whom there are hopes for the Church in one respect or another, is desired by the popular voice and made bishop (Ambrose, Synesius). The consideration of the clergy, which has been so increased by circumstances, finds its most decided expression in the bishop; hence an increase of pomp and signs of honour; the Emperors themselves willingly pay them these after Constantine's example. Indeed, there is formed for this purpose a definite ceremonial. And because the goods of the kingdom of heaven are above the goods of this world, increased power is gained, by the help of fallacy that the servants of the Church in the priesthood have a dignity above that of kings. The result is naturally pride, arrogance and lust of rule, and, with their increased riches, determina-

tion by worldly motives. On the other hand, it is true that there is not infrequently a manly championing of the sacred demands of the Church against the lawlessness and violence of the mighty of this earth.

Also in accordance with the rise in consideration enjoyed by the clergy is the fact, that in agreement with the ethical ideal of the age—the ascetic—demands of a special kind are made on the clergy, especially in regard to **celibacy.** At the end of the previous period the Spanish Council of Elvira (Conc. Illiberit.) had essentially advanced upon the ecclesiastical view of earlier times (p. 286), in requiring of married bishops, presbyters and deacons that after ordination they should entirely abstain from the intercourse of marriage. This involved the general presupposition that the marriage of the persons referred to should have been entered into while they were still laymen, and that clerics after ordination might not enter into matrimony. In the latter regard only the Council of Ancyra, Can. 10, contains a certain limitation: deacons who at their appointment expressly declare that they must marry and cannot remain single, are to remain undisturbed if they afterwards actually marry, since the bishop has permitted it to them; in any other case not. The attempt to give general validity to this strict canon of Elvira at the Council of Nicæa was rendered vain by the warning of the celebrated ascetic PAPHNUTIUS, not to lay too heavy a yoke on the priests (Socr. 1, 11; Soz. 1, 23; Gelas. Hist. conc. Nic. 2, 32). Doubts about this narrative are without solid basis and are dictated by Romish prejudice. The Greek Church on this question maintained its defensive attitude against the stricter view of the West. The continuance of marriage intercourse in a once existant marriage remained free, and only remarriage after the death of the wife, as in general an entrance into matrimony for the already ordained cleric (bishop, presbyter or deacon) was forbidden. In fact it was forbidden (Canon. Apost. 6) to the clergy to put away their wives under the pretence of piety. The legality of the marriage of priests (within the limits set down) was decidedly taken under protection against the fanatically ascetic **Eustathians** (*vid. infra*), who despised marriage, and on principle refused to take part in divine worship celebrated by married priests (**Synod of Gangra** after 360, before 380). As a matter of fact we shall find, in the fourth century, highly esteemed bishops with wives (the father of Gregory of Naz., Gregory of Nyssa, in the West Hilary of Poictiers); but even in the Greek Church the tendency of the age goes steadily towards the notion that the bishop should be unmarried. EPIPHANIUS (*Expos. fidei* 20 at the end of the *Panar.*) develops the idea of the priesthood entirely from the ideal of the sex-less life. Hence when in the beginning of the fifth century SYNESIUS of Cyrene was asked to be bishop, in opposition to the request he emphasised the fact that he had it in his mind to continue his recognised marriage without concealment. This of course did not prevent his being taken as bishop; but the very occurrence of the incident shows that this was beginning to be an exception. Socrates (V. 22) refers to local distinctions, according to which in Thessaly, Macedonia, etc., abstinence was required of the clergy on pain of deposition, and that in fact the custom had originated with Bishop HELIODORE of Trikka, most remarkably the same individual who in his youth had been the author of the erotic romance *Æthiopica!* On the other hand in the East the bishops were not legally compelled to abstinence, which in many cases was voluntarily exercised.

In the West, however, the Decretal of the Roman Bishop SIRICIUS of the 11 Feb., 385, to the Spanish Bishop Himerius (Coustant, *Epp.* p. 823) signalises the turning of Rome to the strict principles according to which after ordination all intercourse with the hitherto wife must cease. It is also required here that the

clergy in general should only have entered once into matrimony, and indeed with a virgin (in which Jerome, in spite of his decided championing of this principle, concedes however that a marriage concluded before baptism is not to be counted). Under this conception it was natural that men should begin to look upon the monkhood (*vid. infra*) as a seed plot for the clergy; which Siricius also recommended. Other synodal regulations in the West move on the whole in the same direction, even though not quite similar (cf. Council of Turin 401, c. 8; Council of Arausio 441, c. 22 sqq.). Yet VIGILANTIUS (*vid. infra*), the opponent of celibacy, could still appeal to bishops who only chose married men for deacons *nulli cœlibi credentes pudicitiam* (Jerome, *c. Vigil.* c. 1). It was soon attempted to extend this stricter regulation even to the sub-deacons.

In connection with these views we can understand the attempts to bring the life of the clergy within the forms of the monasticism which had meanwhile become so powerful, such as were made by individual bishops of eminence, such as EUSEBIUS of Vercelli (Maximi Taurin. *Sermo* 9 *de S. Eusebio* in Muratorii anecdotis IV. 88, cf. Ambros. *Ep.* 63 *ad Vercellens.*) and AUGUSTINE (*Augustini vita auct. Possidio* c. 5, 11, *Aug. sermones de moribus clericorum*, serm. 355 and 356 of the Benedictine edition: "*monasterium clericorum*") with preliminary yet only isolated success.

Education of the Clergy. The development hitherto, since the rise of a theology proper, had led to making the clergy the bearers of a scientific culture brought into the service of the Church, even though the number of those who were eminent and leaders in this respect had always been comparatively small. The favouring of the Church since Constantine, which pushed it to a greater extent than ever to the centre of the spiritual interests of the age and in the ministry opened to the educated an influential career, first of all increased the number of those educated persons who, equipped with the higher scholastic training of the age, made themselves masters of Christian and ecclesiastical ideas in order to develop and represent them theologically. Thus the most important Church teachers of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century have passed through the essentially pagan schools of training (Gregory of Nazianzen and Basil), or at all events through living contact with their educational material, and alongside of it have applied themselves to the study of the older ecclesiastical teachers, above all of Origen, and so to the blending of scientific and Christian ideas which here already confronts them. Considerations soon arise, it is true, in the Christian conscience against the education of the servants of the Church by means of Pagan literature. BASIL, in spite of his own development, sought to give warning against the over-estimation of pagan literature, but to a certain extent justified his own case by seeking to screen himself behind the moral uses to which it could be put (Or. *πρὸς τοὺς νέους*). With the growth of the monastic spirit there is seen the increase of this narrow estimate of occupation with ancient literature; but at first, however, in the case of those who had drawn copiously from this fountain for themselves, and in their later development had abruptly seized upon the ecclesiastico-monastic ideas, as Jerome, whose dream placed the Christian in him in abrupt opposition to the Ciceronian, although he was never at great pains earnestly to efface the latter. In church eloquence in particular the spirit and taste of the pagan cultivation of rhetoric continued to have influence. In individual places **theological schools** offered themselves for the theological education of the clergy; such above all was the **Alexandrian**, in which occupation with the so-called encyclical sciences and with philosophy formed the substratum for theological study. The Palestinian **Cæsarea** also had become, since the work of

Origen, a centre of learned scientific and theological studies. But in the fourth century it was especially **Antioch**, to which in the Syrian Church **Edessa** and **Nisibis** were added, where studies were pursued in the definite forms of a theological educational establishment or seminary for the clergy (Junilius præf.), which were specially distinguished by the exegesis of Scripture.

But these few fall far short of the needs of the Church. In this matter the most important thing is the practical training in ecclesiastical service by ascending from the lower grades of the clergy, especially from that of Lector (or even from Acolyte), where therefore the ecclesiastical functions and the priestly technique stand in the foreground, and along with ecclesiastical ordination as the supernatural qualification, are regarded as the requisite equipment, as though the inner culture of spirit and character could thereby be replaced. Eminent teachers of the Church combat this danger (Greg. Naz., *De se ipso*, vid. p. 503, sqq.) and offer directions towards a deeper conception (Chrys. ii. ἱερωσύνης. Aug. *De doctr. christiana*) ; but in many cases the above training is all, except where the young cleric has the advantage of attachment to a bishop of intellectual importance. These conditions the above mentioned (Eusebius of Vercelli and Augustine) sought to raise still further by a form of life of cloistral simplicity.

For, to the scientific and the ecclesiastical factors in the education of the clergy there had been added the third element—of monkish asceticism and contemplativeness, which finally (*vid.* Siricius and others) caused monasticism to be regarded as the best seed-plot for the clergy. For many of the traditional studies a time of withdrawal into solitude was traditional, and the time of decision between the secular calling of a rhetorician and the ministry was passed in ascetic and contemplative occupations (Basil ; cf. Greg. Nyss. ; the conditions in Antioch, Chrys. *Ad Theodorum lapsum.*)

If formerly in the Christian communities people of all sorts of callings and ranks in life had assumed clerical functions, that was quite a different thing from people out of the most alien callings now seeking their **living** among the clergy under the new favourable circumstances of the Church. The Church was obliged to guard herself, so far as possible, by synodal legislation against the thronging in of such elements; members of certain callings (players, dancers and pantomimes) whose calling seemed incompatible with Christianity, were held, even after conversion, to be unsuitable for ordination. Military service also was held to incapacitate for ordination ; anyone who as a believer had done military service was not to become a cleric (Can. 4 of the Synod of Rome of 402, and already in the Synod of Rome of 386, c. 3), according to others were not to reach the higher grades of deacon (Can. 8 of the Council of Toledo of 400). In the case of those who had not free authority over their own persons the secular rights of others were to be respected. The condition of slavery, as such, was not regarded as incapacitating, hence when the master assents **and emancipates**, a slave who is otherwise suitable may very well be admitted to the clergy (*Can. ap.* 72). Can. 80 of the Council of Elvira would have had this hold only of those whose emancipators (masters) were believers (on account of a certain remaining dependent relationship of the *liberti* to their patrons). Leo I. acknowledges : He who enters into the service of the army of the Lord must be independent of all others (*Ad episc. Ital.* 10 Oct. 443, Ml. 54, 610), and Valentinian III. confirms on the part of the State the prohibition to consecrate slaves or colonists. Those who had become bishops or priests however, when they had been thirty years in the clerical order, were not to be compelled to return to their masters, but only to restore the *peculium ;* a deacon in the like case may supply a substitute, (Leon. I., 153). Such persons further, as being

already Christians had allowed themselves to become guilty of certain moral failings were to be excluded. On the other hand, the Old Testament conception of the requisiteness of bodily perfection in the priests was accepted only so far as bodily defects seemed to impede the exercise of ecclesiastical functions (Can. ap. 76); eunuchs were only to be excluded when they had become such of their own will. (Conc. Nic. c. 1, Can. apost. 21–23.) Other limitations arose out of the above-mentioned regulations as to marriage and celibacy, according to to which, *e.g.* no bigamist, no one who had married a widow or his sister-in-law or niece, might be ordained. *Clinici* also, who had only resolved on baptism on a sick bed (and therefore not from free impulse), as a rule were not to be admitted; at the same time, personal confirmation of faith, and indeed even the want of other capable men, might still justify exceptions (Can. 12 Neocæs. Conc.).

The old prohibition to admit **Neophytes** at once into the higher clergy was maintained, yet not seldom disregarded in the case of eminent men (examples of Ambrose and Synesius), hence the 80th (79th) Apostolic Canon takes account of such cases of special divine grace. Too early an age was also to remain excluded. Here the thirtieth year had already been fixed for entrance into the office of presbyter (and in consequence also into that of bishop), because Christ, baptized at this age, entered upon his office of teacher (Neocæs. of 314, c. 11); for the deacon the twenty-fifth year (Syn. Hippo 393 in Hefele, II. 56 and often). Subsequently there were slight variations.[1]

The development of principle which had already begun at an earlier period, according to which the cleric was to find his life-work purely within the province of the Church, and not to combine secular offices or business with it, sought to make itself more efficient. The Council of Elvira had not entirely forbidden the clergy (and even the bishops, presbyters and deacons) to pursue a trade, but only to procure mercantile privileges by travelling about in the provinces (visiting markets). They were only to have business carried on by a son or freeman, hired servant or friend, for the sake of gaining a livelihood, but themselves might only carry on trade within their own province (Can. 19). Further on, individual branches of trade were forbidden to the clergy on the ground of the general requirement, according to which they were not to mix themselves up with secular affairs (Const. Apost. II. 6). The taking charge of the affairs of others, commission agency and the farming of the ground of others are forbidden them (Chalced. c. 3). The already older requirement (Cypr.) is maintained, that clergy should not accept any guardianship, so far as they are not bound thereto by the law of the State, or entrusted by the bishop with the care of orphans (Chalc. l.c.). But the pursuit of a trade in itself continued to be permitted to the clergy, as also handicraft and agriculture for the gaining of a livelihood (Stat. eccl. antiq.=alleged third Syn. of Carthage, 51 and 52), and probably could not be dispensed with. Serious voices, however, complain of the hunting of the clergy after money-getting by trade or owning of property, and the Church had always to be repeating its prohibition to the clergy of pure financial business with the taking of interest. All taking of interest was regarded as usury according to the dominant view of the unproductiveness of money and according to the Old Testament prohibition. The clergy were at least to refrain from what was in itself objectionable (C. Illib. 20; C. Arel. n. 314 c. 12; Nicæn. c. 17 etc.). The frequent repetition of the

[1] Individual directions in the Decretal of Siricius of 385 (Coustant, p. 623).

prohibition of interest to the clergy proves how great opportunity they had of going into such business.

The pursuit of trade by the clergy received a further stimulus from the fact that the State, among other immunities (p. 316), had conferred on them exemption from the burdensome trade dues (343), which was confirmed in 353; the profits from retail shops (*tabernæ*,) and workshops, however, was to go to the benefit of the poor; also their people who were engaged in trade were to be free from the tax. As has been generally remarked above, these privileges had soon to be limited. Valens abolished them entirely for the Easter of 364 (Cod. Theod. XIII. I. 5 and 6). Gratian limited them at least (379) to trades of small extent. Arcadius in 399 required the clergy who pursued commercial trades to decide whether they desired to be merchants, and in this case forego the privileges of the clergy, or clergy, and in this case forego the *versuti quæstus*. Honorius indeed, in 401 recognised this tax privilege of the clergy within the limits of buying and selling in petty trade (c. Theod. XVI. II. 36); but Valentinian III. in 452 forbade all clerics to pursue trades (*ut nihil prorsus negotiationis exerceant;* in case they should, they were no longer to be covered by the privileges of the clergy; Novellæ Valent. III. tit. xxxiv. § 4).

Even earlier than in regard to this the detachment of the clergy from secular matters had been carried through to the extent **that the clergy were not to assume secular offices** (the general conception, Const. App. II. 6. Can. Ap. 6 [7]). It was made a great matter of reproach to Bishop Paul of Samosata that he at the same time administered the office of a *Ducenarius procurator*. In later times the incompatibility of the ministry with secular office is frequently expressed. But there is no lack whatever of examples of bishops being made use of in the service of the State also. Thus Bishop James of Nisibis was at the same time provincial procurator under the sons of Constantine (Theodoret H.E. I. 30), and also in the case of the very influential Alexandrian bishops this was a matter of frequent occurrence, and so likewise in Rome, although it is true that the State legislation started from the point of view: *universis clericis præter ecclesiasticos actus nihil omnino cum aliis causis decet esse commune* (Novellæ Valent. III. tit. xxxiv. 7 [452].

In return for this, however, the episcopal administration, especially the administration of property itself, now assumes the character of a political function (administration of property, legal controversies, juridical function, controversies with secular officials). The people, says Greg. Naz. (Orat. 32, p. 526) now seek not priests, but rhetoricians, not carers for souls, but administrators of monies, not those who sacrifice with a pure heart, but powerful advocates; and Synesius, who had himself been chosen on account of his family rank and the influence which was expected from him, complains as a contemplative man of the much business of the episcopal administration, and that it is attempted to combine the incompatible in the episcopal post: *πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἱερωσύνῃ συνάπτειν τὸ κλώθειν ἐστι τὰ ἀσύγκλωστα.*

3. The Metropolitan Constitution.

The metropolitan constitution (*vid. supra* p. 249) is already assumed as universal by the Synod of Nicæa (Can. 4).[1] The Metropolitan is properly only the most considerable bishop of the province, in the political provincial capital (metropolis of the exarchate), who

[1] Cf. the Coptic translation in Pitra, Spicil. Sol. I. 526 sq.

by his position and the consideration he enjoys is best suited to take in hand the common concerns of the bishops of a province (Can. 9 Antioch. of 341). He becomes the permanent representative of the common interests and problems which had found intermittent exercise in the meetings of the provincial synods; he therefore keeps an eye on common interests during the periods when the synods are not in session, calls the meetings, takes the chair, and is the medium of intercourse with other churches.

He was not always the bishop of the provincial capital; in **Pontus**, a province which was composed of numerous small districts, where it was only at the hands of the Romans that a number of the chief places received the Hellenic civic constitution, the leadership of provincial affairs fell to the eldest bishop. In **North Africa**, where the leading bishops of Numidia and Mauretania were designated *senes*, without ever actually being the eldest, this dignity was not restricted to any fixed see; while for **Proconsular Africa** the Bishop of Carthage was the uncontested metropolitan, and indeed had a preponderance also over the *senes* or primates of the two other provinces, especially in the calling of general councils. On the whole, however, the **political division of the provinces** was regulative, and hence the cutting up of the extended provinces into smaller ones by Diocletian (*vid.* MOMMSEN, *Verz. der Provinzen um* 297. ABrlA. 1866, p. 491 sq.) was followed by an increase in the number of the ecclesiastical metropoles. The 17 can. of Chalced. (cf. can. 12) recognises (with reference to episcopal arrangements in general) the principle that the ecclesiastical order should follow the civil, while Innocent I. (*Ep. ad Alex. Ant.* V. 415 [Jaffé-Wattb. No. 310]) had declared against it in the interest of existing metropolitan arrangements. In **Italy**, where no division into provinces had taken place until the time of Diocletian, and the churches all the more found their natural centre in Rome, Diocletian's partition (into the capital and seventeen provinces) was not followed by the corresponding ecclesiastical division into metropoles on account of the too strong central attraction proceeding from Rome, and indeed in the ten provinces of Lower Italy not for a very long time, while of course in Middle and Upper Italy (province of the Vicarius Italiæ) the importance of **Milan**, which indeed came also into political prominence as the Imperial residence, and towards the end of the fourth century, as the ecclesiastical metropolis, is indubitable, so likewise that of Ravenna after the residence there of the Emperor Honorius.[1] After the death of Ambrose (397) the ecclesiastical province of **Venetia** and **Istria** (Aquileja) seems to have branched off from Milan (LOENING I. 445). As to Gaul, there is a lack of accurate information. The fact that the bishops of Southern Gaul appeal to the North Italian bishops for the adjustment of various claims points to imperfect arrangements; at the Synod of Turin in 401 the former decided that Bishop Proculus of Marseilles (Gal. Vienn.) only in his own *person* on account of personal relations, but not the see of Marseilles in permanence, should hold the primacy over the bishops of Narbonensis Secunda, as Marseilles did not belong to this province. Similarly in the controversy between Vienne and Arles, they decided

[1] Cf. Loening I. 444, on the spurious Privilegium of Honorius; however the metropolitan rights of Ravenna in the second half of the fifth century are otherwise confirmed.

according to the Nicene canon that the primacy should be held by that see which could prove that its city was the metropolis (Hef. II. 85). When about 400 the *Præfectus prætorio* of the *Diocesis Galliarum* removed his seat of administration to Southern Gaul on account of the position of Trèves, threatened by the Franks, in consequence of this Arles, amid many rivalries, also received ecclesiastical superiority over Vienne.

According to the 5th can. of the Synod of Nicæa **Provincial Synods** were to be held twice every year in each province (repeated subsequently, C. Antioch. c. 20). Nevertheless the Nicene regulation was frequently not carried out, especially in the West, where the disturbed state of the times prevented it. The Synod of Orange (Arausio; Can. 29) requires only an annual meeting, the date of which is to be fixed at the previous meeting.

1. Only the bishops, who are accompanied by presbyters and deacons, probably also by lower clergy, are members entitled to vote, and they can only be represented in case of hindrance by a priest, who in such case has a voice. It is the duty of provincial synods to issue ecclesiastical precepts, which bishops, clergy and laity are bound to obey. The existing ecclesiastical precepts handed down from the fathers are to be maintained. The **Holy Scriptures,** the decisions of the **Nicene Synod** and ecclesiastical **tradition** and usage as attested in the decisions of the older Eastern and Western Synods, were regarded as (authoritative) sources. Binding power, however, is only ascribed to the Can. Nic. New settlements which become necessary for praxis are issued at first for the individual provinces by the provincial synods, and have a purely ecclesiastical character; as these synods do not require the approval of the State for their assembly, or for their decisions, so the latter have a purely ecclesiastical effect, and have no existence for secular law.

2. The provincial synods form the court of instance over the individual bishops, from whose decision those feeling themselves aggrieved may lay an appeal to the provincial synod (c. 5 Nic.),[1] and the disciplinary court of resort, before which complaints against the bishops could be raised on account of grave public sins as well as of violation of the duties of their office. In this regard the need of subjecting the right of raising complaints to certain limitations was soon felt; heretics and excommunicated persons, as well as those against whom themselves complaints are raised, are excluded, except in cases which concern an injury which has befallen the complainer himself. Besides these the African councils exclude those persons, who were incapable of raising secular criminal accusations (women, minors, soldiers, dishonourable persons, slaves, etc.). A further limitation was supplied by the fact that the **slanderous** accuser, on proof of the calumny, was to be excommunicated for life (Conc. Arelat. 314, c. 14). Subsequently, however, the possibility of reconciliation is conceded. The rule that the false accuser should meet with the punishment with which the accused was threatened is borrowed from secular procedure. From the secular side a kind of supervision and right of regulation over ecclesiastical disciplinary procedure is claimed (Cod. Theod. XVI. 2, 23), and the Emperors in the East sent commissioners to important councils to watch over them. But the Emperors also summoned bishops to ecclesiastical courts for the purpose of deciding definite matters of discipline (Synods of Rome 313, and Arles 314 in the

[1] It was often attempted to counteract the inclination to carry complaints against the disciplinary decisions of the bishops to the Emperor instead of the synod (Loen. I. 385).

Donatist affair, Synod of Tyre in that of Athanasius, etc.). The Synod of Antioch of 341 indeed forbade the bishops deposed by a synod to apply to the Emperor, but without result. Even the **Bishops of Rome** recognise the authority of the Emperors to call synods and entrust them with the final judgment of ecclesiastical offences; so also the Church of Africa (only not the ordering of a secular tribunal, *Cod. eccl. Afr.* can. 104). Finally the Emperors also had influence to the extent that they caused a secular punishment to result from the ecclesiastical, even though it was not a question of a secular, but a purely ecclesiastical crime. This took place particularly by the punishment of condemned and deposed bishops, but also by the extension of the penalty of infamy to the false accusers of clergy. Under Gratian it was established by a universal law, that deposed bishops, who after their deposition carried on intrigues and imperilled the peace, were not to be suffered within a circuit of 100 miles from their city, a regulation which was probably issued by the Emperor in accordance with the petition of the Roman Synod of 378 under Damasus, and to which Honorius appealed in the year 400 (Cod. Theod. XVI. 2, 35). Such bishops are here forbidden also to approach the Emperor as to the abolition of their punishment.

3. But finally, the provincial synods were the **ecclesiastical administrators** in all concerns which went beyond the individual bishopric, on occasion of controversies between several bishops, the erection of new bishoprics, the delimitation of the metropolitan see, approval of the removal of a bishop, which, in contradiction with the ancient principle of the Church, was, however, in many cases demanded by the wants of the Church, as also procured by the effects of personal ambition; further, they held the power of alienating church property. Finally they co-operated in the election of a bishop (*vid. sup.* p. 323) and exercised a certain supervision over vacant bishoprics.

The **election and consecration of the Metropolitan** was conditioned in the East by the rights of the Patriarchs; in the West, *e.g.* in Gaul, it was in the hands of the bishops of the province; it was required however in Can. 6 Sardic. (Greek text) that for that purpose bishops of neighbouring ecclesiastical provinces should also be invited. The rights which devolved on the metropolitan alone, as resulting from his position, were those of visitation (Can. 2 Taurin. 401) and the concession of permission to travel, especially to the court.

4. The Great Synods.

Literature: 1. Optatus Milev. De schismate Donatistorum adv. Parmen., cum monum. vett. ad Donat. historiam pertin. et cum hist. Donat. ed. L. du Pin, Antwerp, 1702 (Ml. 11). D. Völter, *Ursprung des Donatism*, 1883.

2. For the history of the Council of Nice: Euseb. Vita. Const. 3, 6 sqq. and in Theodoret I. II. Athanasius, De decretis Nic. Syn. and Epist. ad Afros. opp. I. The Greek ecclesiastical historians and Rufinus. Gelasius Cyzic. Hist. conc. Nic. (*σύνταγμα κτλ.*) in the collections of the Councils (Mansi II. 759 sqq.), and in addition Oehler, in ZhTh., 1861, 439 sqq.— The whole material in Mansi II. and in addition, from Syriac sources, the Analecta Nicæna of Harr. Cawper; from Coptic, Pitra, Spicil. Sol. I. 509 sqq., and E. Revillout, *Le concile de Nice*, Paris 1881 (from the *Journal Asiatique*).—Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte* ² I. 282 sqq. and the Introduction 1–82. Maret, *Du concil général* etc., Paris 1869 2 vols. Funk, *Der röm Stuhl u. d. allg. Syn.* Th. Q. 1882.

1. The **Synodal system** as it had been applied since the Montanist

movement, and again against Paul of Samosata, for the fighting out and adjustment of ecclesiastical controversies, at once received an increase of importance in the new position of the Church under Constantine; it became ever increasingly the exclusive apparatus for ecclesiastical legislation. The first opportunity therefor was the beginning of the so-called **Donatist** movement. The ecclesiastico-constitutional aspect of the affair is as follows: after the death of Bishop Mensurius of Carthage (311) the election of his successor Cæcilian, hitherto Archdeacon of Carthage, had been accomplished with the co-operation of the neighbouring bishops (of Proconsular Africa) only, and not also with that of the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Numidia, and consecration by Bishop Felix of Aptunga had immediately followed. As the Metropolitan of Proconsular Africa, the Bishop of Carthage at the same time occupied a position of primacy (as leader of the general councils, *vid. sup.*) towards all the African provinces, this procedure was regarded as a neglect of the traditional rights of the Numidian bishops and their Senex. Hence an opposition party, according to the pre-supposition, gained the support of the injured Numidian bishops, and the *episcopus primæ sedis* in Numidia, Bishop Secundus of Tigisis held himself justified in sending a commission to Carthage which appointed an **Interventor** (a bishop as temporary administrator of the vacant bishopric). Secundus of Tigisis came with his bishops, to hold a general council as next in authority; Cæcilian, who made no appearance, was declared to be illegally consecrated, and a man of the opposition party, the Lector Majorinus, was elected by the Numidians (**Pars Majorini,** afterwards **Donati** after Bishop Donatus of Casæ Nigræ, and afterwards especially after Bishop Donatus Magnus, the head of the party and the successor of Majorinus in Carthage). In consequence of the synodal missive of this assembly to the African churches, which required the holding of no ecclesiastical communion with Cæcilian, the schism spread everywhere. Out of Africa, however, communion was held with Cæcilian as legally bishop, and this was possible, according to the other traditional views, if no account was taken of the special circumstances of Africa. Hence when the Emperor Constantine, advised by the Spanish Bishop Hosius, immediately after his decision for the Church, made over considerable moneys to the African churches for purposes of divine service, he did so through the medium of Cæcilian of Carthage, whom he also encouraged to apply to his officers (the Proconsul and Vicar of the Præfecture) for punishment of the restless characters who were in resistance (Donatists) (Eus. H.E. 10, 6; cf. chap. 7.)

Hence the fact that the Emperor had already taken a side, gave opportunity to the Donatist party to apply to the Emperor with a complaint and petition for an impartial decision. The latter, bewailing the split among the bishops and its detrimental influence on the people, acceded thereto and summoned Bishop Miltiades of Rome to hold a synod in Rome, to which Reticius of Augustodunum (Autun), Maternus of Cologne and Marinus of Arelate were to be invited (the Donatists had petitioned for Gallic arbiters); Cæcilian and ten bishops from each of the two parties were to attend. The Roman Synod declared for Cæcilian, against whom no blame was said to have been proved. **At first** the heads of **both** parties were kept back, the Roman delegates however entered into communion with Cæcilian's clergy. On renewed complaints of the Donatists, Constantine caused an investigation to be held on the spot into the accusation raised against Felix of Aptunga as a *traditor* (*vid. infra*) and called the **Synod of Arles** for the 1st August, 314. In this matter the Emperor acts on his own sovereign power in the interest of the **unity** of the Catholic Church, which was so important in his eyes, but the bishops were actually to decide. He summoned individual bishops personally, and laid down how many lower clergy and servants they might bring with them in attendance, as he laid the state-post at their disposal (Eus. 10, 5). His object was, by the participation of as many bishops as possible to remove the cause of controversy, which had already been decided by the former judgment; this synod however, which Augustine (Ep. 43, cap. 7, 9) designates *plenarium ecclesiæ universæ concilium*, can as a matter of fact only be regarded as a general synod of the Latin West. The synod which sat under the presidency of Bishop Marinus of Arles used with reference to its decisions the formula: *placuit præsente Spiritu Sancto et angelis ejus*, and begged Bishop Sylvester of Rome, who had been represented at the synod by two presbyters and two deacons, to proclaim its decisions universally in respect of the greater extent of his ecclesiastical rights of supervision,[1]—not at all in the sense that the decisions required his confirmation. The Synod at the same time established other regulations. After the completion of their deliberations, the bishops begged Constantine for **permission** to return to their homes. Constantine regarded the appeal of the beaten party from the judgment of the bishops as rebellion against the Lord Himself. The bishops were to endeavour further to win over the opposition, but the latter were immediately threatened with imperial severity (Mansi II. 47). The resistants were

[1] *Qui majores diœceses tenes, vid.* Langen, Gesch der röm. Kirche, I. 399.

brought to the Court and there gained the point that Constantine invited Cæcilian and his opponents to Rome, and as the former did not appear, on a new date to **Milan.** Here, however, the decision (November, 316) fell out in favour of Cæcilian (Opt. Mil. ed. Dupin, p. 187), which the Donatists attributed to the influence of Bishop Hosius of Corduba on the Emperor.

In the East, too, the need of a greater synod is seen soon after the death of Maximin (summer of 313), as is shown by the Synod of Ancyra, held as early as 314, and that of Neocæsarea.

2. The Synod of **Arles** is the preparatory step to what, after the break with Licinius and his downfall, Constantine now attains for the **whole** Church of the Empire in the **Nicene Assembly.** Controversy between clerics in the important city of Alexandria, which now in the Arian, as before in the Donatist affair, threatened the peace of the Church, favoured by the Emperor and strong on account of her unity as she was, gave occasion for Constantine's interference by the letter to the Church of Alexandria (Euseb. C. 2, 64–72). Unity in the worship of God in the Empire, along with the restoration of political order, was his chief aim, and for that purpose he was afforded an instrument in the connected hierarchy of the Christian Church, the host of the worshippers of the highest God, the unanimity of which was accordingly of all importance to him. While he had hoped that after the overthrow of Licinius, the enemy of the Christians, he would now gain help from the East (the source of light and of the worship of God) in the settlement of the Donatist schism, he had to experience greater evil here. He disapproves of strife over trifles which have nothing to do with the law and the worship of God, and which also are no concern of the people, and heartily and forcibly offers himself as the medium of peace. The letter which was transmitted through Hosius remained without effect, and so Constantine, counselled by the same Hosius, takes to the same expedient of a council, as in the Donatist affair (Sulpic. Sev. II. 40, 5) but now of a general council which should extend over both East and West of the Empire.

The Emperor **summoned** the assembly. From all parts of the Empire the bishops assembled in haste on Constantine's command, supported by him from the public resources. There were not wanting a few from the Persian empire and one Scythian (Goth). They came full of hope as to the outlook which was opened up for the Church, and curious to meet the great ruler. The Bishop of Rome, who on account of his great age was not present, but was represented by two Roman presbyters, neither by himself nor even along with

the Emperor summoned the synod; whether generally he was of those to whose counsel the Emperor listened, may be doubted, considering the entire disappearance of his name. Eusebius (*Vita Const.* 3, 8) gives the number of the participating bishops at more than 250, to whom were attached an immense number of accompanying presbyters, deacons and acolytes. Athanasius names about 300, in one passage (*Ep. ad. Afros.* c. 2) definitely 318, a number which Ambrose [1] already compares with the 318 servants of Abraham. Along with many Greeks we find only a few from the West, the most eminent Hosius and Cæcilian of Carthage. Many were in high esteem on account of their piety and sufferings during the persecution, others on account of their theological learning, but the great mass were hardly incorrectly designated by Bishop Sabinus of Heraclea as uneducated (Socr. H.E. I. 8).

The synod sat from the end of May or rather June till the 25th August, 325. Before the *solemn* session, after the arrival of the Emperor, conferences and disputations proceeded (Socrat. H. E. I. 8), at which dialecticians, and philosophically cultured and interested laymen made themselves notable on the one side and the other; until a pious layman, a confessor, objected, and carried his conviction that Christ and the Apostles had not handed down to us the dialectic art, but the simple opinion of faith (disposition, γυμνὴν γνώμην), which was guarded by faith and good works. The dialecticians were thereby caused to restrict themselves to modest limits. Is the story of Rufinus (X. 3), of the confessor who by simple preaching converted to Christianity the eel-like philosophers who were not to be caught by any dialectical arguments, merely the decking out of that general account as reproduced by Socr. I. 8? It may very well be based on a characteristic actual incident. And certainly it corresponds in a high degree with the position of the time, that in that conflux of the bishops favoured by Constantine there may also have been present pagans who were interested in the religious question, especially if it was reported that a controversial question would be treated which appeared to be quite of a philosophical and metaphysical sort.

The synod was solemnly opened in the central (the largest) hall of the palace, in which seats were set for the bishops on either hand. On a given sign the bishops rose from their seats, and Constantine entered in dazzling robes and dignified demeanour, accompanied not by a military retinue, but by trusted friends; he passed down the

[1] *De fide ad Gratian.*, I, prol. 5.

middle of the hall to the low (not throne-like) golden chair in a prominent position, to which on both sides the seats of the bishops converged in a half circle; but it was only on the expression of the wish of the bishops that he took his seat. The bishop who occupied the first seat on the right side[1] now rose to make a poetical address to the Emperor and praise God for him, whereupon Constantine, with serene and friendly countenance looking round about him among the bishops, addressed them in a soft voice. He extolled this as the fulfilment of his deepest wish, that God, in addition to all other successes, had vouchsafed to him to see the representatives of the Church gathered round him in unanimity, and forcibly exhorted them to guard and maintain this peace, as most justly beseemed the servants of God.

His Latin speech was immediately repeated in Greek by an interpreter. Hereupon the Emperor gave over the leadership to the presidents. These are in all probability to be found in EUSTATHIUS of Antioch and ALEXANDER of Alexandria, the holders of the two most respected sees of the East, not Hosius of Corduba, influential as of course he was on account of his position with the Emperor, and who owes it to his personal position that he is frequently mentioned in the first place among those who took part in the deliberations (Socr. I. 13). Little reliance is to be placed on the untrustworthy Gelasius Cyz., who makes Hosius the **first** to sign the canons, and indeed in the name of the Bishop of Rome and all the other Western bishops, though it would not follow at all from that, that he had presided.[2] But the view which regards him as the legate of the Bishop of Rome is a mere airy imagination. In all the lists of signatures, which are full of errors and only preserved in Latin, Hosius stands at the top, but, N.B., only in the two lists of Gelasius (Mansi II. 882, 927) with the express addition "in the name of the Church of Rome and the churches of Italy, Spain, and the rest of the West," while the two others (Mansi l.c. 692 and 697) have no remark on Hosius, and on the two Roman presbyters they note, ac-

[1] According to Soz. I. 17 (cf. the inscription of Eus. *V. Const.* 3, 11) Eusebius of Cæsarea; according to Theodoret 1, 6, Eustathius of Antioch: the poetical greeting of the Emperor by Eusebius (Eus. *V. Const.* 3, 11) however relates to the festivity at the celebration of the Vicennalia.

[2] When Athanasius (*Apol. de fuga*, p. 5) and Theodoret, quoting him (2, 15), says of Hosius, "over what synod has he not presided?" the general possibility of referring this to Nicæa is abolished by the words further on, which represent him as having distinguished himself at Nicæa, but as having occupied the *first* place at Sardica (*ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ διαπρέψας κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ, καὶ τῶν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνεληλυθότων πρωτεύσας*).

cording to the facts, that they sign as representatives of the Bishop of Rome.

The **forms of discussion** were undoubtedly still very mutable at Nicæa, and only became gradually fixed with the growth of requirements. The Emperor himself attended the excited debates (Eus. *V. Const.* 3, 13) with interest and with the desire of moderating passions.

With this **first General Council** of the Church, the decisions (*ὅροι*) of which received the force of law from the confirmation of the Emperor, a tendency was entered upon which was decisive for the further development; decisive also by the fact that the Emperor held it to be his duty to compel subordination to the decisions of the council on **penalty of banishment,** and actually carried out this banishment in the case of Arius and several of his adherents. The Emperor summoned general synods, the fiscus provided the cost of travel and subsistence (also at other great synods), an imperial commissioner opened them by reading the imperial edict, and watched over the course of business. Only the bishops and their appointed representatives had votes. Dogmatic points fixed (*δόγματα* and as formulated confession *σύμβολα*) were to be the outcome of unanimous agreement, the rest of the ordinances (on the constitution, discipline and worship: *κανόνες*) of a majority of votes.

5. The Patriarchate.

Literature: Bingham, Orig. I.; Augusti, *Denkwürdigkeiten* XI. 148 *et seqq.*; Maassen, *Der Primat des Bischofs von Rom und die alten Patriarchal-Kirchen*, 1853; Hinschius, *System des kath. KR.*, I. (1869) p. 538 *sqq.* Loening l.c. I. 424 *sqq.*

As the more stable grouping of the bishops in the government of the Church finds expression in the accomplishment of the metropolitan constitution, and accordingly the regular recurrence of provincial synods became the means of this unified church government, so the need of bringing about united decisions over larger provinces of the Church by means of more comprehensive synods, was again met by a higher grouping of the hierarchy, extending beyond the position of the metropolitans, and indeed, like the metropolitan constitution, in essential analogy with the political organization and official hierarchy. As the *civitas* (the city-district) corresponded to the episcopal diocese, and the province to the domain of the metropolitan bishop, so the bishops in the central points of the greater divisions of the Empire, the political **dioceses,** acquired greater veneration and increased authority. The political division of the Empire,

founded by Constantine, but subsequently somewhat altered under Gratian and Theodosius, distinguished in this latter form four great **Prefectures,** of which each was subdivided into several **dioceses,** each of which included under it a number of provinces. I. **Præfectura Orientis:** 1) The *Diœcese Oriens* (Antioch the capital) with fifteen provinces; 2) *Diocese of Egypt* (only under Theodosius, formerly reckoned in the *Diœcese Oriens*); 3) *Diocese of Asia* (Ephesus); 4) *Diocese of Pontus* (Cæsarea); *Diocese of Thrace* (Heraclea). II. **Præfectura Illyrici Orientalis:**[1] 1) *Diocese of Macedonia;* 2) *Diocese of Dacia.* III. **Præfectura Italiæ:** 1) *Diocese of Rome* with the ten suburbicary provinces; 2) *Diocese of Italy* (Milan); 3) *Diocese of Illyricum occidentale* (Sirmium); 4) *Diocese of Africa.* IV. **Præfectura Galliarum:** 1) *Diocese of Gaul* (Trèves, afterwards Arles); 2) *Hispania;* 3) *Britannia.*

Of the episcopal sees here referred to, **Alexandria** (p. 251) had already as a matter of fact attained a higher authority over Egypt along with Libya and Pentapolis, to such an extent indeed, that when the bishops of the other provincial capitals became metropolitans of their provinces, the Metropolitan of Alexandria at the same time exercised power over the other metropolitans—over Libya, Pentapolis (Cyrenaica) and the Thebaid. This was recognised as legal by the 6th canon of the Nicene Synod. Similar relationships of superiority had developed themselves with regard to **Antioch, Rome** and also **Carthage.** It was obvious that for such a position of superiority over the metropolitanate the **political division into dioceses** might be made the standard. In the eastern parts of the Empire it was actually tried to carry out the conception of **diocesan-bishops** in this sense. Thus the 2nd canon of the Synod of Constantinople (381) placed the diocesan-bishops of Asia (Ephesus), Pontus (Cæsarea), and Thrace (hiterto Heraclea) on an equality with Alexandria and Antioch, in expressions which were probably meant to meet an overlapping of the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch beyond their own dioceses. But here also this point of view was not carried out in its purity. This was the consequence of the decided preponderance of the new capital, **Constantinople,** to the bishops of which the rank of honour, in preference to all others, immediately after that of Old Rome, was ascribed as early as the Synod of Constantinople (381). In consequence even contemporaries already caught the idea of the abolition of the ecclesiastical subordi-

[1] Under Constantine still **Præfectura Illyrici** with seventeen provinces; it was only later that *Illyr. occident.* was separated from it and assigned to the Prefecture of Italy.

nation of Byzantium to Heraclea and the ecclesiastical authority over Thrace. As a matter of fact the ecclesiastical preponderance of the capital now also absorbed the ecclesiastical superiority of the neighbouring dioceses of Pontus and Cappadocia, although in face of much opposition. The Bishop of Alexandria had at first protested against the 3rd canon of Constantinople, but had to surrender to the weight of the facts; and at the fourth General Council, which was held at Chalcedon in 451, the equality of rank of the Bishop of Constantinople with the Bishop of Rome was recognised in the 28th canon, in such a way that a subordination of the dioceses of Asia, Pontus and Thrace, with only a certain guarding of the usual rights of metropolitans in these dioceses, is undoubtedly expressed. That is to say, in the dioceses mentioned, only the metropolitans themselves, but in the districts of these very dioceses which were occupied by the barbarians (Huns on the Bosphorus, Heruli, Abasgi and Alans on the Euxine) the simple bishops also were to be ordained directly from Constantinople, but the right of the metropolitan to consecrate the bishops in association with their fellow-bishops remains intact. Thus the central position of those bishops of Ephesus and the Pontic Cæsarea disappears. On the other hand the two actual diocesan-bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, with their authority of ancient foundation, come immediately next to the Bishop of Constantinople. But at the same time **Antioch,** the power of which in the great extension of the *Diœcese Orientis* was less tense than that of the Bishop of Alexandria in Egypt, was further injured by the special position assigned to the **Bishop of Jerusalem.** As early as the Council of Nicæa an honourable pre-eminence of rank was conceded to the latter, but without trenching on the rights of the Metropolitan of Cæsarea (Palest.). Building on this and on the growing reverence for the Holy Places, the bishops of Jerusalem sought to free themselves from their metropolitan and from the Diocese of the East in general. At the third Œcumenical Synod (of Ephesus in 431) this was not attained, but soon thereafter Juvenal of Jerusalem obtained from Emperor Theodosius II. the ecclesiastical separation of Palestine, Phœnicia and Arabia from Antioch, and their subordination to Jerusalem. Antioch protested against it and, as a matter of fact, was able to assert its claim to Phœnicia and Arabia; but the Palestinian provinces were actually placed under Jerusalem (Sessio VII. of the Council of Chalcedon, *vid.* Hefele *Conc. G.* II. 477).

For the rest, individual metropolitans were able in this composition of the greater groups of churches in the Eastern Empire, to guard an independent position for themselves, which found special

expression in freedom from the right of ordination of the diocesan-bishop. This "**Autocephaly**" was acknowledged at Chalcedon as belonging to the metropolitan of **Cyprus**. The ascendency of the Constantinopolitan bishop received at Chalcedon a handle for further development of power, which could also be eventually used against the ancient rights of Alexandria and Antioch. If a bishop or clergyman falls into dispute with his metropolitan he is to apply either to the diocesan-bishop (the Exarch of the Diocese) or also to the Bishop of Constantinople and seek justice before him (can. 9 and 17). At first this may have had in view the dioceses of Thrace, Pontus and Asia, but according to it the preference might be given to the Bishop of Constantinople over those of Alexandria and Antioch.

We now meet with the designation **Patriarch** for the great bishops of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople and Jerusalem, though at first gradually and not uniformly. *E.g.* in the lists of those present at synods and elsewhere, as a rule they are designated ἀρχιεπίσκοπος (which, therefore, is here not at all equivalent to metropolitan). The name **Patriarch** occurs in the fourth century, in the West still later, as a title of honour for bishops. In the fifth century Socrates, H. E. 5, 8, designates the diocesan-bishops, supra-metropolitans, in general as patriarchs, while elsewhere as a rule they are called **Exarchs.** After the close of the fifth century, however, the title begins to be confined to those great bishops. However, as a rule, he of Alexandria is designated πάπας and only from the seventh century is he also called patriarch, which title now in general becomes constant. The Bishop of Constantinople is freely called ἀρχιεπίσκοπος καὶ πατρίαρχης from the sixth century. By Greeks the name patriarch is also given to the Bishop of Rome; not so in the West, where several eminent metropolitans, such as the Bishop of Aquileia, bear the title.

6. The Roman Primacy.

Sources: The **Liber Pontificalis** (*vid.* p. 20, under 2 *b*) ed. Bianchini, 1718 sqq. Vignoli, 1724 sqq. (Ml. 127–129). The critical edition of Duchesne (I. 1886) reaches down to Hadrian I. cf. Lipsius, *Chronol. der röm. Bischöfe*, 1869, and JpTh. 1879. Waitz, NADG. 1879, and HZ. 1880, and especially Duchesne in the introduction of his edition which contains his earlier studies completely revised.—The literature p. 21, and especially J. Langen, *Gesch. d. röm. Kirche*, 2 vols. (to Nicolas I.), Bonn 1881 and 1885.

The matter takes another form in the West. The 6th canon of Nicæa recognised Rome's comprehensive position in the declaration that Alexandria should have authority over all the bishops of Egypt

along with Libya and Pentapolis, just as such a superior authority was customarily exercised by the Bishop of Rome over the suburbicary churches.[1] Thereby we must understand not merely the churches of the *regiones suburbicariæ*, of the urban province under the *Præfectus urbi* (as far as the 100th mile-stone) but the ten suburbicary provinces under the *Vicarius*, and therefore the **political diocese** of Rome, which included the greater part of Central Italy, and all Lower Italy with Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica. In **Upper Italy** (the diocese of Italy) the metropolitan cities of Milan, Aquileia, and Ravenna (Istria) stood in essential independence. On the other hand Illyria, which since the death of Julian was subject to the Western Emperors, held by Rome in the Arian controversy; in the partition of Illyria in 379, not only the few bishoprics of West Illyria (capital, Sirmium) which belonged to the Præfecture of Italy, but also Eastern Illyria gravitated to Rome. The *Præfectura Illyrici Orientalis* with Thessalonica did indeed become a member of the Eastern Roman Empire, and so seemed to have come under the sphere of ecclesiastical authority of Constantinople; but the diocesan-bishop of Thessalonica (diocese of Macedonia) preferred being vicar of Rome to being dependent on Constantinople. It is true that Theodosius II. placed Thessalonica under Constantinople, but he allowed himself to be induced to withdraw this by Honorius, Bishop of Rome. In the rest of the West the chair of St. Peter, the sole *sedes apostolica* and the most important central point also as mediator between East and West of the Church, enjoyed an important esteem of ancient foundation, but at first no exactly fixed ecclesiastical authority; but such an authority it was in a position successfully to claim through the combined influence of many circumstances. As early as the beginning of the Donatist controversy the orthodox party of the African Church leaned upon Miltiades of Rome, to whom Constantine entrusted the management of the affair (*vid. sup.* p. 333). But the definitive decision was given at Arles, at the comprehensive synod (314) called by Constantine, where Marinus, Bishop of Arles, occupied the presidency (*vid. sup.*) and where there was no mention of a superior authority of Rome; no more did this take place at the great Synod of Nicæa, which Constantine summoned on the advice

[1] The Greek text gives no local limit of this power, but Rufinus (H. Eccl. X. 6) in the Latin version of the canon designates it as the ancient custom in Alexandria and Rome: *ut vel ille Ægypti, vel hic* **suburbicariarum ecclesiarum** *sollicitudinem gerat.* The old translation, the so-called Prisca (in Mansi VI. 1127) has: *ut suburbicaria loca et omnem provinciam suam sollicitudine gubernet.*

of Bishop Hosius of Corduba, the Western bishop who had most influence with him. The synod only declared general recognition of the primatial rights of Rome for the diocese (political) of Rome, and the Roman Bishop Sylvester, represented by his two clerics Vitus and Vincentius, here played a by no means remarkable rôle. But the circumstance that Athanasius, in his conflict against the Eastern majority, in behalf of the subsequently victorious point of the Homousia, found powerful backing in the Latin West and from the Roman Bishop Julius (337–352), contributed to the elevation of its authority. At the Synod of Sardica in the end of 343 or beginning of 344 (*vid. infra*, the Arian controversy) the bishops of the Athanasian party present, from whom the Orientals separated themselves in order to hold a diet at Philippopolis, conferred (Can. 3) upon Bishop Julius of Rome a kind of appellate jurisdiction. When a bishop, being condemned by his provincial synod, believes himself to have just cause, for the sake of honouring the memory of St. Peter, information is to be sent to Bishop Julius of Rome; if the latter approves the first decision, it shall remain as it is; in the other case the matter shall be reviewed again before judges named by him (*det iudices;* according to the Greek text, from among the neighbouring bishops). This prerogative awarded by an oppressed minority amid the party conflicts of the time, personally to the then Bishop of Rome, afforded an important handle for subsequent claims, so much the more as the canons of Sardica were confused in Western assemblies with those of Nicæa, and then themselves appealed to as Nicene.

The ecclesiastical party conflicts, enhanced by the conduct of the Emperor, led just on account of the outstanding importance of Rome to grave convulsions. Liberius (352–360) on account of his taking part with Athanasius, was driven from Rome by the Emperor Constantius, and the deacon Felix was set in his place; but the people adhered firmly to Liberius and received him with jubilation, although he had obtained his return through obsequiousness to the Emperor. Felix was driven away, and Rome found the suggestion of the Emperor that Liberius and Felix should administer the bishopric in common, very singular. But the powerful position of a Bishop of Rome made the chair an object of ambition and popular passions. In opposition to the newly-elected bishop, Damasus (366–384), to whom it was objected that he had taken the part of Felix, Ursinus (Ursicinus) was hastily elected by the opposition and consecrated by Bishop Paul of Tibur; hastily and ruthlessly at the head of the fanatical masses Damasus combated his opponents, blood flowed in streams and at sacred places, and the City Prefect Viventius caused Damasus to be let alone. Ursinus was expelled the city; subsequently the Emperor allowed him to return, but was obliged to send him anew into banishment. The opposition of the parties dragged out for some time longer.

In the agitations of the Oriental parties to attain a union of all the opponents of the Arians and to overcome the Meletian schism, the Greek East also

exerted itself to gain the approval of Damasus.[1] (M. Rade, Damasus. B. v. R., 1881. On the legend of Felix II. as the rightful Pope, *vid.* Döllinger, *Papstfabeln des M.A.*, p. 106 sqq.).—His successor Siricius (384–398) made use of the need of Western bishops of seeking the advice of the ecclesiastical tradition of Rome in questions of church law and discipline, to give decisions for the Spanish Church with the **claim of canonical authority (Decretals)**, and likewise he communicated the decisions of the Roman synods held under him to the African Church for observance. Damasus already sought to maintain the relation of Illyria to Rome above mentioned (p. 341), so also Siricius and his successor Anastasius (398–402), who "*omnia, quæ in illis partibus gerantur, tradit cognoscenda*" to Bishop Anysius of Thessalonica. Innocent I. advanced with success and growing self-confidence in these tracks; he commissioned the Bishop of Thessalonica as his **Vicar** for the Illyrian provinces, communicated his ordinances for observance to other Western provinces and laid claim to the power of deciding as superior judge in *maiores causæ* (based on the above-mentioned Canon of Sardica, which was regarded as Nicene) and enforced the duty of sending information as to important events to Rome. In the conflict of Theophilus of Alexandria with John Chrysostom he worthily championed the side of the latter, and in the Pelagian controversy, both the Palestinian Synod, which sided with Pelagius, and the African Church gave him the opportunity of making his weighty opinion felt, which caused Augustine to exclaim to the Pelagians: "*Roma locuta, causa finita.*" But the experiences of his successor, Zosimus (417–18), who by his initial protection of Pelagius drew upon himself the harsh disclaimer of the African Church and (under the additional influence of the Emperor Honorius) allowed his opinion to be entirely converted, showed how little the self-confident African Church was inclined to recognise a superior authority in questions of doctrine; and the affair of Apiarius of Sicca, a presbyter deposed by his bishop, and who appealed to Rome and whom Zosimus assisted, occasioned the decision of the General Council of Carthage (418, can. 17), that presbyters or other lower clergy should only bring their complaints against the judgment of their bishop, before neighbouring bishops, eventually before African Councils or the African Primate, but should not appeal beyond the sea (on pain of excommunication). Naturally, there is here express reference to clergy only, who seek protection from the Roman bishop against their own, not expressly to bishops, who consider themselves opposed by metropolitans; but in the instruction of Zosimus for his messengers, whom he further sent in 418 to Carthage to abolish the dispute, he extended his claim also to the appeal of the bishops to Rome, and founded the whole on the authority of the alleged Nicene, but actually Sardicene

[1] If, according to the investigations of Thiel, *De decret. Gelasii Papæ de libb. recipiendis*, Brunsb. 1866, and of Friederich (*Drei unedirte Concilien aus der Merovingerzeit, mit einem Anhang ü. d. Decr. Gelasii*, Bamberg 1867), the beginning of the decree of Gelasius (*De spiritu sancto, De canone scr. s., De sedibus patriarchalibus*) already proceeds from Damasus, this confirms the latter's conscious *exaltation* of the primacy of Rome, which rests not on the decisions of councils (Nicæa, to which the synod in Constantinople went back), but on the evangelical word of the Lord; Alexandria (as the bishopric of Mark, the disciple of Peter) has (according to Nic.) the first place after Rome; Antioch, where Peter dwelt before he came to Rome, the third; Constantinople is passed over in entire silence (Hefele, II. 621).

canons. This appeal to the celebrated council estranged the Africans, who did not find the canons referred to among those of Nicæa. They were willing however, under reservation of investigations into the authentic content of the Nicene canons, to accept these canons provisionally. Apiarius was actually first of all again admitted. The transactions on this subject however dragged on under BONIFACE I. (419–22) and CELESTINE (422–32) and ended, on an attempt of Celestine's in the interest of the again banished Apiarius, with the result, that the Africans, basing on the silence of the genuine Nicene canons, and in the sense of the 5th Nicene canon, declared themselves most decidedly against the appeal to Rome.

Here the Popes were always confronted with an important and characteristically marked provincial Church and its historically developed constitutional spirit schooled in numerous synods. The case was different in other Western provinces, especially in **Gaul**, where Christianity had only completely prevailed since the time of Martin of Tours, and the constitution, especially the metropolitan constitution, was only in process of development. This immature condition is indicated by the conflict between the bishops of Vienne and Arles and Massilia as to ecclesiastical privileges about the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, in which the ancient ecclesiastical authority of Vienne was repressed by the importance of outstanding Arles favoured by circumstances (p. 330). These circumstances, and especially the effort of Bishop PATROCLUS of Arelate to assert a position of episcopal superiority over the bishops of Gallia Viennensis and the two Galliæ Narbonenses (I. and II.), in particular in the right of ordination in these provinces, were made use of by Zosimus in 417. He conceded him this right (Zosimi *Epist. ad Episc. Galliæ*) appealing to the authority of the alleged origination in Rome of the work of Trophimus, the first Bishop of Arelate, from which as source the whole of Gaul had received the stream of the faith, but at the same time he made him the **Vicar of Rome**: whoever in Gaul desired to journey to the Roman see or abroad in general, required for that purpose the *literæ formatæ* of the Metropolitan of Arelate. Meanwhile the metropolitans of the individual provinces successfully opposed, and the effort of Patroclus, whose episcopal seat now became the capital of seven provinces (*Honorii constitutio* of 418, *vid.* Gies. I. 2, 219), after a corresponding extension of his rights, already found opposition on the part of BONIFACE I., who took his ground on the Nicene principle that the individual provinces should each have its metropolitan; and when Bishop Hilarius of Arelate proceeded with his effort after a kind of primacy of Southern Gaul, and deposed the Bishop of Vesontio (Besançon), Celidonius, who in accordance with the political partition of the district, according to which Vesontio was the capital of Maxima Sequan., is to be regarded as a metropolitan, the latter found a willing ear for his complaints in the Roman Bishop LEO I. (440-461). The latter knew a way the opposite of that of Zosimus—and since then very often employed—to vindicate his authority over the Gallican churches. Hilarius supported his cause in person at Rome and in decided opposition to the Roman bishop, but was obliged to leave Rome in secret, and a Roman synod (445) not only restored Celidonius and censured Hilarius' usurpation of provinces not his own, but also denied him the privileges conceded by Zosimus to his predecessor, and even the province of Vienne (as metropolitan of which the Bishop of Arles had regarded himself since the Synod of Turin in 401), and accordingly would have made him a simple bishop. As a matter of fact Hilarius had to submit. Here, therefore, Leo suppressed the aspirations to primacy of a very capable and energetic bishop in the

interest of the papal power he was striving after; the right of uniting the Gallican bishops in a common synod was ascribed—but as a privilege of age—to Bishop Leontius of Forum Julii (Fréjus). Leo further obtained in 445 from the young Emperor Valentinian III. (the son of Placidia) an edict which recognised the primacy of the Bishop of Rome "over the Church" as the best guarantee for the peace of the Church, designated resistance to the Bishop of Rome as treason, ascribed the force of a universal law to his regulations, and ordained that persons summoned should in case of need be brought before the Bishop of Rome by the secular arm. (*Tunc enim demum ecclesiarum pax ubique servabitur, si rectorem suum agnoscat universitas* [Novellæ Valent. III. tit. 16]).

With the Gallican affair we enter upon **Leo's** so epoch-making and consciously designed activity, which was equivalent to the carrying out of a developed theory of papal monarchy. Its first foundation is laid on the Apostolic-prince Peter as the **Rock** (Matt. xvi. 16–19), who, established by Christ as the true foundation, and one with Him, is to bear the building of the eternal temple as its fixed basis. To him He commended all His sheep to be fed, from him as head the gifts of Christ were to flow to the whole body. His superiority in rank above the other shepherds, the Apostles, is transferred to the Roman Church; to the head of the Church, Rome, the head of the world has fallen, as his seat, and his superiority in rank is transmitted to all his successors, for all of whom Christ's command and His prayer (Luke xxii. 32) hold good. He who dares to depart from the rock of Peter loses his part in the divine mystery. Not all bishops are to arrogate everything to themselves. Over the bishops of a province one shall preside who shall have the first word (the decision) among his brethren; over them again, in the larger cities, like superiors with a more comprehensive circuit of influence (patriarchs?), *per quos ad unam Petri sedem universalis ecclesiæ cura confluëret, et nihil usquam a suo capite dissideret.* The bishops are summoned to take part in the cares of the successor of Peter (for souls), not however to exercise the same fulness of power (appointed *in partem sollicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis*, Ep. XIV. 1).

The condition of secular affairs in the West was adapted to further these claims. The oppression of Roman Gaul under the German and Arian kingdoms which were in process of formation, the invasion of the Huns, the shattering of Roman administration and ecclesiastical arrangements alike, such as called forth the exertions of the energetic Bishop Hilarius in favour of ecclesiastical centralisation, now perhaps appeared in a still higher degree suited to recommend attachment to Rome. Not less so in **Africa,** whose flourishing and powerful church had been overflowed and destroyed

by the Arian Vandals. The church of the part which was preserved to the Roman dominion, viz. Mauritania Cæsariensis, now offers no opposition to Leo's endeavours to rule it, to obviate uncanonical occurrences and to decide appeals thence.

In regard to the **East** also, although here Leo's theory of the universal papal monarchy was not recognised, Leo's pontificate indicates the close of an advancing development, which finds its explanation in the need of the parties in the Greek East of finding support in Rome's approval and confirmation amid their embittered doctrinal controversies.

The fact that his age invested the Roman Bishop Julius with authority in the East also, was conditioned by the position of DAMASUS. In the angry controversy between Theophilus of Alexandria and Chrysostom (*vid. infra*) the first bishops of the East, each individually applied to the Roman and Italian bishops for assistance and help, but the style of Innocent's exertions, to bring about an impartial synodal decision by the mediation of the Emperor Honorius, shows how little there was here of any superior episcopal authority over the East. But in the inflamed Nestorian controversy, CYRIL of Alexandria sought to win over to his side the Roman Bishop CELESTINE I., to whom, "according to ancient ecclesiastical custom," it was his duty to send information on everything which concerned the faith; he desired only in association with him to abolish ecclesiastical communion with Nestorians. And Celestine at once made use of this state of affairs, to assume the rôle of an arbiter in the East, by means of his legates to the Council of Ephesus (for the Roman bishops discreetly avoided going themselves to the East). When he commissioned his legates, to guard the authority of the apostolic see, and in case it should come to controversy, to judge upon the opinion of others but not to submit themselves to foreign judgment (*non subire certamen*), the question is, whether the latter is to be understood as by Langen, I. 815, only to the extent that they were to appear in the character of **judges over the Nestorians** (*vid.* the letter in Coustant, 1152). The judgment of the Cyrillian Synod of Ephesus against Nestorius resulted "on the ground of the canon and in accordance with the letter of our most holy Father and fellow-priest Celestine," and Celestine had the satisfaction of seeing Maximianus, a monk from Rome, occupying the see of Constantinople instead of Nestorius; from the letters of Celestine (MIGNE, 50, 537; 544; 547; 548) may be gathered, with what legitimacy he was called a complete creature of Celestine's. Celestine says that the Church of Rome, to which (by his origin) he had always belonged, would testify for him as for a member of its body (LANGEN, I. 83). Similarly he recommended the simple new teacher to the community of Constantinople; they might suppose what the latter had learned at Rome from the forefathers. His successor Sixtus (Xystus) III. did not omit to congratulate John of Antioch on his adhesion to the condemnation of Nestorius, with allusion to the importance of being in accord with Rome and not estranging oneself from the doctrine of him (Peter) whom the Lord Himself had instructed as the first among the apostles (Langen, I. 844).

In their natural opposition to Constantinople the Popes willingly sought to find support in Alexandria, as the see of Mark the disciple of St. Peter, and in Antioch on account of St. Peter's temporary activity there.

The fruits, however, of the state of affairs brought about by the

Oriental doctrinal controversies were gathered in full measure by this very **Leo,** whose assistance was now invoked against Eutyches (*vid. inf.*) and just by Flavian of Constantinople, and who now in the celebrated letter to Flavian gave the dogmatic decision. The intrigues of Dioscurus of Alexandria and his momentary successes at the robber Synod (449), at which Dioscurus pronounced excommunication against Leo, only served to bring about the strongest recognition by the party here subjected to force, in its most eminent representatives, and especially **Theodoret,** of the Roman primacy and its submission to Leo's decision, with a view to finding the longed-for help in the West, united under him. When in the next place the change of government in the East brought the desired revolution, Leo hoped to be able to dictate ecclesiastical peace solely on the ground of his letter, without a General Synod. The latter however did take place, but brought him at least the triumph that his letter was made the basis of the doctrinal decision; his doctrine was esteemed as the word of Saint Peter, he himself as the divinely appointed guardian of God's vineyard, and the conclusions of the synod were laid before him for confirmation. If this in the first place only involved that for an œcumenical decision it was necessary to secure the approval of the chief churches, the encomiastic expressions of the Greeks provided for the point that Leo could descry in his own approval the only confirmation of the fact that at the council the voice of God had decided. But the dogmatic triumph of his doctrinal authority was embittered to him at the same council by the adoption of the 28th canon, which declared that honourable preference over all the bishops in the world was indeed due to the bishop of Old Rome, but that the same honour was due to the bishop of New Rome, and moreover acknowledged expressly to the latter, in adherence to former regulations (Const. 381, can. 3), the jurisdiction over the three dioceses of Asia, Pontus and Thrace. The Roman legates at the council protested on the ground of the spurious Latin style of the 6th canon of Nicæa, but in vain. Leo, who derived his prerogative not from the rank of Old Rome but from Saint Peter, refused confirmation (wished only to admit the validity of the dogmatic part) and set everything in motion against it, and the Emperor, who required Leo's help, came to an agreement in 444 to issue a law, which from its indefinite style might be interpreted as an abolition of the canon; Anatolius of Constantinople was to humble himself before Leo. But as a matter of fact canon 28, which Rome never recognised, remained valid in the Greek Church.

Leo likewise was able to retain the Illyrian diocese in the relationship to Rome which had been especially established by Innocent I., by appointing the Metropolitan of Thessalonica as his vicar, whom the bishops were bound to obey, as they were bound to obey himself, but who had to inform the Pope of everything and accept his decisions.

If we survey all these circumstances and include in addition Leo's action against the heretics which was so fertile in results, the Roman trial (440) of the **Manichees**, who had again made their appearance in Italy, his strict church-police measures against them, and the imperial edict of Valentinian III. (445) which was obtained by Leo, and which lent the secular arm for purposes of ruthless persecution; so likewise his zeal, called forth by Bishop Turibius of Astorga, against the **Priscillianists**, when Leo seized the opportunity of placing the Roman Church of Spain under its German rulers, also under his own leadership, the epoch-making importance of his personality becomes plain, and we can see with what correctness it may be said he was the **first Pope. He is the founder of the successful theory of the papal monarchy** as an institution which by force of divine right includes the whole Church, and the extension of the papal power beyond the sphere of ecclesiastical legislation and discipline to the power of deciding in matters of faith also. How far this theory still remained from being a permanent and universal practical success, is shown by subsequent times; but the combined influence of different circumstances had given an energetic, acute, and consciously purposeful personality, abundant opportunities of successfully making good the claims of this theory.

The imposing spiritual position of Leo amid the disordered circumstances of the Western Roman Empire, which was advancing to its fall, necessarily also became influential politically. When, after the battle on the Catalaunian Plains, Attila with his Huns had devastated Upper Italy in the year 452, Aquileia, Pavia, and Milan lay in ruins, and now Italy and Rome lay open before him, Leo (according to Prosper, *Chron.* [who is followed by Cassiodorus, Vict. Tunn. and Jordanis]), on the commission of the Emperor and the Senate of Rome, and accompanied by two Romans of rank, betook himself to the camp of the Hunnish king on the Po (at the influx of the Mincio), and induced him to make peace and withdraw beyond the Danube. How much this decision of Attila's was due to consideration of his precarious position and political concessions, how much to the impression made by the first priest in Christendom, is a question which may be left open. According to Cassio-

DORUS (*Varia* 1, 4 ed. Garetius, p. 5), it was his father and the son of Aëtius, who induced Attila to retreat. Christian fancy, however, took pleasure in the thought that the Prince of the Apostles himself, standing with drawn sword by Leo's side and only visible to the Huns, had saved Rome. When afterwards, in 456, Gaiseric's Vandals were at the gates of Rome, Leo, who handed the keys of the city to the Vandal king, was only able to mitigate the lot of the city, given over to fourteen days' plunder and the carrying away of many prisoners, to the extent of the prevention of murder and incendiarism.

HILARIUS (Hilarus) 461–468 sought to make good the claims of Rome in the West, especially in Gaul, in the confused condition of things. SIMPLICIUS (468–483) made a certain Bishop Zeno of Hispalis his Vicar in Spain, raised opposition to the claims of Constantinople founded on can. 28 of Chalcedon, and at the same time sought to maintain Leo's influence on dogmatic decisions. When the faith seemed to be injured by the Henotikon of the Emperor Zeno, of 482, Felix III. (483–492), by his excommunication of the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria (484), introduced the ecclesiastical schism between the East and the West which lasted till 519. This took place at a time in which the so-called fall of the Western Roman Empire ensued (476), and rule had fallen into the hands of the Rugian ODOACER and his Germans, which again was followed by the rule of the Ostro-Goth THEODORIC (493–526). **The Roman Church was under heretical (Arian) dominion.** These German princes, such as Odoacer on Felix's entry upon office, laid claim, in the interest, of course, of public order to control and confirm[1] the election of the Popes. But the orthodox Roman ecclesiastical world in its internal concerns essentially gave them no trouble whatever, much less would it have thought of wishing to compel them to adopt its confession. And the breaking off of the association with Constantinople was only favourable for the Roman bishops in the eyes of the Germans. Pope GELASIUS I. (492-496), both in his attitude towards the Greek Church (cursing all who did not approve the excommunication of the Greek Patriarchs by his predecessor, 495) and otherwise, **vindicated to the fullest degree the claims of the Roman Primacy,** and rejected entirely the equalisation of Constantinople with Rome; Rome can receive appeals from the whole world, but from the Roman chair there is no appeal to any other. Rome has to carry out the decisions of the councils, but can also give judgment without synods and overthrow the judgments of other bishops. In the famous *decretum de recipiendis libris* (in which sentences of Damasus are incorporated, and which was subjected to a subsequent revision under Hormisdas), he, acting in the fulness of Roman power, combined with the Canon of the Holy Scriptures the first *index librorum prohibitorum*, so to speak, in which, along with the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, the writings also of

[1] The interference of the Pretorian Prefect Basilius, the representative of Odoacer, in the papal election of Felix, and the ordinance which he carried through, that no Pope might alienate any of the property or ornaments of the church, was subsequently regarded (under Symmachus, 502) as uncalled for interference of the laity (the secular power), and was probably already so felt at the time.

Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius and Arnobius are given among the writings not received, and of Origen only a few *opuscula* not rejected by Saint Jerome are admitted (the text in the *Corpus jur. can.* in MANSI, VIII. 153 sqq. in MI. 59 and in A. THIEL, *De Decr. Gelas.*, 1866). ANASTASIUS II. (496–498), who greeted the newly converted king of the Franks, Chlodwig, as his spiritual son, caused offence in Rome itself by conciliatory steps towards the Greek Church with a view to abolishing the schism. Therewith connected was the fact that after his death, in opposition to SYMMACHUS (498–514), elected by the majority, there was set up an anti-pope in the person of the presbyter LAURENTIUS, at the instigation of Felix, a Roman senator, who as Theodoric's ambassador at Constantinople had devoted himself to similar exertions in favour of an agreement. The two parties repeatedly came to bloodshed in the streets of Rome. On the appeal of both sides, Theodoric decided in favour of Symmachus, as elected first and by the majority. A Roman synod under Symmachus, having in view these recent experiences, prohibited the canvassing or promising of votes for his successor during the life of a Pope. On his coming to Rome (500) Theodoric was solemnly welcomed by the Pope, senate, and people, and promised to maintain previous imperial laws. When the adherents of Laurentius accused Symmachus of ecclesiastical failings and carnal sins, Theodoric caused the Bishop of Attinum to go to Rome to investigate the matter, and temporarily administer the Roman church property. Against this Symmachus protested, and sought under pretext of the acts of violence used against him to withdraw himself from synodal negotiations. Theodoric indeed insisted on a synodal decision, but allowed it to happen, that at the new assembly in October, 501 (or perhaps 502, vid. VOGEL in HZ. 1883, 400 sqq.), which was held in the hall *ad Palmaria* in S. Peter's, the so-called *Synodus Palmaris*, "out of reverence for S. Peter, whose authority had been transmitted to his successors," the bishops should refuse to judge Symmachus; the judgment should be left to God, to whom secrets were revealed. As regards man therefore, Symmachus, to whom moreover almost the whole people adhered, was to be free from all accusation, and to be acknowledged in the possession of episcopal rights; all who had fallen away were to return to obedience, those who returned were to be mercifully treated, those who resisted to be treated as schismatics. The highly esteemed Bishop AVITUS of Vienne, also commissioned by the bishops of Gaul, endeavoured in this sense to work in favour of peace at Rome. Against the literary attacks too of the opposition, who regarded the singular decision of the synod as a tacit admission of the guilt of Symmachus and as self-contradictory, MAGNUS FELIX ENNODIUS, afterwards Bishop of Ticinum (Pavia), felt obliged to defend the affair of Symmachus and the Roman Synod in a treatise of his own (*Libellus adversus eos qui contra synodum scribere præsumpserunt*), in which, in his ambiguous style, with abundant invective against the opposition, he asserted that God had reserved to Himself alone the power of judging the Bishop of Rome (who is here called *Papa*), and that the merits of S. Peter guaranteed the holiness of all his successors since they quite outweighed any little moral defects of the latter. At a synod in 502, Symmachus made use of the previous incidents at the election of Felix, in order to condemn in them all interference of a layman, in spite of actual approval of the measures for securing the property of the church. The party of Laurentius still gave him trouble, till Theodoric carried out the transference of the church they occupied to Symmachus (505 and 506). Laurentius ended in the retirement of an ascetic, and remained in spite of everything in the odour of great sanctity.

After the tension with Constantinople had become very severe under Symmachus, it was first of all the conversion of the Emperor Anastasius, brought about by the general Vitalian (*vid.* Monophysite controversy), which enabled Pope HORMISDAS (514–523) to vindicate his authority in the East with increasing success, to gain ground again in Illyria and Epirus, and after the death of the Emperor Anastasius, under the Emperor Justin I., behind whom stood his nephew Justinian, the union really came off, a triumph for Rome (519) to which during the schism reverence had been paid by all who were discontented and persecuted in the East on account of the Henotikon. Hormisdas now caused the monk DIONYSIUS (Exiguus) to collect the Greek canons and translate them into Latin, a collection made from the Latin standpoint (hence without admission of the last canons of Chalcedon from 28 onward).

The peace with the East however involved disadvantageous consequences for the position of the Pope under the Arian ruler. Theodoric compelled Pope John I. (523–526), in spite of his resistance, to go to Constantinople, with a view to induce Justin to restore the churches which he had violently taken from the Arians, and to allow liberty of return to Arianism. John, the first Bishop of Rome who appeared in person at Constantinople, was received there with the greatest reverence, but did not accomplish anything, and probably had no earnest desire to do so. Whether he made use of his presence for political intrigues against the Gothic rule in Italy must remain an open question. After his return Theodoric threw him into prison, where he died. Theodoric, shortly before his own death, put an end to the conflict of parties about the papal election by the nomination of FELIX (IV.) (526–530). The latter sought by a testamentary disposition to obviate new conflicts, by designating the archdeacon BONIFATIUS as his successor in an autograph missive (Sept., 530) to the clergy, senate, and people, and threatening those who should resist with excommunication. This ordinance he had also communicated to his "lords and sons" the rulers. To this edict, which was posted up in all the parish churches of Rome, the senate further added the decree according to which arrangements during the lifetime of a Pope as to the election of his successor were threatened with confiscation of property. Felix probably acted in agreement with the Ostro-Gothic ruler, to whom he communicated his designation of his successor for confirmation. The selection fell upon a man of German, probably Gothic, descent, who, under the Pope instituted by Theodoric, had attained to the position which in Rome afforded the greatest prospect of the papal chair. The opposition party, which may be called the Byzantine, and which as it appears had behind it the majority of the senate and people, proceeded indeed at once, after the death of Felix, with the election of the deacon DIOSCURUS. But the conflict of parties was brought to an end by the sudden death of Dioscurus which ensued hardly a month after. Bonifatius, behind whom the Ostro-Gothic power seems to have stood, compelled the greater part of the Roman clergy to seek his reconciliation by express written anathema of Dioscurus.[1] He next, at a Roman synod, appointed the deacon VIGILIUS as his successor, and bound the clergy by subscription and oath to accept him, but at another assembly soon thereafter this act was retracted and the document burnt, while he confessed himself guilty of high-treason.[2] After his death,

[1] What the papal book ascribes to him as special *amaritudo*, is celebrated in the inscription in De ROSSI, I. 467, as special clemency in the adjustment of the schism and conciliatoriness towards his former enemies.

[2] The political influences here undoubtedly to be inferred are obscure.

again after party conflicts for several months in which no bribery was too great, John II. (Mercurius) proceeded as his successor (31st Dec., 532, till 27th May, 535) under whom, in the name of the young king Athalaric, a prohibition of "simony" in the election of a Pope was issued in agreement with former decisions of the senate, in which however, in order to avoid too great rigorism, it was naïvely ordained that when the election of a Bishop of Rome was being pushed at Court as much as 3,000 solidi might be expended, on the election of any other "Patriarch" 2,000 solidi (Cassiod. Ep. 9, 15).

AGAPETUS I. (535–536) at once quashed by burning the anathema which Boniface II. had uttered over the dead Dioscurus. That was indeed the **departure from the principle of the designation of the Pope by his predecessor, as an infringement of the rights of the Roman senate and people.** Meanwhile the Greek rule in Africa had again been restored, and the generals of Justinian armed themselves to break the Gothic rule in Italy.

THEODATUS, who, after the death of the young Athalaric, had been raised to the co-regency by Amalasuentha, sought by pressure on the Roman senate to make use of the latter to gain from Justinian cessation of the hostile measures against Italy, and in this mission the Pope had to betake himself to Constantinople. Agapetus played an influential part at Constantinople in ecclesiastical matters, gained the banishment of the Constantinopolitan Bishop Anthimus and consecrated his successor Mennas, but the further development of events hindered his political mission. Agapetus died at Constantinople.[1]

His successor SILVERIUS (536 sq.), still confirmed by Theodatus, after the dethroning of Theodatus and the banishment of Vitiges to Ravenna, in association with the Roman senate opened the gates of Rome to the Byzantine Belisarius (9th Dec., 536), but now fell under the pressure of the Empress Theodora who had won over to her Monophysite tendencies the Roman deacon Vigilius, who having been at one time designated by Boniface to the Roman chair had afterwards gone to Constantinople with Agapetus. Silverius, who would not bend himself to the wishes of Theodora, and would not agree to acknowledge the Patriarch Anthimus of Constantinople who had been deposed by his predecessor, on whom besides suspicion had fallen of wishing to surrender the city to the Goths who were besieging it (537), fell into an untenable position through the intrigues of Vigilius. Belisarius was obliged to seize him, he was made a monk and banished to Patara in Lycia; nevertheless he was sent back by Justinian to Vitiges; if the accusation (of inviting the Gothic king) were proved he was to stay in another city, but if he were innocent he was to return to Rome. Silverius now fell into the hands of Vigilius, who caused him to be deported to the island of Palmaria or Pontiæ, where he is said to have died of hunger.

VIGILIUS (537–555) bound the Empress by oath, and thereby compelled her into secret concessions to those who were hostile to the Creed of Chalcedon, was skilful enough to maintain his position by double-tonguedness and artifice, then in the **Three Chapter Controversy** (*vid. inf.*) fell into great embarrassment between the imperial ecclesiastical policy and the opinion and traditions of the Latin West. It is worthy of note that Vigilius sent the pallium and the nomination to his vicariate to Bishop Aurelian of Arles, with the approval of King Childebert and the Imperial pair at Constantinople (LANGE, II. 355), while at the same time Rome had to suffer again under the siege and storming of the

[1] *Vid.* the narrative of one who took part in the mission to Constantinople, in BARONIUS, ad a. 536, No. 59 sqq.

Goth Totilas (546). Vigilius, who resided at Constantinople, by his obsequiousness to Justinian in the *Judicatum* (548) occasioned a deep-rooted revolt of the ecclesiastical West against Rome, so that Synods were held against that treatise (Illyria), and an African synod under Reparatus of Carthage excommunicated the Pope until he had done penance. Next when Vigilius by means of the *Constitutum* (553) took courage to oppose the Three Chapter Edict and the five Œcumenical Synods, but being soon made pliant by exile, was recalled and made his peace with the Emperor, he returned to Italy after a nine years' absence, at a time when Rome and Italy were again taken from the Goths by the imperial general Narses, and the Emperor in the Pragmatic Sanction [1] sought to attach the bishops to himself by numerous privileges and favours. Vigilius, however, died in Sicily on his return journey, without seeing Rome again (c. 16 May 555), and his sudden death cast an odious suspicion on his successor.

The pontificate of Vigilius marks a crushing defeat of the development of the claims of Rome. If at the fourth Œcumenical Council Leo of Rome was the master of the position, now, a century later, it was the Byzantine Emperor Justinian, with his Court theology. The Byzantines now regarded the Bishop of Rome only as one (though at the same time the first in rank) of the Patriarchs, on an equal footing with Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. The Œcumenical Council (the fifth) met against the will of Rome and excommunicated Vigilius. And the humiliated Vigilius afterwards accepted the propositions of the council which he had rejected, and in doing so found himself again in opposition to the weightiest opinions of the West.

In accordance with the wish of Byzantium there succeeded the most influential personality of Pelagius I. (555–560). Formerly Roman apocrisiary in Constantinople, next with the riches there acquired, influential in Rome during the oppression by the Goths in the absence of Vigilius, he had again come to Constantinople on a political mission, and like Vigilius had fallen into dependence on the Empress Theodora (cf. NADG. V. 536 sqq. 561; Delisle, *Notices et extraits des manuscr.* t. 31, n. 1, p. 7). In Rome it was only with difficulty that he could find clergy to consecrate him, and was obliged, led by Narses, to purify himself in S. Peter's by a solemn oath from the suspicion of being the murderer of his predecessor. On account of the fifth Œcumenical Council, which was so detested in the West, and to which Pelagius was bound, the bishops of Upper Italy (Milan and Aquileia) refused him ecclesiastical communion; so also in Gaul he had trouble in working against suspicion of his orthodoxy. Against the Italian "schismatics" he sought the aid of the secular power, and it is significant of the altered situation of the Bishop of Rome that he supported his position by appeal, not to the authority of St. Peter, but to the consensus "of the Apostolic sees" (on his pontificate cf. Ewald in the *Neues Archiv*, l.c.).

New storms now broke out over Italy, in which the Greek dominion had to defend itself against the barbarians, and in the end was unable to prevent the establishment of the **Lombards**. Byzantium was limited to the Exarchate of

[1] Hegel, *Gesch. d. Städtverf. in Italien*, I. 126.

Ravenna, the Duchies of Rome and Naples, and the most southerly part of Lower Italy, and the coast cities of Liguria. The external miseries, which prevented a consistent carrying out of Roman ecclesiastical government, were reinforced by the continuation of the ecclesiastical schism on account of the fifth council, which the succeeding but insignificant Popes John III. (560 till 573) and Benedict I. (574–578) were as little able to overcome entirely as Pelagius II. (578–590), although a schismatical election to Milan under the Lombards offered the former the advantage that one of the persons elected attached himself to the Pope, and although the latter confirmed to Bishop Elias of Aquileia, who had fled before the Lombards, the removal of his see to the island of Grado (under Byzantine government). All the same, he was unable to overcome the opposition of the Istrian bishops. Pelagius died in 590, during the ravages of a pestilence which had resulted from floods, and was followed by

Gregory I., afterwards called the Great (590–604; cf. Ewald, *Neues Archiv*, III. 437 sqq.), a man of respected ancient Roman family (that of the Anicii, to whom Felix III. had also belonged), who had followed a secular career the length of being Prætor of Rome, had then become a monk (573), had founded monasteries with his private means, but had also entered upon the clerical career. For about six years he had filled the important post of Roman Apocrisiarius in Constantinople (till 585) at a time when the political interests also of Rome, under the Lombard oppression, required help from the Greek Court, though indeed they met with but little. In the end, however, he lived in his monastery as abbot. Gregory struggled against the unanimous choice of the clergy, the senate and the people, in a way natural to a strong character which was conscious that, once torn away from cloistral peace, it must and would be ready to take upon itself all the consequences of an office involving much conflict; he however received confirmation from the Emperor Mauritius. We place his history at the head of the next period.

CHAPTER THIRD.

Monasticism as the Religious-moral Ideal for the World-Church.

Literature: P. 22, No. 6; A. Möhler, in his collected writings, I. 165; Mangold, De monach. originibus et causis, Marb. 1852; H. Weingarten, *Der Urspr. des Mönchth.* ZKG. I. 1 & 4, Goth. 1877; Idem in RE. 10, 758 sqq.; Gass, ZKG. II. 2; Keim, *Aus d. Urchristenthum*, I. 204 sqq.; K. Hase, JprTh. 1880, 2nd Edition; A. Harnack, *Das Monchthum, seine Ideal und seine Gesch.* 3rd ed. 1886. Bornemann, in Investig. monach. orig. quibus de causis ratio habenda sit Orig. Goth. 1885. Eichhorn, Athanasii de vita ascet. testim, Halle 1886. Bestmann, *G. d. chr. Sitte* II.

1. The Anchorites of the East.

Sources: Athanasii vita Antonii (Opp. ed. Montf. I. 626, Mgr. 26, 836); Jerome, Vita Pauli, V. Hilarionis, V. Malchi, V. S. Paulæ ad Eust. and others (Opp. ed. Vallarsi II. 2 sqq., Ml. 23); Socrates, H.E. 4, 23 sq.; Sozomen, 12–14. 3, 14. 6, 28–34. Evagrius, H.E. 1, 21.—Rufini Historia monachorum s. de vitis patrum (Opp. ed. Vall., Ver. 1775, Ml. 21); also in H. Rossweyde, Vitæ patrum, Antwerp 1615 (1628) vol. II. Palladius, Hist. Lausiaca (Mgr. 34 app.); Theodoreti, Hist. relig. (*φιλόθεος ἱστορία*) Opp. ed. Hal. 3, 1 sqq.; Joh. Cassianus, vid. sub. No. 3.

Christianity as it becomes the Church of the world publicly sets up its ascetic ideal of the life alien to the world, combating sensuality and devoted to contemplation, in a special class of the perfect, the hermits and monks. This monasticism has its predecessors and parallels in numerous extra-Christian phenomena of the East, in the Indian Gymnosophists who were the wonder of the Greek world, the Egyptian servants of Serapis, the Buddhist monasticism. But its Christian roots lie in the **Asceticism** of the early times already depicted (p. 285), in which Christian and philosophic-ascetic motives are combined. In the **Hieracites** we saw societies of ascetics which stand on the border-line between the ascetics who persevere in remaining within the bonds of the family and the community, and the monastic life proper. Individual Christian **Anchorites** (hermits) may as early as the third century, perhaps already as a result of the Decian persecution, have taken refuge in the desert, although no reliance is to be placed on the romantic legend of Paul of Thebes (Jerome). But the real father of Egyptian anchoritism is S. Antony, a man not of Hellenic but Egyptian (Coptic) descent. Hearing the gospel story of the rich young man drove him to the resignation of

his property, which he divided among the poor, and finally to the retirement of the desert with a view of living a life entirely dedicated to God, in constant conflict with the demons who terrified or tempted him. For long he lived in the hollow of a tomb, then in a deserted fort, finally on a desert mountain, supporting life on dates at a fountain. Other ascetics sought his spiritual guidance and settled in his neighbourhood, people of all ranks sought out the holy man for the sake of spiritual council or healing by his prayer, after he had appeared in Alexandria about 311 in the time of the Maximinian persecution, like a form from another world. Forty years later, in the midst of the heat of the Arian conflicts, he again appeared in Alexandria, having meanwhile become the object of reverence and sufficiently kept in touch in his desert with the ecclesiastical conflicts through the stream of those who came to him; he was now the father of the ascetics in the desert, among whom some years later Athanasius found refuge. But the wilderness about him was no longer solitary; he finally withdrew himself from his companions and sought concealment, to die there at a great age (356).

The *Vita Antonii* which bears the name of Athanasius is indeed no sober historical narrative, but a representation of the ascetic ideal, fantastically adorned by the love of miracle of the age, romantic and even influenced by a conscious tendency, in which extreme freedom from needs and flight from the world are extraordinarily mingled with mystical and speculative contemplation. But its authorship by Athanasius, which is well and early attested (Greg. Naz. and Evagrius, vid. Eichhorn, p. 35 sqq.) is not on that account to be doubted.—Like Antony's Coptic descent, many other names (Pachomius, Paphnutius, Amun and the like) point to Egypt, the cradle of monasticism, as its original home. WEINGARTEN recalls the fact that the simplicity and poverty of the, for the most part, nomadic population of the Upper Egyptian desert, who lived half naked, without tents, in wretched huts, and on milk and the fruits of the desert, was not too far separated from the freedom from wants of original monasticism.

In the neighbouring province of Palestine too, in the desert of Gaza, a similar phenomenon must have appeared early in the Anchorite HILARION, and for the East the "Persian wise-man" APHRAATES, Bishop Jacobus of Mar Mattai, east of Mosul (till about the middle of the fourth century) is a witness to the transition from the earlier asceticism to anchoritism and monasticism proper. But it is certain that the hermit-life spread quickly in Syria, and from about the middle of the century to Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia.

Eusebius has not taken express notice of the new phenomena in his Church History, but the hermit and also the monastic life in common did not remain

unknown to him, which is attested by his verdict on the Therapeutæ (p. 38) as Christians of primitive times (Eus. H.E. 2, 17), as also by his verdict on the philosophical retirement of Bishop Narcissus of Jerusalem (6, 9 sq.); cf. also *Demonst. evang.* 1, 8 and the passages from his commentary on the Psalms in NESTLE, ZKG. 5, 505.—The romantic character of Jerome's Vita Hilarionis (*vid.* Israel in ZwTh. 1880) does not compel doubt of the early emergence of this hermit at all. The born-Palestinian Epiphanius, before he became Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, in 367, had lived for thirty years as a monk in Palestine, after having been won over to this mode of life in Egypt.—Among the homilies or instructions of Aphraates (edited in Syriac by WRIGHT, London 1869, in German partly by BICKEL, *Ausgewählte Schriften der syr. K.V.*, Kempten 1874, in Thalhofer's Bibl., completed by G. BERT, 1888), which formerly went falsely under the name of Jacobus of Nisibis, and which were written between 336 and 346, the sixth recommends (cf. also the eighteenth) to all who choose the virgin condition as the heavenly yoke of disciplehood of Christ, the *vita solitaria* of the "brethren of the league." Against Weingarten's untenable bringing down to a late date of the origin of monasticism *vid.* in general Eichhorn, l.c.

2. The Monasteries of the East.

Sources: Besides those mentioned under No. 1, the Rules and *Monita* ascribed to Pachomius, as also those which bear the name of BASIL in HOLSTENIUS, Cod. Regul. I., the Ascetica of Basil (Opp. II. 199 sqq. ed. Garn.), and the Vita Pachomii in Acta SS. Maji, f. III. append.

The settlement of a larger number of anchorites who assembled round a venerable chief gave rise at first to the λαῦραι, villages of monks, a number of scattered huts, the inhabitants of which could maintain a certain intercourse with one another and recognised a common superior. Eremitic monasticism held by this form of the lauras especially among the fathers of the desert in Egypt, but also in Syria and Mesopotamia. The hermits come together on the first and last days of the week for common praise and divine worship. Next, however, there was developed the μοναστήριον proper, the κοινόβιον or μάνδα (where the shepherd gathers the sheep), the gathering of the μονάζοντες in a common building, which at the same time necessitated and rendered possible a definite regulation of the life. This form of monasticism saved it from the eccentricities of self-torture and self-destruction, and from the degeneration and rudening of the hermit life when left to itself, and made it a social institution fruitful for the Church. PACHOMIUS is regarded as its founder, who, after a long ascetic life in the Thebaid, about 300 or 340, founded a speedily flourishing monastery on Tabennæ, an island in the Nile in the Upper Thebaid.

It would be an important indication of the extra-Christian factors which combined their influence in the genesis of monasticism, if, as Weingarten definitely supposes on the basis of Revillont's investigations, Pachomius had formerly been a servant of Serapis. The **Monastic Rules** which bear the name of

Pachomius, the larger in a Latin translation which is attributed to Jerome, and the smaller (extant in Greek), cannot indeed themselves pass as the authentic work of Pachomius, but the former only as matter which had gradually arisen and subsequently been put together, the latter as drawn from the narratives of PALLADIUS, Hist. Laus. c. 38, and of SOZOMEN, H.E. 3, 14, in which it is impossible to distinguish with certainty between what is original and what of later development.[1] However, these may be regarded as the epoch-making elements in his work: the grouping of the individual small monks' cells (three monks to each? Soz.) into a common habitation, the uniform clothing of the monks, the duty of obedience towards the president, doubtless also the fixation of definite strict penalties for all sorts of transgressions, fixed times for prayer, common meals, regulation of ascetic exercises and of labour (handicraft), also the fixing of a time of probation before entering the cloister. With regard to the standard of nourishment or of fasting, a wide freedom seems to have been conceded; but in accordance with it more fatiguing (bodily) labour was laid upon those who ate well, and lighter work on the abstinent (*τοῖς ἀσκουμένοις*).

The *Monita ad monasticos* ascribed to Pachomius, and a few letters to friendly heads of monasteries, contain exhortations to monkish virtues; others, such as the so-called *Verba mystica*, a mass of mystery-mongering unintelligible to us, rest on a mystical significance attributed to the Greek letters of the alphabet. To this also belongs the alleged classification of his monks into twenty-four classes according to the letters of the Greek alphabet, each of which was to be distinguished by certain qualities.

The work of PACHOMIUS quickly attained a wide extension, chiefly in Egypt. Branch establishments attached themselves, each under its abbot (or *ἀρχιμανδρίτης*), but all in a certain connection with the mother establishment. Prominent among contemporary founders were Ammonius (Amun) in the so-called Nitrian Mountains, south from the Palus Mareotis, who is said to have first lived for years with his betrothed wife but in monastic abstinence, till the two separated, and as monk and nun each lived apart (Socr. H.E. 4, 33; Soz. 1, 14; cp. Aphraates hom. 6, 4). Similarly the elder *Macarius* in the Scetic desert, said to have been a disciple of Antony. In the Libyan desert at this day a district among the numerous remains of monasteries still retains the name of the Desert of Macarius (vid. GIESEL. I. 2, 230 and thereon TISCHENDORF, *Reise in den Orient*, I. 110 sqq.). Macarius is said to have led a monkish life from 330, but in 340 to have become priest, and then for fifty years more, till his death, (391) to have presided over his societies of monks, which are here chiefly to be conceived as in the form of *lauras*. With him monkish contemplation seems to rise to a higher degree of theological mysticism; and he seems already, like many of these monks since the time of Athanasius, who was in lively intercourse with them and found refuge among them, to have been drawn into the ecclesiastical conflicts, and to have been exiled by the Emperor Valens for a considerable period.

The uncommonly speedy expansion of this new mode of life is only to be explained by the fact that in Egypt and the East a powerful popular disposition of a dualistic-religious sort, which so far had nothing Christian in it, and in its exquisite self-torture and maltreatments of the life of the body even assumes a certain

[1] The Ethiopic recension in Dillmann, Chrestom. æth., Leipsic 1866.

pathological character, so to speak came to meet the specific Christian impulses to the ascetic life (*vid. supra*), and that these found a broad soil in the freedom from needs and the oppressed social position both of the Egyptian and the rural Oriental population. This was reinforced in the case of morally finer natures and men of higher culture, along with the dispositions already working in Neo-Platonic philosophy and on the other hand in Stoicism, by aversion from the corruption of secular culture, the cooling of interest in political life, the flight from self-seeking, violence, flattery and venality of opinion in public life, and by the yearning to return from over-refined and luxurious life to simple conditions and nature. Hence we can understand how BASIL the Great (*vid. infra*) became an admirer and promoter of the monkish life, but at the same time certainly how he sought to clip down its rudeness and eccentricity and to bring **disciplined monasticism into the service of the Church.**

BASIL, in whose family there lived the memory of the Church's time of persecution, had just filled himself at Athens with classical literature and the ideals of philosophy, had returned home in the intention of distinguishing himself as a rhetorician and sophist (although as a Christian), when he was seized by the powerful drift of the age towards asceticism, which seemed inseparable from earnest Christianity. He found his own sister MACRINA with his widowed mother and one or two maidens already living on the rural property of the family in abstemious and contemplative life—a cloistral life which still preserved the family character. They presented him with the ideal of practical philosophy. On journeys in Syria, Palestine and Egypt he gained the acquaintance of celebrated ascetics and learned to admire them for the strictness of their life. On his return he divided his goods among the poor and settled with companions of like sentiments near his mother and sister, only separated from them by the course of a brook, in romantic solitude. Prayer, contemplation and study alternated with simple husbandry, in a life of great strictness and scanty nourishment. He was influenced by the example of EUSTATHIUS, who was at that time still reverenced by him. But the life in solitude was to him a point of transition to (and subsequently of retreat from) ecclesiastical activity. But he remained both himself devoted to ascetic stringency and the zealous promoter of monasticism, who however well recognised the dangers of anchoritism, and therefore gave preference to ordered **Cœnobitism**, himself gave attention to its careful regulation,[1] and began to pro-

[1] The two monastic Rules which bear his name (ὅρος κατὰ τὸ πλάτος and ὅρος κατ' ἐπιτομήν, the main component parts of his so-called *Ascetica*, Opp. ed. Garn.

mote settlements of monks who had hitherto sought the wilderness, also in the neighbourhood of the city (at Cæs. Capp.), whereby they came into closer contact with the life of the Church, and indeed also became serviceable in a high degree to dogmatic party-spirit.

In an age in which whole masses of individuals little inwardly touched by Christianity poured into the Church, and no martyrdom threatened from the direction of the world, monasticism not only appeared as a **Christian athletic and self-chosen martyrdom,** which, by the mortifying of life voluntarily attained the same end,[1] but as **perfect Christianity** in general, in which alone the perfection required by the Lord was realised. For that very reason monasticism began to be looked upon as the continuation of original Christianity, and in particular the primitive church appeared in this light on the ground of Acts ii. 44, iv. 32 sqq., the Apostles as abstemious ascetics, their wives (1 Cor. ix. 5) as ministering friends; the Virgin Mary had already been represented in the Protevangelium of James as a temple-virgin consecrated to God, Joseph as angelically wedded to her. So the Therapeutæ of Philo were looked upon as ancient Christians, a type of the first church of Mark the Evangelist in Alexandria.[2] Indeed Elias and Elisha, the Rechabites (Isaiah xxxv.), and above all, John the Baptist, were regarded as original types of the monkish life. The most eminent teachers of the Church, from Athanasius onward, are united in praise of the monkish life—Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, Chrysostom, and Epiphanius. It is the life of the angels, the conversation in heaven, the true heavenly philosophy.

In the great inthronging to this mode of life, to which many attached themselves from necessity, to avoid pressing obligations, a social danger to the State was soon feared on the part of politicians. A law of Valens of the year 365 (Cod. Theodos. XII. 1, 63) commanded in regard to Egypt that those persons who left the cities, and on pretext of religion attached themselves to the societies of monks in the wilderness, should be apprehended by the Comes Orientis, and compelled either to take up their civic obligations or to dispose of their property to their relatives who were prepared to fulfil their civic functions. Subsequently he took harder measures in order to compel monks to military service. His severe measures

II. 199 sqq.) certainly go back to the regulations issued by him, and influential in the widest circles, without the possibility of answering for their verbal authenticity; the shorter Rule may with greater confidence be regarded as his work.

[1] *Vid.* Basil. in Gass. ZKG. II. 265.

[2] *Vid.* the passages in Gieseler, I. 2, 239.

for the rest were connected with the fact that the Egyptian monks had taken sides against the Arianism which was favoured by Valens.

3. Unecclesiastical Extremes of Oriental Monasticism.

Sources: Soz. 6, 23; Evagr. I. 21; Jerome, Ep. 22 ad Eustochium, c. 34; Jo. Cassianus, Collationes patr. 18, 4 and 7.—Epiphanius, Hæres. 70 and 80. Ancoratus, 14; Theodoret, H.E. 4, 9 sq.; Hær. fab. 4, 10 sq.—The **Acts** of the Synod of **Gangra**, in Mansi, II. 1095 (Bruns, Bibl. eccl. I. 106), and Socr. 2, 43; Soz. 3, 14.

The asceticism run-wild of the **wandering bands of monks**, who in Syria and Mesopotamia dwelt on the mountains without any roof, assembled for songs of worship, and then swarmed out armed with sickles to feed on herbs and roots, the so-called Βοσκοί, have the appearance of a product of social dissolution. In others there appears a somewhat wild form of continuation of the ancient ascetics, who continued to live in the community, the so-called **Remoboth**, whom Jerome depicts with depreciation; they lived mostly in cities or in fixed places, by twos or threes together, and endeavoured to gain their subsistence from the result of their common toil; and the products of their work were well paid for on account of the esteem which they knew how to acquire in their coarse monks' garb, by mutually vieing in fasts, etc. Jerome accuses them, saying that among these insubordinate folk there were constant quarrels, that they despised the clergy, and that when a feast-day occurred they indemnified themselves for their strict fasting by unmeasured devouring. The **Sarabaites** depicted by Cassian (Collat. 18, c. 4 and 7) are probably a similar phenomenon. On the other hand there are found ascetics withdrawn from the world, who therefore live as monks, yet in wedlock (Athanas. *Ep. ad Dracont.*), as also with *syneisaktai* (*vid supra*, p. 359). A rejection of secular Christianity and contempt for the **clergy** who moved in the secular life, and minimizing of the value of divine worship, might easily develop themselves in these circumstances. Similarly the so-called **Apostolici**—a continuation of the ancient Encratites and **Apotactici**—refused to associate with all who lived in marriage and held property (Augustine, *De hæres.* 40).

The Syrian Audius (or Udo, Ephr.) from Mesopotamia, a contemporary of Arius and the Synod of Nicæa, as a representative of monkish moral strictness came into opposition with the secular clergy, and was finally driven out of the communion of the church with his adherents, among whom were bishops also, and became the head of a schismatic party, the **Audians**. But the core of this, as it seems, pretty widely spread party was formed by cloisters and monastic settlements, partly in the wilderness, partly also in the neighbourhood of the cities, so that it was almost possible to designate them a **monk's church**. Epiphanius knows also of settlements in the Taurus, in Palestine, and in Arabia. Banished by the Emperor (which?) to Scythia, Audius worked as a **missionary** among the Goths, and here formed cloistral communities, whose exemplary life Epiphanius willingly recognises. They were included in the persecution of the Christians by Athanaric. The society which, however, survived the death of Audius, when Epiphanius wrote, only existed in fragments in Syrian Chalcis near Antioch, in the neighbourhood of Damascus and in Mesopotamia. Also as adherents of the ancient Quartodeciman celebration of the Passover they stood in opposition to the new Imperial Christianity, and their sensuously tinged popular conceptions were reckoned against them as

anthropomorphism, and yet mildly censured by Epiphanius, who for the rest looks favourably on their orthodoxy and the strictness of their lives.

In the **Euchites** or **Messaliani** (מצלין Ezra vi. 10; Epiphanius is aware that this name means εὐχόμενοι) or **Enthusiasts** (Theodoret) there appeared chiefly in **Mesopotamia** ecstatic crowds, which according to Epiphanius are to be distinguished from the like-named Messaliani related to the Hypsistarians, a pagan-monotheistic sect. The precept of renunciation of the world and surrender of goods and absolute poverty is here extended to the **rejection of all gain by labour.** They wander about begging, pass the night in summer on the streets and squares, men and women without distinction, but indeed with abstinence, at least as to this point Epiphanius had learnt nothing to the contrary. They were not to be subjected to fasting; on the contrary, incessant begging is their lot. According to Theodoret the ecstatic side was prominent with them, continuous prayer was designed to drive away the evil demon who dwells in every man from his birth, while baptism, which only takes away past sins, is compared to the shears which leave the roots of the hair untouched; ecclesiastical functions such as the Eucharist availed neither for good nor evil. The spirit should reveal itself to them in sleep and dreams in visions; the ecstatic mood expresses itself outwardly in mystic dances (*Choreutai*).

The ecstatic spirit of the Euchites and its spiritualistic tendency appear alongside of external maintenance of the ecclesiastical connection to have embraced many monasteries, starting from Mesopotamia, in Armenia, Cappadocia and Cilicia, as well as in farther Syria. Amphilochius of Iconium held synods against it, and influenced others to persecute it. Flavian of Antioch caused one of its revered chiefs, the aged Adelphius whom he had made confidential, to betray its secrets, and then took steps against it. It almost seems as though they had ingeniously maintained their ideas *bona fide* merely as an esoteric Christianity. The obscure notice of Epiphanius, that when questioned whether they were prophets, patriarchs, or Christians, they affirmed everything without further qualification, might be entirely attributed to confused notions of inspiration. The Euchites who appear later on, whom Timotheus the Presbyter delineates, well show how this ecstatic standpoint could open itself to all sorts of wider influences.

The consequence of the view according to which monasticism alone was properly Christianity, and Christianity was necessarily monasticism, pointed against the continued existence of the Church, and compelled the latter, in spite of the common monastic ideal, to make a front against such exaggerations. Just as the zealous promoter of monasticism, Epiphanius, finds himself compelled to take the justification of property and the active gaining of a livelihood under his protection against the Euchites or Messalians, so also the reckless vindication of monkish claims by the **Eustathians** in Armenia and the neighbouring districts of Asia Minor, necessitated the limitation of this movement which originated in the action of Eustathius of Sebaste, at the Synod of **Gangra** in Paphlagonia (c. 360–70). These Eustathians went the length of denying all hopes of salvation to the married, would not pray in the houses of married people, and in particular would not take part in the prayers of married presbyters, even denied the hope of salvation to the rich who would not give up everything, despised all who took part in the feasts of martyrs (associated with the Agapes?) and would have no knowledge of the Agapes (the meals of the poor). Possessed by the monkish preaching, slaves ran away from their masters, women deserted their husbands, men their wives, to assume the monk's garb (the same for men and women, the latter also probably had their hair

shorn), even parents their children and children their parents. In opposition to the secular church, Sunday was here kept as a fast, and the fasts of the Church were disdained.

The Church was obliged to guard itself against the dissolution into monasticism which was threatened by such extremes. But among the anchorites themselves the feeling of spiritual eminence above the priesthood which served the world, frequently makes itself felt. Indeed the danger was not distant, that where asceticism and contemplation are the means of approach to God, the **ecclesiastical and priestly mediation of salvation** should appear dispensable, at least for the Christian athletes. In the glorification of these warriors of virtue with their power over the demons and of miracle, as it finds voice in the fabulous narratives of the ascetics by Rufinus, Palladius, and Theodosius, the fundamental conception, which in its essence is not at all properly Christian, but dualistic, and which co-operated in the rise of monasticism, breaks through. Mortification of the sensuous and thereby the attainment of the supra-sensual world is everything here. But for the Christian people, these *virtuosi*, who often lived for long without any connection with Christian worship, become astonishing and revered saints, on whom it sets its trust, its leaders of souls and helpers in distress.[1] The height of holiness is measured according to the measure of the maltreatment of the body and the rest of the *bravura passages.* The Syrian Simeon (from Northern Syria) crowned his ascetic exertions, which at first he carried out in and along with monasteries in great stringency, by first starving almost to death not far from a cloister in the neighbourhood of Antioch, then by having himself laid in an enclosure, attached to an iron chain twenty yards long, but finally by causing a pillar to be erected within the enclosure, on which he lived for many years, the first of the **stylites**, admired and revered far and wide both by the surrounding nomadic tribes (Arabs) and by the cultivated world. In Rome small statuettes of the pillar-saint are said to have been everywhere offered for sale. He seemed nearer heaven, to intercede for men and procure for them the divine grace.

On the other hand, however, by the addition of regulated and moderated Cœnobitism to the organism of the Church, there was formed the sense of the **solidarity of ecclesiastical interests between the hierarchy and monasticism.** The exertions of Basil, of Isidore of Pelusium and many others worked in this direction. Athanasius

[1] *Vid.* what Theodoret narrates of his own childhood, H. rel. c. 9, p. 1188, 1194 sq.

already made league with monasticism as the representative of orthodoxy. But regulated monasticism also linked itself to the ecclesiastical spirit by the fact that it entered into the tendency of worship and ritual of the Greek Church, and allowed their value to the sacraments of the Church. Already, according to Basil's arrangement, each monastery has one or several presbyters for the purpose of ecclesiastical functions. In the famous monastery founded by the Roman Studius in Constantinople about 460, the monks, the so-called **Akoimetai**, held alternately day and night uninterrupted divine service.

5. The Beginnings of Monasticism in the West.

Sources: Joh. Cassianus, Collationes patrum and De institutis cœnobiorum in ejdm. Opp. ed. Petschenig 1876 (Corp. scr. eccl. lat.), also Ml. 49 and 50; Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini Tur., Epistulæ de Martino, Dialogi in ejdm. Opp. ed. Halm (Corp. scr. eccl. lat. I. 1866); Hilarii Arelat. vita Honorati (Acta SS. Boll. Jan. II. 15 sqq.).—J. Mabillon, Obss. de monachis in Occidente ante Benedictum, in Acta St. Ord. Bened. I. 1 sqq.

1. Athanasius is said to have brought the news of the new mode of life to Rome as early as 341, and an Egyptian ascetic, Ammon (to be distinguished from the famous Amun), is himself said to have visited the graves of the Apostles there along with him.[1] In any case the powerfully increasing movement could not long remain unnoticed in the West. In the time of Bishop Auxentius of Milan (the predecessor of S. Ambrose till 374), S. Martin (afterwards Bishop of Tours) seems to have lived as a hermit on the island of Gallinaria near Genoa, as previously in Illyria and afterwards in Gaul in the neighbourhood of Bishop Hilary of Poitiers. The oldest monastery in Gaul, Ligugé (Lococagium), traces its origin back to the monk's cell. It was only by artifice that he could be enticed from his cell, when he was pressed to become bishop in 375. Even as bishop he lived like a hermit in the neighbourhood of Tours, surrounded by numerous ascetics (beginnings of the monastery of Marmoutier). When Augustine came to Milan in 385, the name of S. Antony was already in the months of the pious. Such an one, Pontitianus, while in the imperial military service in Trèves, had become acquainted with the Vita Antonii in the hands of some "servants of God," who read it in a hut in the garden before the city, and praised the book to the still unconverted Augustine.[2]

[1] Socrat. 4, 24. Cf. Jerome, *Ad Principiam*, *Ep.* 127, 5, where, naturally, earlier and later elements cannot be held apart.

[2] Aug. *Confess.* 8, 6, cf. *De moribus eccl. cath.* 1, 33.

In the Greek East there was still no information of monasteries in the West in the year 370.[1] Now, however, Augustine found in Milan one maintained by Ambrose. Indeed in **Aquileia** the young Rufinus, even while a catechumen, lived in a monastery before 370 or 371 (in which year he was baptized). Here Jerome, the man who was to work so influentially for the advance of monasticism in the West, became his friend.

Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus (Jerome) was born of Christian parents at Stridon, on the border of Dalmatia and Pannonia, but was only baptized in Rome, where in his early youth he had been educated by the grammarian Donatus and the Christian rhetorician Victorinus, by the Roman Bishop Liberius. Here with his companions and under holy seers he sought out the graves of the martyrs in the catacombs. After different journeys through Gaul and the neighbourhood of the Rhine, he formed at Aquileia the bond with Rufinus which was afterwards so rudely broken. Along with Evagrius, Innocentius and Heliodorus, men of like sentiments, he bound himself to a journey to the East. In Antioch (373–374) his inward conflicts occurred. In a dream there appeared to him Christ, who gave the lie to his assertion that he was a Christian with the words, "*mentiris, Ciceronianus es, non Christianus*, for where thy treasure is, there is thine heart." Jerome now betook himself to the anchorites, who peopled the wilderness of Chalcis, south-east of Antioch (the Syrian Thebaid). Here he subjected himself in the hermit-life to the severest chastisements, which undermined his health, without, as he depicts in frightful colours, being able to mortify the rebellious flesh or heated fancy, although he even thought at times to have transported himself to the choir of the holy angels by self-torture, fasting and weeping, or, with the view of taming his sinful thoughts, learned Hebrew from a converted Jew. He was next chosen a presbyter in Antioch, and plunged into Greek theology and dogmatic conflicts, and after his return to Rome in 382 he placed his knowledge and literary culture at the service of the Roman Bishop Damasus. Here in Rome he became the spiritual guide and theological adviser of ladies of rank, whom he knew how to fill with the ascetic spirit of the brides of Christ, so that they should flee away from the luxury, the distractions and the pleasures of the great world. This very result in families of rank drew down upon him in Rome much hostility and odious calumnies, even on the part of the clergy, whose worldly mind and ignorance he did not fear to expose. About 385 it drove Jerome again to the East, this time to the celebrated monastic settlements in Egypt and to the holy places of Palestine. The pious Roman lady Paula, with her daughter Eustochium, attached herself to his company. His friend Rufinus had already entered upon the same journey for the sake of becoming acquainted with the famous anchorites of the Scetic desert (a Macarius the elder) and the Nitrian mountains. Here Rufinus was associated with a noble and wealthy Roman lady, Melania, who after the early death of her husband, caught by the same powerful drift of the age, had at the same time placed her wealth at the service of Christ's saints. With a great number of bishops, clergy and monks, banished to Egypt by the Arian Valens, and whose subsistence she supplied, she went to Palestine, founded a monastery at Jerusalem, and devoted herself to the reception and care of the pilgrims.

[1] Soz. 3, 14.

Thither about 378 came Rufinus also and settled on the Mount of Olives, where her cells afforded shelter to numerous monks. Jerome now followed the same way, sought out the Egyptian monks' settlements, and settled permanently in a cell near Bethlehem, supported by the pious women, who at the same time raised shelters for pilgrims and a women's convent. They also built a cloister for monks in which Jerome found a position as president; as in the Egyptian *cœnobia* and *laurai*, so also here **the mere ascetic and contemplative life, developed into learned monasticism**, occupation with theological exposition of Scripture, above all with the works of Origen; but there also arises an opposition of tendency between this theological and specially Origenistic monasticism and one which is more inclined to more popular and sensuous conceptions, as appears in the Origenistic controversies.

In the West the favouring of the monastic life by Ambrose of Milan, and by Jerome and Martin of Tours, bore its fruits. The country houses of noble Roman ladies became cloistral places, in which along with like-minded friends they led a life of abstinence. In spite of lively antipathy to this new exaggerated form of piety, to which Roman ladies of rank sacrificed their worldly position and claims as well as their health,[1] the powerful drift of the age remained victorious. In an age in which, in spite of Christian Emperors, educated and political Rome still to a great extent respected pagan views, and ecclesiastical Rome was consuming itself in party conflicts of ambition (Damasus) and popular passion, the force of progressive piety consisted for the most part in the efforts of the monks. Augustine (388, *De moribus eccl. cathol.*) saw in Rome various cloisters under the guidance of men of rank, insight and theological learning, leading a life of love, glory and **freedom,** who according to the example of the East maintained themselves by the work of their hands);[2] he found many women, especially widows and maidens, occupied with spinning and weaving in a common life, instructed in Christian behaviour and knowledge by their presidents (women), and like the men performing extraordinary things in fasting. The **islands** on the west coast of **Italy,** as also of Dalmatia, soon also on the **south coast** of **Gaul,** Lerinum or Lerina (St. Honorat), Lero (St. Marguerite), and the Stœchades (Isles d'Hières) became populated by those who sought here the life of abstinence and escape from the world and its storms, and mingled

[1] The early death of Blæsilla, a daughter of Paula (384), was attributed to her immoderate fasting, and the Roman populace called for the expulsion of the detestable race of the monks; they were to be stoned or drowned.

[2] Augustine (*De moribus eccl. cath.* 70, 71), makes a distinction between the anchorites and cœnobites in Egypt and the settlements of monks which had arisen in the midst of cities (Rome and Milan), which proceed with greater freedom even in regard to asceticism.

the sound of their psalms with the rustle of the waves. Pious women like Fabiola, impelled by that other mighty impulse, Christian mercy, turned their munificence towards these monkish settlements on the Italian islands. This monasticism of the West, which according to its original impulse seemed only to minister to the holy egotism of personal spiritual perfection, here developed itself amid the storms of the migrations of the nations into an energetic force of Christian civilization. As **Bishop** of **Tours**, S. MARTIN, a man without deep culture but of humble unselfishness and unsparing energy even in opposition to the great of this world, firmly established monasticism in Gaul, especially in the North, and at the same time destroyed the temples and sanctuaries of the pagan gods; it was monkish Christianity which here victoriously conquered and imposed itself on the people. There does indeed arise a deep schism between this ascetic Christianity of flight from, renunciation of, and contempt for, the world, and the worldly and external Christianity of the multitude, as also of the greater part of the clergy, who must have found this Christianity of the ascetics unpractical. All the same it is in it that the religious energy of the age is to be found, combined in many of those who belonged to the great world with a deep feeling of the hollowness of all earthly things in an age of political and social dissolution.

How men of high social standing, wealth and literary culture, could also be won over to asceticism, is pre-eminently shown by the case of PONTIUS MEROPIUS ANICIUS PAULINUS of Nola (where he subsequently became bishop), born at Bordeaux in 353, belonging to one of the noblest Roman families, of great wealth and widely extended landed property in Aquitaine. The poet Ausonius, a friend of his father, worked as a rhetorician in Bordeaux (before he became the tutor of Gratian) at his elegant schooling in Latin; a brilliant worldly career was open to him; already by 379 he was Consul. The Christian dispositions of the age first show themselves on occasion of a lengthened residence in Campania, in the form of veneration of the martyrs; for the numerous pilgrims who visited the tomb of S. Felix at Nola he made the way easy and built shelters. Martin of Tours and Ambrose now gained influence over his way of thinking; he was seized by anxiety lest the Last Day should overtake him amid the vain things of this world. Married to a wife likewise very wealthy, after a long desired child had been torn from them again after a few days, he was induced by his wife herself to renounce the world, to sell his goods and give to the poor, so as, being freed from a heavy burden, to serve God only. To his noble relations this was intolerable; to his father's friend Ausonius, who in vain sought to retain him in high social life and among his old studies, it was unintelligible infatuation; but Martin of Tours commended him, who with the sacrifice of the greatest riches had followed Christ, as almost the sole individual who in these times fulfilled the evangelical precepts, and had shown as a shining example that it was possible to do so (Sulp. Sev. Vita Mart. 25). He lived with his wife in the Hospital of S. Felix which he had built at Nola for monks and

the poor, in strict ascetism and fasting, on a scanty expenditure, with rough clothing and regular times of prayer by night. Out of his means he built beautiful churches at Nola and Fondi, but also a great aqueduct for Nola, bought the freedom of prisoners, gave assistance to poor debtors, who streamed to him for help from all sides and great distances. A singular contrast, the rough monkish mode of life with its renunciation of worldly adornment, and to see the merits of ministering love commended in the elegant and sparkling mannerism of ambiguous secular poetry and rhetoric! But as a matter of fact in the case of Paulinus, the abrupt transition was unable to erase the fundamental trait of gentle and indeed cheerful and benevolent urbanity. In spite of his intimate relations with Augustine and Jerome, we find him also on friendly terms with Rufinus, PELAGIUS, and Julian; he did not allow himself to be drawn into the Pelagian controversy. Paulinus died as Bishop of Nola in 431 (cf. the monographs of BUSE, 1856; and LAGRANGE, 1877; in German, 1882).

3. In **Southern Gaul** the island monasteries are soon followed by the influential foundation of JOH. CASSIANUS, a man of Western, probably Gaulish origin, who, however, became a member of a monastery in Bethlehem, probably in his early years. With his friend Germanus he ventured to visit Egypt and there associated with monks and anchorites over the whole country for many years (ten). At Constantinople he was ordained deacon by John Chrysostom, after whose banishment he went to Rome, to Bishop Innocentius, in the interests of the adherents of Chrysostom, about the time of the conquest of Rome by Alaric (410); we find him next in **Southern Gaul,** where (after 410) he founded a monastery and a convent for nuns and, at the desire of Bishop Castor of Apta Julia (Apt in Upper Provence), who requested directions for the monastic life, wrote his two treatises, and thereby provided a lasting impetus and at the same time a solid regulating foundation for Western monasticism. They already bear the impression of results of the development of monasticism in the East.

In the treatise **De cœnob. institutis** he portrays: 1) the **clothing** of the Eastern monks, the girdling of the loins, the symbol of the spiritual *militia*, the cowl (*cucullus*) reaching down to the shoulders, the linen garment (*colobium*) the arms of which only reach to the elbow—to avoid ostentation they might only wear hair cloth in secret—the *succintorii* which hold the garment together at work, the small short mantle (*mafors*) over the neck and shoulders, and the goat- or sheepskin, on the feet sandals only, and a staff in the hand.

Next, 2) their exercises in **psalm-singing and prayer.** The recommendation of the third, sixth and ninth hours as times of prayer, and the custom of holding assemblies morning and evening for worship on week days, were handed down from the former period (Const. Ap. 2, 59, *vid.* History of Worship). Among the monks various customs were developed: the Egyptian monks held daily two common assemblies for prayer, with the recitation of psalms, reading of scripture and prayers under the guidance of the head, one in the evening and one at night, after which latter no further sleep was to be allowed. For the

rest, in the cells manual labour was always to alternate with prayer. On the other hand in Palestine and Mesopotamia originated the assemblages of the monks at the third, sixth and ninth hours, at each of which three psalms were sung. To these there was further added, first of all at the monastery at Bethlehem, the *matutina* (Cass. *De inst. Cœnob.* III. 4 [or *prime?*]), so that including the evening and the night service we get the six periods, eventually on the distinction of the *matutine* (at daybreak) and the *prime* (6 o'clock in the morning), we get the seven *horæ canonicæ*. We also find in the treatise *De virginitate*, ascribed to Athanasius, the number six prescribed to the nuns (where *prime* and *matutine* are not distinguished), so likewise in Jerome and Chrysostom. In the rule of Basil (*De instit. monach. sermo*) the six become seven by the division of the midday prayer (the sixth hour) into two parts, one before and the other after dinner. In the night between Saturday and Sunday a special service takes place with antiphonies, singing of psalms, and lessons. Saturday (as to which the West thought differently [1]) and Sunday are free from fasting. On Sunday the Egyptian monks only hold one service before the midday meal (the 3rd and 6th hours of prayer combined). Too late attendance at the assemblies involves strict censure and penance.

3) Whoever seeks **admission** must beg for it for ten days before the door and expose himself to scornful treatment. Then, he may not retain any of his property, of which however the monastery receives nothing. His clothes which have been exchanged for the monk's hood received from the monastery are retained till he has proved himself; in case of his unworthiness he must leave the society in his own garment, not in the monk's robe. He has, outside his own monastery, to go through a noviciate of one year under the guidance of an aged brother, and again for a year more, under an older still, he must exercise himself in strict, unhesitating obedience in extraordinary things, and is not allowed to hide any of his thoughts from him who is set over him.

4) Cooked **food** is scanty, herbs boiled with a little salt, such as the climatic conditions of the West could not tolerate, as Cassian recognises. Strict obedience and punctuality is required of the monks, and strict carrying out of the fundamental principle of having nothing of their own. Cassian alludes to the fact that the latter is taken much less strictly in the West, each man carrying his keys with him and sealing up his boxes, and having scarcely room to store what he has acquired, or retained on leaving the world, "although we enjoy the care of an abbot." There is a whole system of lesser or greater punishments for faults, in the case of graver sins going the length of blows and expulsion! At table there was to be perfect silence, caps drawn over the eyes. From Cappadocia (Basil) the custom of reading something from Holy Scripture during meals, made its way. While in Egypt the service (preparation of food) of the brethren is always the duty of *one* individual, which was suitable to the scantiness of the functions required (cooking), in Palestine and other countries of the East the brethren take the duty by turns of a week each.

Of especial importance for further developments is the **monastic-morality** established by Cassian on the basis of his Eastern experiences, and which is concerned with the combating of special vices; **gastrimargia** is fought by means of fasts and temperance, in the use of which however a certain moderation and regard to individual constitution is recommended and warnings uttered against excess. Next, **unchastity**, which is combated by constant watchful-

[1] In the time of Ambrose the Sabbath was held as a fast in Rome, but not in Milan.

ness and in his opinion by solitude; **avarice, anger.** Next however appear the specifically monastic trials, the **spiritus tristitiæ**, which often awakes without any evident cause, and renders unfit for any good and may even lead to despair, and the **spiritus acediæ** (*ἀκηδία*), the spirit of apathy and disgust with everything, which was said to overtake the monks about midday.[1] A man has a feeling of disgust at his monk's cell, of weariness of intercourse with the brethren, is lazy at all work, wanders aimlessly about outside his cell, sighs and yearns after undefined things—in short, it is the natural re-action against the pretence of exaggerated spirituality. Finally, the spirit of **vanity** (conceit about vain things or inordinate desire after vain things), which may equally find some conceit in a specially bad monk's gown and strive after the honour of clerical rank, and the spirit of **pride** in the peculiar crags of monkish perfection, are the peculiar sins of Lucifer, who wished to be like God. We are led deeper into the inner world of religious thoughts, to "the invisible form of the inner man," by the **collationes patrum,** in the form of dialogues with the pious fathers of Egypt.—The aim of the monastic life is the kingdom of God, which cannot be attained without purity of heart. For preservation against the snares of the devil **discretio** is more important than anything else, the single eye, the light of the body, without which diabolical temptations might be taken for Divine inspirations. The monks' frequent experience of the abrupt change between conditions of blessedness in God, and sudden anxiety, sadness and sterility is merited by precedent lukewarmness and laziness, but also serves as a trial of faith, and brings knowledge of one's own weakness and need of divine grace, and awakening to stronger fidelity. The **demons** give the monks much trouble, Cassian however seeks to maintain man's moral responsibility. Moreover the evil spirits have now no longer so much power over the monks as they had over the few first beginners. Then they were so wild that scarcely a few steady elder men could remain in the desert. In the cloisters, in which from eight to ten lived, they suffered so much from the demons that they did not all dare to sleep at once at night, but a few always guarded against them by singing, prayer and reading. Now even the younger members enjoy greater security, either because the cross of Christ drives back the devils, or because, on account of present carelessness, under which it is hardly possible to restrain in the cells and keep from wandering about, those who are commencing monks, the demons no longer think the attack worth the trouble. Those who are possessed by evil spirits are not to be despised, and also are not to be kept back from the Lord's Supper, which may the rather help to drive out the demons. Amongst the demons some are comparatively harmless teasing spirits, others are terrible tormentors, or instigators of grave sins.—To the perfection of the monk there belongs, along with immoveable peace and constant purity of heart, **uninterrupted prayer**, furthered by the different kinds of single prayers and culminating in the vision of God in warm love; the Lord's Prayer also is a step towards the inexpressible prayer which finds vent now by the shout of intolerable joy, again by the deepest silence, and again by streams of tears. But such emotions, especially the tears, are not to be forced.

The really holy do not pride themselves on **miraculous gifts.** The godless and misbelievers have also cast out devils in the name of the Lord. **Humility** is of more importance. The fathers did not hold those monks pious who put themselves forward before men as exorcists and bore their gifts ostentatiously amid great crowds of admirers. It is a greater miracle to root out the cause of

[1] Ps. xci. 6, the *δαιμόνιον μεσημβρινόν* is applied to it.

voluptuousness in oneself, than to cast out impure spirits.—If the life in the wilderness is in general reckoned as greater heroism than that in cloistered society, Cassian (*Coll.* 19) yet tells with approbation of a monk who had returned to the cloister in order that here, freed from cares, he might not be excited to mere vain desire for fame, and on the contrary might be exercised in subjection.—To think on one's sins is wholesome so long as one still does penance; but once penance has been satisfied and forgiveness attained, care is to be taken that not only pleasure in the sin, but also the thought of it should be turned out of the heart. Lingering over the thoughts of sins may also have a seductive effect. For the rest, what S. Paul says in Rom. vii. 19 holds good specially of the perfect, who see most clearly what they lack.

4. In general the life of the Western monks was less strict than that of the Eastern, whose destitution of all necessaries could not be emulated in the rawer climate. This was helped by the settlement of monasteries in the midst of the great cities also, like Milan, Rome, and Marseilles, in which the East soon followed also.[1] Another garb was also demanded by the climate and the objection of the populace to the foreign oriental hoods and sheep-skins. Also these Western monasteries are less set to maintain themselves by handicrafts, and rather equipped by the munificence of the wealthy pious (Ambrose in Milan, Fabiola, Paulinus of Nola).

Hence for the most part there are not found here such numerously populated monasteries as in Egypt, where with small wants they are maintained by the outcome of their own labour.[2] In the monastery at Tours in the time of Sulpicius Severus no manual labour was practised other than the occupation of the younger monks in copying, though Cassian, like Augustine, recommended it.

But also the greater restlessness of the more active Western nature had greater difficulty in allowing the monks to rest in one place for a lengthened period. Hence there were many ascetics who roamed about the world, and who imposed on people with their appearance of sanctity, and sold the bones of some saint, others in cities, who bore the garb and name of ascetics and yet kept their share in the diversions, luxury and conveniences of the secular life.

But the great ecclesiastical significance of regular monasticism appears in the work of Ambrose, Augustine, and Martin of Tours (p. 366), and quite specially in the **Monasteries of Southern Gaul.** They have everywhere to deal with the opposition and antipathy of the world, of those too who bear the name of Christian, most of all as it seems, in North Africa, where, in the cities, the disposition towards the monks was very hostile, mingling mockery and con-

[1] Cf. *supra*, p. 359. [2] Cassian, Instit. cœnob. 10, 23.

tempt.[1] Nevertheless they become the real gathering points of ecclesiastical and theological forces. Cassian's foundations in Marseilles, the monks and hermits at Lerinum under Honoratus, the monasteries in the Stoichades, are the real *foci* of spiritual life. Almost all the outstanding Christian men of Gaul in the fifth century stand in close connection with them. The most important bishops proceed from them; Honoratus and Hilary come from Lerinum to the episcopal see of Arles, Saint Lupus to that of Troyes, Maximus and Faustus become in succession Bishop of Reji, *i.e.* Riez in Upper Provence, and several others.

The life of the individual ascetics, too, can in hard times take a turn, in which the holy selfishness of the flight from the world suddenly changes into the heroism of self-denying love. The most ontstanding instance of this is that of Saint Severinus, a man of Latin Western, perhaps of African, origin, but who had also visited the ascetics of the East, and now, immediately after the death of Attila (453), made his appearance in Romish-Christian Noricum, which was unsettled and grievously menaced by the barbarian movements, and was reverenced as a prophet from whom the helpless and anxious populace gathered counsel and consolation.

Disciples of the ascetic life who attached themselves to him were assembled by him in several monasteries which he founded. He himself however was always driven by the distress of the age to practical exertions. He sought to fill the populace, amid the threatening overthrow of Roman civilization and the inundation of the barbarians, with the spirit of trust in God, and by means of frequent fast-days to absorb them in religion, instilled courage and instigated them to works of love and help, where amid the universal distress self-interest would only think of self; indeed he tried to work for a regular care of the poor by a general establishment of tithes. The force of his personality also comes out in an imposing manner in the presence of the Germans and their rulers, who saw in him the prophet and miracle-worker, and besought his blessing. It effected the emancipation of many prisoners of war and many a mitigation of the hard lot of the Romans. Severinus is said to have foretold to Odoacer his future greatness. In accordance with his ordinance, after the death of Severinus (482) his disciples brought the body to Italy, when in 488 Odoacer carried back the Roman population from Noricum. The corpse was brought to the neighbourhood of Naples and found its resting-place in the monastery of Lucullanum, founded for his monks by a rich lady, Barbara. Vid. Eugippius (a disciple), *Vita S. Severini* (written in 511), ed. Sauppe in Mon. Germ. h., Autores antiquiss. I. 2, 1877, and ed. P. Knoell in Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat. IX. 2, 1886.

[1] Salvian. *De gubern. dei*, 8, 4. Augustine (*D. oper. monach.* c. 22) complains at least, that only persons of low rank found their way to this service, who perhaps had more concern about freeing themselves from distressed circumstances and getting food and clothing, and who thereby gained honour from those by whom they were else accustomed to be oppressed and despised.

5. The Further Development of Monasticism in the West. Benedict of Nursia and Cassiodorius.

Sources: Cæsarius Arelat., Ad monachos, Ad virgines, in Opp. Ml. 67 (also in Holsten. II. 89 sqq.). Gregorii M. Dialogi, lib. 2: Vita Benedicti in Opp. Ml. 77. The rule of Benedict in Luc. Holsten. l.c. ed. Martène 1690, also in Gallandi, Bibl. P. XI. 298.—Cassiodorii Institutiones divinarum et sæcularium lectionum (or literarum) in ejdm. Opp. ed. Garetius 1679 (Ml. 69, 70). J. Mabillon Annales (p. 22, 6). L. Dacherii et Jo. Mabillonii Acta Sanct. ord. S. Bened. 1668 sqq.

A great variety of rules of life[1] at first prevailed in the monastic settlements in the West. But the writings of Cassian, the regulations of Lerinum, and in addition the Rule of Basil translated into Latin by Rufinus acted as patterns. But the storms of the migrations of the peoples in the course of the fifth century brought about in many ways the dissolution of the ordered condition and threatened the social existence of the monasteries; the convents fell into ruin and the monks wandered from place to place. Meanwhile however there arose *e.g.* in Gaul and the Burgundian district a number of new monasteries, and Lerinum, even after the invasion of Aquitaine, Narbonensian Gaul and Provence by the West-Goths (under Euric 470–475), remained a noted seat of monasticism. Here, that Antonius who in his boyhood had been blessed by Saint Severinus, next as priest had survived with him the loss of Roman Noricum and next had lived in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Como as a strict hermit, finally laid down his head to rest.[2] Here also for the succeeding age men like Cæsarius, afterwards Bishop of Arles († 543), received their religious direction, and thereby worked even under German dominion for the maintenance of Roman civilisation and Catholic ecclesiastical ideas. Cæsarius of Arles himself founded cloisters for monks and nuns, and by his rules worked in favour of both in wider circles.

Of much more general and decisive importance, however, was the work of Benedict. Born at Nursia, north of Rome, he was intended to be introduced to the sciences at Rome, but found himself so repelled there by worldly and vicious companions, that in his fifteenth year he bade farewell to Rome and the world and sought solitude. Under the guidance of the monk Romanus he lived in a lowly cavern near Subiaco on the Upper Anio (Teverone); other ascetics began to put themselves under his leadership. In the year 510 the monks of the cavern-cloister at Vicovaro near Tivoli chose him as

[1] Cass. Inst. cœnob. 2, 2; *tot propemodum typi ac regulæ, quot cellæ ac monasteria.*

[2] Magn. Fel. Ennodius, Vita Antonii in Opp. ed. Hartel 1882 (Corp. Script.), p. 383 sqq.

their abbot; they could not, however, tolerate his government, which exacted strict obedience. The saint returned to his cave and gathered the companions, who again flowed in upon him, into small communities of twelve monks, under an abbot each; twelve such *cœnobia* stood under his leadership. In the end, however, he opened his new habitation for monks in Campania near Castrum Casinum on the summit of Mount Casinum. Here there still stood a temple of Apollo with sacred groves, which exercised its ancient attraction on the neighbouring rural population. After the example of Martin of Tours, the object of his veneration, Benedict now destroyed the remains of paganism, built a chapel to S. Martin, another to John the Baptist, and erected—amid many but victoriously withstood diabolic spectres—the monastery of **Monte Cassino**, afterwards so famous, to which he gave his Rule. The fast increasing number of the monks had soon to send out colonies and found new settlements. Benedict died on the 21st of March, 543.

According to his Rule the abbot is to be elected by the choice of the whole unanimous community; but in case of an objectionable choice the bishop and the neighbouring abbots and Christians are to help the better part to victory. The abbot chooses the *Præpositus*, who is bound to obey the precepts of the abbot. In populous monasteries *Decani* are also to be set at the head of the separate divisions. On important occasions the abbot is to consult the whole congregation; on less important, to act solely on the advice of the elder members. Admission is preceded by a time of probation, after the expiry of which the incomer must bind himself to all that is required by the Rule—**stabilitas loci, conversio morum** and **obedientia.** Unhesitating obedience is the first degree of monastic humility. The fare is far from exaggerated strictness; flesh is of course only allowed to those who are quite weak or sick, but a little wine to all. Manual work and the reading of Scripture are to alternate, but between them the *horæ canonicæ* are to be held, and indeed all the seven.

The cloisters, as far as possible, were to contain within themselves all the necessaries of life—water, mills, gardens, bakehouses, as well as the appurtenances necessary to the exercise of manual labour, so that the monks should not have to stray about outside. But the monk was to call nothing his own, but expect everything that was needful from the abbot only.

The **Discipline,** a gradation of punishments: separation from society at table, exclusion from intercourse in general—but the excluded were not to be deprived of the pastoral converse of their elder brethren—stripes, common prayer by the monks for the sinner, finally expulsion, so that no tainted sheep should infect the whole flock.

When in the year 580 the mother-cloister of Monte Cassino was destroyed by the Lombards, the monks fled to Rome and settled on the Lateran. At that time Gregory, the future Pope, had already bestowed his patrimony upon the founding of monasteries (six in Sicily, one in Rome); into the Roman he himself entered and here made Benedict's Rule supreme, which through Gregory advanced in esteem. As yet, however, it was not possible to think of a greater combination of the different monasteries linked into a unity by means of the common Rule, an order of monks in the proper sense.

In Benedict's Rule there is still no indication that in the monastic life anything else is aimed at than the discipline of the monastic associates themselves, and their guidance towards the perfect life.

The care of the spiritual life in the world about them is not their immediate aim. Entering into the monastic condition is conversion from the world (*conversio*), the monks are the pious (*religiosi*). But, as Benedict's appearance on the stage had quite naturally led to conflict with the remains of paganism and efforts after the conversion of the populace, so likewise Gregory entrusted the monks with the task of the **mission to the heathen**, about the same time as that in which the same task was taken up by the Irish-Scottish monks (*vid.* the following Period). And besides, the foundation of monasteries which regarded themselves as appointed to manual work and agriculture, involved the beginning of their civilising influence on the fertilization of the soil, which had already begun in the monasteries of Southern Gaul before the time of Benedict.

Another and most important activity was now added to these, especially through the influence of Cassiodorius. It was Greek suggestions which as early as the beginning of the fifth century had made the monasteries of Gaul places of theological study, though indeed it does not at all follow that all the members of these societies had taken an active part in it. Benedict's Rule, in general, only presupposes ability to read in the monks (c. 48) and directs them to reading in the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers, and in particular in the writings of Cassian; it therefore counts upon a certain literary culture. But of any regular scholarly pursuit of knowledge we find nothing here as yet. This however was the object of the efforts of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorius Senator, a man of noble Roman family, who, like his father before him, served the Gothic king Theodoric in high office in the State.

About 540 he withdrew himself from state affairs to his property in the Abruzzi and devoted himself to zealous literary activity in the monastery of Vivarium, which he founded in a cheerful situation and equipped with the accessories of learning. Christian science was here to be cultivated in combination with classical studies as a foundation, the copying of books was to be an occupation for the monks, the monasteries were to become refuges for science and thereby at the same time important centres of culture for the clergy. For it he composed his *Institutiones* (*vid. sup.*), a literary introduction to theological study on the basis of the *artes liberales*. To a certain extent this was a substitute for a school of theological culture in the West.

6. The Legal Position of Monasticism in Reference to Church and State.

Literature: Bingham, Origines, etc. ed. Grischov. vol. iii. (l. 7, c. 2–4). L. Thomassinus, Vet. et nov. discipl. Pt. I. l. 3. Loening, I. l. c. 332 sqq.

The Emperor Valens already sought to counteract the strong influx to the monastic manner of life, especially in Egypt; in particular he forbade the admission of the *curiales* who sought to escape their public obligations by entry into distant monasteries. They were to be taken by force from the cloisters, or else to renounce their properties in favour of those who had to take over their civic functions. Later on the secular law, in analogy with the Roman estimation of religious corporations, naturally recognised the monasteries as corporations (*collegium*, *corpus fraternitatis*) which required no special approbation by the State and had the right of acquiring property; in 434 a right to inherit the property left by the monks was also conceded to the monasteries. But in other matters the monks were subject to the common law, had complete legal competence, remained, so far as they had not themselves renounced it in full possession of their property and their family rights, but also remained subject to their obligations under private and public law, were subject to taxation so far as they had not entirely divested themselves of their property, and had to take over guardianships to which they were legally bound. On account of existing obligations Valentinian III. forbade the admission of slaves or colonists to the cloister, and at Chalcedon (c. 4) the admission of slaves was made dependent on the consent of their masters. The growing importance of the monastic lay societies further necessitated ecclesiastical regulations as to their relations with the ecclesiastical organism. In particular such were established at **Chalcedon**, as on the whole attained general recognition in the Church.

The Emperor Marcian by his proposals gave incitement thereto, since the ecclesiastical duties of the monks were better regulated by the representatives of the Church itself than by the secular authority. Thus monasticism became an **ecclesiastical institution**. The assumption of monastic duties had originally only a religious, and not an ecclesiastical character. There was no ecclesiastically binding oath; departure from the monastic association stood free (as obviously did exclusion also, *vid. sup.* p. 374), and did not form a disciplinary ecclesiastical process proper. At Chalcedon it is now ordained, that monks are not to leave their cloisters, not to rove about in the cities, in general only to appear in the cities by the bishop's special command. On pain of excommunication they were forbidden to leave the cloister to assume any political office, as was also forbidden to the clergy. So also the marriage of monks and the virgins dedicated to God is placed under ecclesiastical censure, merciful measures were however allowed regarding it. For the rest, however, leaving the cloister is in general only to be accompanied by ecclesiastical penance. It is only in the Benedictine orders that the perpetually binding oath is recognised.

According to the original conceptions of Oriental monasticism, the monks were not to pass over to the clergy, that also appearing as a return to the world. But Athanasius already rather exhorted to it, and the monasteries soon took the character of the appropriate nurseries for the clergy. The Emperor Arcadius could recommend the bishops (398) to supply their need of priests from that source. A means of doing so was afforded by the necessary ordination of individual monks as clergy for the requirements of the monastery; practical necessity, especially also in the West, but on the other hand vanity

also, and ambition which forgot the original reserved attitude of monasticism towards the clergy, contributed to this end. Western synods decreed that a bishop might ordain monks as clergy, but not at least without the consent of the abbot.

The monasteries, which had originated on the principle of free association, stood under the **ecclesiastical authority of the bishop of their diocese.** But the great importance of the monasteries necessitated an ecclesiastical regulation of this relationship on both sides, in the interest of the episcopal power on the one hand, and of the independence of the monastic societies on the other. At Chalcedon the legal authority of the bishop over the monks in his diocese was recognised. Without the consent of the bishop no monastery or house of prayer is henceforth to be erected, but a monastery erected with his approbation is not to be abolished or its property diminished. The priests of a monastery are subject to the regular authority of the bishop, like all other priests; he may depose the disobedient, and likewise lay the bann upon disobedient lay members. On the other hand the bishop has also to bestow his care on the monastery. Conflicts frequently arose, especially in the West, in which the monasteries guarded themselves against interference with the authority of the abbot.[1] The bishop is not to interfere directly with the administration of the abbot, or in the election of an abbot; he is not to arrogate to himself the free disposal of the lay host of monks. It is also required of him that he shall give them the benefit of his proper spiritual functions (ordination of priests, preparation of the chrism, etc.) without remuneration.

As regards the **convents of nuns**, they had long been preceded by the custom of the Church, according to which virgins expressly dedicated themselves to God (by undertaking an oath in presence of the bishop), and this institution of virgins dedicated to God now also made further advance alongside of the beginnings of cloistral association. Pachomius is said to have founded the first cloister for women; the mother and sister of Basil associated themselves with other virgins in the cloistral life. S. Paula, the friend of Jerome, with her daughter Eustochium, worked in behalf of the institution and founded three convents for nuns in Bethlehem. The president was called *ammas*, the nuns μοναχαί, *Nonnæ* (which is derived from the Coptic), *sanctimoniales*. A certain age was now required for the oath which was to be taken by virgins who desired to dedicate themselves to God; by Basil the sixteenth or seventeenth year, by the Council of Hippo (393) the twenty-fifth year. In fact, because these oaths of their female members were frequently made use of by families from pecuniary motives, the Western Emperor, Majorian (458), ordained that such a vow could not be legally taken before the fortieth year. The parents or members of the family were threatened, in the contrary case, with loss of a third of their property. The breaking of her vow by a dedicated person by entering into matrimony, was punished with a period of penance lasting for years, at Chalcedon with excommunication, but with the above mentioned mitigation, which comes to the same thing. The first Council of Toledo allowed reconciliation with the Church in case the guilty one should abstain from the intercourse of wedlock during her husband's life. Augustine admonishes against regarding such a marriage as adultery.

---

[1] See especially the Synod of Arles in 455.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

The Theological Development and the Dogma of the Church.

Survey.

As in the Roman Church of the Empire the existing ecclesiastical hierarchy developed into a state-recognised all-dominant institution, as in it the existing ascetic ideal of life takes a clearly defined expression in contrast to common Christianity, in the powerful institution of monasticism, so now also, under new conditions of life, there is completed the theological movement the way for which was prepared as early as the third century, and in which the common inalienable basis of faith of the Christian community becomes the **theological faith-law of the Church**, on the acceptance of which participation in the saving benefits of the Church is made conditional. The unified institution of the Church in its constitutional form gives the law of faith, the constitutional representation of the Church in synods becomes the legal **tribunal of faith**, and in doing so supports itself on the power of the State, as the guarantee of legal order. A richly developed **theology,** under the favour of the altered circumstances which push the questions of the faith into the centre of the spiritual movement of the age, comes to the service of **Dogma.** At the beginning of the period this theology stood on the whole under the universal influence of the learned and philosophical efforts of Origen, and now in an increasing degree, chiefly in the sphere of Greek intellectual life, takes into its service the existing elements of higher intellectual culture in general. The interest of the faith, which it had to serve above all others, consisted in belief in the **divinity of Christ,** which, now, upon the basis already given, and amid long conflicts, is definitely expressed in the **doctrino-legal Dogma of the divinity of Christ, of the Trinity, and of the two natures of Christ.** Greek theology has the leadership here, though subject to lively and often important exertions of Latin influence. On the other hand, the peculiar problem of Western theology, while those "theological" conflicts advance in accordance with the immanent dialectic of the dogma, shines out definitely in Augustine, and in the doctrines of **Sin** and **Grace** introduces a new step in

the development of doctrine and the entire conception of the Church, in which the Greek Church no longer participates in an equal manner. Therewith the pursuit of theology is broadened, under the dominion of dogmatic points of view it is true, and yet beyond them into a more comprehensive and learned cultivation of scriptural scholarship and the problems and interests of the life of the Church as a whole.

1. The State of Theology in the Beginning of this Period.

The learned theological heritage of the past, above all that of Origen, forms the starting point. The increased intellectual interest, which since the time of Constantine, had applied itself to ecclesiastical questions, favours the broadening and multiplication of theological activity, of which Eusebius Pamphili is to be regarded as the chief representative. In many theologians of the first half of the fourth century, a theological influence proceeding from Antioch (Lucian, p. 216), makes itself felt. But the theologian of most intellectual power and character, who gives the traditional theological material its definite stamp for the present, is Athanasius of Alexandria.

1. Eusebius, born in the second half of the third century, passed his youth in Palestine, attended the scriptural expositions of the Presbyter Dorotheus at Antioch, and when during the persecution of Diocletian he found refuge with Bishop Meletius of Pontus received scientific impulse from him, but above all received learned guidance from the Presbyter Pamphilus in Cæsarea Pal., (after whom he is called Eusebius Pamphili), and food for his scholarship in the library at Cæsarea. After the martyrdom of Pamphilus, Eusebius fled for refuge to Tyre, and afterwards to Egypt. He soon, however, entered into closer relations with Constantine, who made him Bishop of Cæsarea Pal. (c. 313), so at Nicæa (*vid. sup.*), where at the celebration of the *Vicennalia* he pronounced his panegyric. Although at Nicæa the course of the proceedings forced the compromising Eusebius to retreat, and only regard for the Emperor compelled him to involuntary consent, he was able to assert his authority and influence in high quarters and to retain the confidence of the Emperor, on whom he pronounced the panegyric at the *Tricennalia* with pompous, boastful, and adulatory rhetoric.

The consciousness of the great historical turning point, which exalted the Church to the first spiritual force of the age, directed the glance of Eusebius to the path left behind it by the Church since its beginnings, and made him the father of Christian Church History (the editions p. 6 sq., German translations by Stroth, 1778; Closs, 1839; and Stichloher in the Kemtener Bibl. der KV., 1870. The publication, by Wright, of an ancient Syriac translation of the fifth century, in which however Books 6 and 7 are wanting, is still expected). The great work of the **Chronicle** (p. 7 and 214) had already preceded, "which was for hundreds of years the source of all synchronistic knowledge of history in the Christian world." The history of the martyrs of Palestine (in Diocletian's Persecution), is preserved for us as an interpolation at the end of the 8th Book of the Church History. The **Life of Constantine** in four

books is a courtly apotheosis, which, painting in high colours without any shadows, sees in Constantine the divinely-beloved and chosen instrument of the victorious carrying through of Christianity, in an offensive panegyrical tone, though it was not composed till after Constantine's death. The three books on the Life of Pamphilus and the treatise on the Passover are unfortunately lost. The broadest literary scholarship is placed at the service of Christianity in Eusebius' **apologetical** treatise, Προπαρασκευὴ εὐαγγελική (*Præparatio evang.*). The new divine wisdom is to prove its right to throw off pagan religion, mythology, cosmology, and philosophy, and its own foundation upon history and the religious wisdom of the Jewish people: numerous excerpts from ancient writers (Ed. Viger., Paris 1628, and others; Heinichen, Leipzig 1842; Gaisford, Oxford 1843). In the Ἀπόδειξις εὐαγγελική (*Demonstr. evang.*), the scriptural proof is adduced from the O. T. against the Jews (of the 20 Books only 10 are preserved; ed. Par. 1628, Col. 1686, Gaisford, Oxford 1852; the Θεοφάνεια, preserved in a Syriac translation, is a kind of epitome of the two apologetic works, ed. Lee, London 1842). The Apology of Christianity against Porphyry is lost, the one against Hierocles (p. 190) mentioned above is preserved.

Eusebius, who had on one occasion by Constantine's commission, to provide for the recovery of 50 MSS. of the Bible for Constantinople, served **Biblical research**, not only by his commentaries (those on the Psalms and on John preserved in greater part) and the Ἐκλογαὶ προφητικαί, a collection of prophetic passages to support the proof from prophecy (what is preserved edited by Gaisford, 1842), but especially also by his much used **Onomasticon** (περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ), translated by Jerome (Larson and Parthey's edition, 1862, and de Lagarde's, 1870), and the ten evangelical *canones* for the harmonising of the Gospels (in many editions of the N.T.). In his dogmatico-polemical works (*Adv. Marcellum* and *Deeccl. theol.*, *vid infra*) Eusebius in opposition to Marcellus represents the average dogmatic based upon Origen. Collected edition, Mgr. 19–24. Stein, *Eusebius nach seinem Leben, seinen Schriften und seinem dogm. Char.*, Würzburg 1859.

2. The influences which proceeded from Antioch show themselves in Arius, who like his patron Eusebius of Nicomedia, is reckoned among the disciples of Lucian. So also in the kindred Arian sophist Asterius, who wrote commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans, the Gospels, and the Psalms. The Antiochene tendency in the exegesis of Scripture, which, in spite of all the impulses received from Origen, and in opposition to his allegoric method placed at the service of dogmatic speculation, continues to maintain the sober historical sense, begins to make itself worthy of note. Eustathius, who was deprived of his bishopric of Antioch on account of his adherence to the Nicene formula, in his famous treatise on the Witch of Endor (1 Sam. xviii.) opposes the δογματιστὴς Origen in a highly remarkable manner (ed. Leo Allatius, Lugd. 1629; then in the *Critici sacri* in Gallandi IV. and Mgr. 48, now published by Alb. Jahn in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Forschungen*, vol. ii. 1886). But also in semi-Arian theologians, as in the (not preserved) commentaries of Bishop Theodore of Heraclea, a similar exegetical tendency may be supposed. Eusebius of Emisa (Emesa) also belongs here. He came from Edessa, already received there the foundation of his education, afterwards in Palestine with Eusebius of Cæsarea and Patrophilus of Scythopolis. The Eusebians wished to make him Bishop of Alexandria in place of the exiled Athanasius. This he avoided, and became Bishop of the little Emisa in Phœnicia, where at first offence was taken at his mathematical and astronomical studies, which brought

him the reputation of an astrologer, so that subsequently, when he lived without office in Antioch, he was sought out by Constantius as adviser. He exercised influence on the education of Diodorus of Tarsus (*vid. infra*), as also on that of John Chrysostom, on the latter probably as an orator.

3. Athanasius, born in the last years of the third century, of Christian parents; in his church sentiments still touched by the last period of persecution of the Church. He became a deacon under Bishop Alexander, and in the beginning of the Arian controversy attained decisive influence. From that point the history of Athanasius, who was raised to the episcopate in 328, passes into the history of the Arian controversy. His two closely interconnected apologetico-dogmatic treatises, "Against the Hellenes," and "On the Incarnation of the Logos," which from internal evidence are regarded as works of his youth, combat heathenism as the idolizing of creatures and of the world, and represent Christianity as the religion of spirit, which rests upon the revelation of the Logos as the principle of the world and of spirit, and completes itself in the Incarnation of the Logos as the principle of salvation. They are instructive as to the development of theology on the hitherto philosophico-theological foundations, but towards a new step in advance, for which salvation and the redemption of humanity is based upon the fact that, in the Logos, God not only truly and essentially reveals Himself to mankind, but unites and imparts Himself, and for which at the same time the conception of the descending emanational unfolding of God **into the world** is transformed into that of the inner livingness of the Trinitarian unfolding of the Divine nature **before the world.** The rest of the chief works of Athanasius grow out of the conflicts of the Arian controversy, the four **Orations against the Arians** (the chief dogmatic work of the exile of 356 sq.) to which the circular **letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya** is often prefixed (hence we often hear of five orations against Arius), and the earlier treatises, *De decretis Nicænæ Syn.* and *De sententia Dionysii* (Al.), as also the *Expositio Fidei;* in like manner the more historical *Apol. c. Arianos*, *Histor. Arian. ad Monachos*, *Apologia ad Constantium*, *Apol. de fuga*, *De synodis Arimin. et Seleuc.* The doctrine of the Holy Ghost is treated of in the four letters to **Serapion**; the letters to **Epictetus**, to **Adelphius**, and to the philosopher **Maximus**, relate to the Christological question. As to the account of the life of S. Antony, *vid.* p. 356. Exegetical are the letter to **Marcellinus** on the exposition of the Psalms and the comprehensive *Expositiones in Psalmos*, which find very numerous types and prophecies of Christ in the psalms. The *Feast-letters* for the announcement of each Easter-term are preserved in Syriac (Ed. Cureton, London 1848, German by Larsow, 1852). Much that is spurious is intermixed with the works of Athanasius, and the subsequently influential treatise, *De incarnatione dei verbi et c. Arianos*, is much rather of Apollinarian origin (vid. Caspari, *Alte und neue Quellen*, 1879, p. 65 sqq.). Opp. ed. Montfaucon, Paris 1693, 2 vols. Fo., and in addition the supplements in Montfaucon's *Nov. coll. Patr.* s. II. Collected edition by Giustiniani, Padua 1777, 4 tomes fo. (Migne, t. 25–28). Monographs: Möhler, 1827, Böhringer, *Kirche Christi*, vol. 6 of the second edition, 1874. J. Fialon, *St. Athanase*, 1877.

2. The Arian Controversy.

Sources: Euseb. vita Const. and the Ecclesiastical Historians Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret and the fragments of Philostorgius; Epiphan. *Hær.* 69. The controversial writings of Athanasius, rich in documents (*vid. sup.*), and those of Hilary, Basil, and the two Gregories (*vid. sub* No. 3), the numerous proceedings of Councils in MANSI II. and III. (in FUCHS, *Bibl. der Kirchenversammlungen*, 1780 sq. 1 and 2 voll.). The chief formulas in Hahn, *Bibl. der Symb.* 2nd ed.—*Literature:* WALCH, *Ketzerhistorie*, II.; Böhringer, VI., 2 ed. 1874; GUATKIN, *Studies on Arianism*, 1882; for others vid. RE. 1, 620 sqq., HARNACK, DG. 2, 182.

The controversy which decided the dogmatic development of the Church supposes the hitherto dominant conception of the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, for which the idea of the divine Logos had afforded the decisive expression. Origen's doctrine of the eternal generation of the Logos was meant to designate Christ as the unfolding of the divine nature, in such a way that the Logos or Son should be of the divine nature and yet at the same time should form an independent Ego to be distinguished from God (the Father) Himself and to be subordinated to Him. The latter, in order to have a suitable bearer of the Divine-human person of Christ, the former in order not to hurt the Christian conviction of the unity (Monarchy) of God. But the two sides were mutually repellent. On the one hand Sabellianism threatened, on the other an accentuation of the subordination of the Son, conceived as distinguished from God, of such a kind that His divine dignity was endangered, and the Son appeared as the first and noblest of God's creatures.

ARIUS, a disciple of the Antiochene presbyter Lucian, first a deacon in Alexandria, afterwards presbyter of the church called Baukalis, followed up, as Dionysius of Alexandria had formerly done, the moment of personal distinction, and in consequence the subordination of the Son to the Father, so that the Son emerged from the sphere of the Godhead, and His generation became a creation by the will of God. God the Father alone is unbegotten and unbecome: an imparting of His nature would be division and finitude, hence the **Son is the creation of the divine will, not the unfolding of the divine nature;** He certainly arose before all worldly time, but not eternally; He is free from sin but not unchangeable by nature, but by free determination of will; God's instrument in the creation of the world, but only exalted to the Godhead by His proof of Himself.

Arius, who found a patron in the influential Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, was deposed and exiled by his bishop Alexander at a great Alexandrian synod. Constantine, who above all things set value

on the unity of the Church, and hence on the unity of the bishops, regarded the controversy which burst out as an unimportant battle of words. When he did not succeed in calming it, on the advice of Bishop Hosius of Corduba who had his ear, he summoned the bishops to an assembly, the celebrated first General Council at Nicæa (325), the Metropolis of Bithynia (p. 331 sq.). The Emperor in person showed great reverence for the assembly, the preponderating majority of which belonged to the Greek East, but thereby also unavoidably exercised an important influence, and to this it is to be attributed that in spite of the opposition of the friends of Arius (called Eusebians after the Nicomedian bishop of that name) and the disinclination of a great Greek middle party, the **formula of Nicæa** was carried through, being recommended by Hosius, Alexander, and the young deacon Athanasius. Bishop Eusebius of Cæsarea, who was likewise high in the Emperor's esteem, had attempted to gain acceptance for a formula[1] which was more in accordance with the dogmatic view of the majority, but by which the view of Arius did not seem to be decidedly enough excluded, as his friends were ready to accept it. Just for this reason the formula was made more rigid by the addition to the designation of Christ as the **Logos of God, God of God, begotten of the Father before all æons,** of the further definition, **of the nature of the Father, begotten, not created, of one nature with the Father** (ὁμοούσιος), definitions to which the majority of the Greek bishops only agreed against their wills, out of regard to the Emperor, because they saw in the decisive expression a "Sabellian" obliteration of the personal distinction of the Son from the Father. Athanasius on the other hand, who from that time onwards staked a whole life of warfare on the Nicene doctrine, saw in it the decisive expression for the divinity of the Son, the unity and complete community of nature of the Son with the Father, and the necessary exclusion of the hybrid representation of a medial nature of weakened divinity, which to a certain extent sets forth the transition from the Godhead to the creatures. The great majority assented against their wills; Eusebius of Cæsarea vindicated himself in regard to the matter before his community,[2] by means of an explanation which weakened its significance. Arius was condemned and contemptuously nicknamed the Porphyrian (after the Neo-Platonic enemy of Christianity); only two Egyptian bishops adhered to him, subsequently, of course, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis

[1] *Vid.* Hahn, *Bibl. d. Symb.* p. 178.

[2] Eus. *Ep. ad Cæsarienses* with the verbal tenor of Symb. Nic., appended by Athanasius to his treatise *De decr. Nic. Synod.*; vid. Halm, l.c. 78.

of Nicæa, because they did not desire to abolish ecclesiastical communion with Arius.

2. But the apparent close of the controversy by the subsequently so celebrated assembly at Nicæa was in reality only its introduction. The doctrine represented by Athanasius was opposed to the dogmatic standpoint of the majority, and the Emperor's view was completely reversed, under the influence, as it appears, of his sister Constantia. The influential Eusebius of Nicomedia ventured to return and agitated powerfully against Athanasius, who had become Bishop of Alexandria since 8th June, 328. Highly esteemed bishops had already exerted themselves in favour of Arius, who had also sought to obtain welcome for his doctrine in a half poetical treatise (*Thalia*, *i.e.* The Banquet); he dared to justify himself personally before the Emperor by means of a confession which indeed avoided the distinctive Arian expressions, but did not exclude their sense. Constantine was concerned about the unity of the bishops; if this could not be attained by means of the Nicene formula, then perhaps it could by the setting aside of the most decided opponents of Arius, viz. Athanasius and Bishop Eustathius of Antioch. The latter, Eusebius (of Nicomedia) was able to set aside as early as 330; but against Athanasius he made use of the elements of discontent with his episcopal administration, especially the Egyptian Meletians. The Council of Nicæa had indeed endeavoured to overcome this schism (p. 265), but the clergy of this party thought they had multifarious causes of complaint against Athanasius. Eusebius laid hold of this point, intentionally leaving on one side the dogmatic questions. Athanasius indeed was able to invalidate these complaints with the Emperor, so that the synod summoned to Cæsarea (334) never took place. Finally, however, the renewed exertions of the opposition led to the synod at **Tyre** (335), led by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and the deposition of Athanasius on account of alleged use of violence in his conduct of office. The bishops here assembled thereafter betook themselves to Jerusalem on the invitation of the Emperor, for the solemn dedication of the church built by Constantine. Here, on the ground of information supplied by the Emperor, they declared themselves in favour of the re-admission of Arius. Athanasius had gone from Tyre to Constantinople for the purpose of vindicating himself, and even now made an important personal impression on the Emperor. The latter caused the Eusebian chiefs, even before the end of 335, to come from Jerusalem to Constantinople to answer for themselves; but they soon gained the alteration of the Emperor's mind. Athanasius was exiled to Trèves, and the

intended solemn readmission of Arius at public service was only prevented by his sudden death. After the death of Constantine, Athanasius indeed ventured to return to Alexandria, but was not able to maintain himself there against the party, favoured by Constantius the new ruler of the East, of Eusebius (of Nicomedia), who was now raised to the bishopric of the capital (Constantinople). By them he was regarded as an intruder, and was obliged to retire before the new bishop, Gregorius (March 19th, 340), who was thrust by force of arms on the embittered city populace. Athanasius now found a friendly reception with Julius, Bishop of Rome, and decided approval at a Roman synod (341). Here also Bishop Marcellus of Ancyra, who had decidedly championed the Homousia at Nicæa, was received in a friendly manner. But it was just he who by his doctrine seemed to justify the scruples of the Greek bishops against the Nicene formula.

Against the sophist **Asterius**, like Arius, a disciple of Lucian of Antioch, and who as an apt dialectician had defended the Arian view in lectures and writings, Marcellus had come forward with a book in favour of the Homousia of the divine Logos, in a way which seemed to revive the dreaded Sabellianism, not making the Son a distinct second personality, and not the eternal Son. **The name of Son was only applicable to the historical personality of the incarnate one**, not to the reason (Logos) who dwelt in God from all eternity. This Logos indeed, for the sake of working salvation, was to come out from God to a certain mode of activity, and was to become personal in its human appearance, but only temporarily, in order at the end of the development, after it had subjected the kingdom to the Father, again to unite with God in undifferentiated unity. The average Greek view saw in this a revival of Sabellianism, but at the same time of the false doctrine of Paul of Samosata also, as the historical personality of Jesus lost its pre-existence (as also its post-existence). After Marcellus had protested at Tyre against the condemnation of Athanasius, the synod at Jerusalem turned against him contending as he was against the intended readmission of Arius. Thereupon the bishops at Constantinople rejected the doctrine of Marcellus, deposed him from his office, and entrusted Eusebius of Cæsarea with the refutation of his treatise, which Eusebius carried out in the two books against Marcellus and at greater length in the three books of ecclesiastical theology. Constantine's death had also permitted him to return, but he also had soon again to disappear, and took refuge in Rome. By means of a confession which allowed the dubious aspects of his theory to fall into the background, he gained recognition here, where the Godhead of the Logos and the Homousia were above all things else regarded as of decisive importance. *Vid.* Rettberg, *Marcelliana* 1794; Th. Zahn, *Marcell. v. Anc.* 1867; and RE. 9, 279.

The fact that Rome allied itself with men, like Athanasius and Marcellus, who in the East had been deposed from their offices by synodal decision, rendered the opposition more keen. But in the East it was not desired to champion the extreme Arian view (the

creature-nature of the Son), however rigidly the Homousia was rejected on the other hand. At the great **Church Dedication Synod of Antioch** (341) it was sought fundamentally to maintain the earlier, wide-spread, more undefined and subordinational doctrine, in different formulæ, of which the second, the so-called Lucian, was meant to serve the interest of the rejection of Arianism proper, but the third also the rejection of Marcellus in particular.[1]

The need of bringing about a union was intended to be served by the Synod of Sardica (Sofia in Bulgaria, on the frontier region of East and West), which was managed by Constans, but to which Constantius also assented. But when the Westerns, unconcerned with the doings of the East, treated of Athanasius, Marcellus and others as legal bishops, the Easterns, here in the minority, withdrew from the common conference and held their diets in the neighbouring **Philippopolis**. The bishops at Sardica, after renewed investigation, declared for Athanasius and pronounced deposition against the outstanding Eusebians (Theodore of Heraclea and others).[2] On the other hand, the opposition at Philippopolis addressed to the bishops of their party a written protest and confession which is based on the fourth Antiochene formula, but also combats the doctrine of Marcellus. The need of obtaining a unification did indeed make itself felt in further negotiations, in the course of which, regard to the Western ruler Constans also induced Constantius to greater complaisance towards the adherents of Anthanasius. Emissaries of the Synod of Sardica appeared at Antioch with letters of Constans. In the consultations here conducted, the Orientals set up in the so-called **long-lined formula**[3] (*Formula makrostichos*) a detailed confession, which decidedly expresses the type of the middle party: "We know as the perfect in Himself, unbegotten, beginning-less, and invisible God, only **one**, the God and Father of the First-born, who alone has being from Himself and alone proffers it without envy to all others." But the Son, in all things like or similar to the Father (ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα), has been, by the counsel and will of the Father it is true, but yet in a genuine manner, begotten of God, is perfect and true God by nature, whose personally distinct subsistence is emphasised in contrast to Marcellus and the Sabellianism dreaded in the Arian formula, and in regard to which, however, the divine unity is to be guarded not only by the essential dependence

[1] Hahn, Bibl. der. Symb. 2nd ed. 148 sq. and 100.

[2] Eusebius of Constantinople was already dead, and his death had led to bloody conflicts in the capital as to his successor.

[3] In Hahn, p. 109.

of the Son on the Father, but also by the conception of the intimate existence along with and in one another of Father and Son. On this basis negotiations were carried on with a Western synod holding its sittings in Milan, the residence of the Emperor Constans (345), which required from the Antiochenes, but in vain, express renunciation of Arius.

At Antioch, at the same time with Marcellus, his disciple PLOTINUS Bishop of Sirmium had been combated. He, starting from Marcellus' doctrine of the Logos, had arrived at the recognition, in distinction from the essentially divine Logos which however impersonally coincided with God, in the historical person of Jesus, only of a supernaturally begotten man under divine influence. He therefore might more correctly than his teacher Marcellus be reckoned among the following of Paul of Samosata (Epiph. *Hær.* 71, 1 sq. Hilary, *De trin.* 7, 3–7, *De synodis*, 38 sqq. *Vid.* the art. in RE. 11, 655). Hence the Milanese bishops could not avoid rejecting the doctrine of this disciple of Marcellus.

In a short time a greater complaisance on the part of Constantius is seen, probably under the influence of the Emperor Constans.[1] The persecution of the Athanasians ceased, and after the death of Bishop Gregory of Alexandria, Athanasius dared, after a personal meeting with Constantius at Antioch, to return to Alexandria (346). But the opposition was soon sharpened anew; by the death of Constans (350) the Nicene party lost a not unimportant support. At the great Synod of **Sirmium** (351), which definitely deposed Photinus who had hitherto asserted himself in his office, the first **Sirmian formula** adhered thoroughly to the hitherto Antiochene view, and Constantius now sought, after by his victory over Maxentius he had also become lord over the West, to enforce upon the Western bishops the unification of the Church in the sense of this Oriental style of doctrine, guided by the present chiefs of the Eusebians, George of Laodicea, Theodore of Heraclea and Acacius of Cæsarea. Without entering into dogmatic discussions they were to agree to the condemnation of Athanasius. The bishops actually allowed themselves to be moved to consent at the assembly at Arles, where only PAULINUS of Trèves resisted, and at **Milan** (355). The few who declined, PAULINUS, EUSEBIUS of Vercelli, LUCIFER of Cagliari, and DIONYSIUS of Milan were sent into exile, so also the most important theologian of the West, HILARY Bishop of Poitiers, Bishop LIBERIUS of Rome and the aged Bishop HOSIUS of Corduba. **By the banishment of ATHANASIUS once more (356) the controversy seemed to be buried.**

3. But after the removal of Athanasius and the Nicene doctrine of the Homousia, **the internal doctrinal tendencies of the Orientals which had hitherto been held together by a common opposition**

[1] *Vid.* H. Schiller, II. 282.

come to the front and turn upon one another. **On the one hand there arises decided and now unconcealed Arianism,** which the majority by no means desired.

Aëtius, a man of restless and disputatious character, had made his appearance now here and again there and had again worked especially in Antioch as a teacher, where however Bishop Leontius. out of regard to the opinion of the Church, restrained him from clerical functions. At the same time we find this versatile person in relations with the Cæsar Gallus, who was residing in Antioch, and who frequently made use of him on embassies to his brother Julian. Afterwards he went to **Alexandria,** where the Cappadocian Eunomius attached himself to him. Aëtius seems to have written 300 theological treatises, if we may infer from the one which has been preserved to us (Epiph. hær. 76, 10), dialectical argumentations in the form of short theses. The fundamental thought here is, that the Homousia, *i.e.* the doctrine, that the Son, therefore the **begotten,** is essentially God, contains in itself an inner self-contradiction, since the idea of **unbegottenness** is just that which constitutes the nature of God. Eunomius was the next to supply the further achievements of this strict Arianism. Every compromise between unity of nature and distinction of nature is to be given up as untenable, and we must decide for the latter (Anomœans, ἑτερότης κατ' οὐσίαν). As the doctrine of Arius himself bore the influence of the subordinational Logos doctrine, in the fact that Arius (cf. Origen) denied the Son the absolutely perfect knowledge of the Father, Eunomius does not follow him in that point, since, according to him, the perfect transparency of the idea of unbegottenness which exhausts the nature of God, and consequently the knowableness of God, is accessible to every man. The later Arianism of the Anomœans varies from Arius himself in this point also, that it regards the divine dignity of the Son as the first mediatorial creature, which it also admits, as a distinction conferred upon Him by God, and not as a result gained and authenticated through ethical experience.

On the other hand decided Arianism is now confronted with conscious decision by that tendency in the great Oriental party, which will know nothing of the created nature of the Son, maintains the distinction of begetting from creating, and an essential divinity of the Son, which indeed rejects the Homousia on well-known grounds, but substitutes for it the Homoiousia (ὁμοιούσιος).

The expression affirms qualitative similarity of the nature of the Son with that of the Father, and hence, as Athanasius recognises, *De Synod.* 41, when taken along with the idea of begottenness from the nature of Father, is perfectly capable of orthodox explanation. But since it only expressed the similarity of nature but not at the same time the element of community of nature, it was also capable of a minimising explanation (mere likeness of nature), as it was an approach to the older subordinational conception of the second God. At the head of this party we now find Bishop Basil of Ancyra.

Between these two parties of the **Anomœans** (also called Exukontians, because the Son was created ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, Heterusiasts, Eunomians, and the **Homoiousians** (semi-Arians) there interpose those

who desire to restore unity by effacing the opposition. From this attempt there arose, at the Sirmian **Synod of 357,** the colourless **Second Sirmian Formula,** which only maintains the begetting of the Son by the Father before all time, emphasises the subordination of the Son to the Father as the greater, and, with a reference to the unsearchableness of the relationships in οὐσία, ὁμοούσιος and such like, will have nothing to do with controversy. The aged Hosius, who lived in exile at Sirmium, obtained his return home by means of this broad formula without express repudiation of Athanasius. But in the East, Eudoxius, now Bishop of Antioch, laid hold of this broad formula which also seemed adapted to cover the Aëtians whom he favoured. **The Homoiousians however opposed him at the Synod of Ancyra** (358),[1] whose ambassadors made an impression on Constantius for the moment, and whose doctrine was accepted by a largely attended synod at Sirmium (358). Eudoxius had now really to give up the see of Antioch, and Aëtius and Eunomius as well as a larger number of more or less decided Arians were exiled. The decided opposition to the Arians here made it easy for Liberius the Bishop of Rome, by relinquishing the Homousia to make peace with the semi-Arians who turned the scale.

But the counter-tendency immediately declares itself; the opponents of the Homoiousia again gain ground with the Emperor. At a new Sirmian Synod the attempt to efface the antagonisms is combined in the **Third Formula**, and a broad ground of union sought in the expression **"that the Son is like unto the Father in everything according to the Scripture."** Upon this basis, which the Homoiousians had also accepted, it is now attempted to work separately upon the bishops of the West and the East. At the assembly at **Ariminum,** in May, 359, the bishops Ursacius and Valens, the real instruments of the imperial diplomacy, required simple acceptance of the last Sirmian formula. The bishops, who in a majority resisted and adhered to the confession of Nicæa, required the express repudiation of Arius; but their emissaries to the Emperor were there worked upon till they signed the formula of Nice[2] which is based on the third Sirmian. It had there been held forth to them that the synod of the Orientals had already given in. Ursacius and Valens now obtained in Ariminum the compliance of most of the bishops, seeing that, as they say, the broad indefinite formula left room for their view also. The Eastern synod was held in the autumn of the same year at Seleucia (in Isauria). Here the Homoiousians had the majority, to which also some Athanasians

[1] Synodal rescript in Epiph. Hær. 73, 2–11. [2] In Hahn, p. 126.

from Egypt, and Hilary, who was living in Phrygia in exile, adhered. But the Arianising party, under the leadership of Acacius of Cæsarea, attached itself to the last Sirmian formula and desired, with express exclusion of the idea of nature, to limit itself to the similarity of the Logos to God (**Homoians**, Acacians). A unity was not arrived at. Finally the deputies of this synod also consented to the acceptance of the formula of Nice. An assembly at Constantinople, in 360, confirmed this **victory of the Homoians,** in consequence of which on the one side Aëtius as a decided Arian was naturally deprived of his office, but on the other also the chiefs of the Homoiousians, Basil of Ancyra, Eustathius of Sebaste and Cyril of Jerusalem had to leave their sees. Eudoxius now becomes Bishop of Constantinople, Eunomius Bishop of Cyzicus, and Meletius, who had just been inducted at Antioch, has again to retire.

4. By the accession of JULIAN the position is entirely altered. Counting on the dissension of the Christians he allowed all banished bishops to return. Already in late years the Homoiousians (semi-Arians) had the feeling, that in spite of their antipathy to the expression Homousios, they stood pretty close to the adherents of Nicæa in their religious and dogmatic interests. Athanasius, returned from his exile, now sought to gather together all really non-Arian elements. Necessarily of course he had to maintain the creed of Nicæa, but the **Synod of Alexandria** (362), under his guidance, declared its wish to disregard former variations, and sought to set aside the old objection to the Homousia by explanation of the use of language.

The use of language of the older Nicæans had namely spoken, as of **one ousia**, so also of one **hypostasis** in the Trinity, without distinguishing between the two expressions, and had thereby, in bold and exclusive accentuation of the unity of being, strengthened the suspicion that this involved a denial of the independent personal subsistence of the son, so that on this ground Marcellus could regard himself as at one with Athanasius. This possible apprehension was now repudiated by the recognition of the justification of the use of language preferred by the semi-Arian party, according to which Hypostasis, as the exact designation of independent existence and personal subsistence, was contrasted with the Ousia, as the identical nature. (One ousia, three hypostases. *Vid.* Athanasius, *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, opp. I., 2, p. 618 ed. Pat.)

There is really now accomplished an increasing approximation of the hitherto Homoiousians to the Homousians. On the other hand the Arians also unite themselves more closely with the Homoians. The union of all declared foes of Arianism was indeed greatly hindered by many events. So especially by the circumstances of the important city of Antioch.

Here Eustathius, who in his time had been the decided friend of the Nicæan doctrine, had been deposed (330 *vid. sup.*), and men of the Oriental central party had succeeded him, but finally that Eudoxius who was favourable to the Arians. When the latter in the next place, as we have seen, was raised to the see of Constantinople, the highly esteemed Meletius, formerly Bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, was raised to the bishopric of the so important Eastern capital by the dominant (Acacian) party. He however disappointed the expectations of this yet essentially Arian party, by his conceptions of doctrine, which were very near to those of the Homoiousians, and in consequence he was shortly deposed by the Emperor, and replaced by Euzoïus, who was of Arian opinions. As, however, a considerable portion of the community adhered to Meletius, there existed in Antioch at the death of Constantius three ecclesiastical communities—the **Eustathians**, who were then under the guidance of Paulinus, the **Meletians**, and the community under Euzoïus. It was just with a view to Antioch, that Athanasius now sought to work in the direction of unity at the head of the above Synod of Alexandria. All who now accepted the doctrine of Nicæa were to receive pardon for former deviations and remain in their ecclesiastical offices, so far as they had not belonged to the leaders of the hitherto existing party divisions. Athanasius and his followers were of course obliged to regard the Eustathians under Paulinus as the properly orthodox stock, but were ready to recognise the Meletians if they would fulfil those conditions. A union therefore seemed possible, if a compromise could be brought about with the personality of Meletius, who was just returning, since at the head of the Eustathians there was only a presbyter and not a bishop (Eustathius indeed seems to have been still alive, but at a distance from Antioch and after an early resignation of his episcopal office there, *vid.* RE. 9, 534 note). But Bishop Lucifer of Calaris, who had lived in exile on account of his confession since 355 and was not wearied of publishing a series of most vehement controversial writings against the Emperor Constantius, anticipated the attempts at union by consecrating the presbyter Paulinus Bishop of Antioch, before the arrival of the emissaries of the Synod of Alexandria, and thereby greatly endangered the restoration of the peace of the Church, seeing that most of the Orientals regarded not him but Meletius as the legal Bishop of Antioch, while Athanasius and the West would not disavow Paulinus as the aged confessor of the Nicæan doctrine. On the whole Lucifer opposed the mild procedure recommended in Alexandria, which as a matter of fact might and did result in men who had at one time been deposed for their loyalty towards the Nicene Creed, now seeing themselves prevented from returning to their positions, because the latter had meanwhile been occupied by more pliable persons who were now making their peace with Nicæan orthodoxy. The zealous and rugged man wished that all who in late years had been compromised through complaisance towards Constantius—which included *e.g.* the whole Synod of Ariminum—should be received into church fellowship with the loss only of their ecclesiastical offices, but that all who had been exiled should enter again into their former rights. Over this matter Lucifer gradually fell into a rancorous separation from the great church, the mass of the bishops in which he regarded, not indeed without reason, as bound by false worldly considerations (*vid.* Krüger, *Lucifer v. Calaris*, 1886).

A **second difficulty** was involved in the drawing of the doctrine of the **Holy Spirit** into the discussions. Theological conceptions had hitherto suffered from great indefiniteness. It is true that the con-

nection of the Spirit with the Father and the Son in the baptismal formula and confession, and the conviction of the Church that the divine power was to be perceived in the Spirit which ruled throughout the Church, in connection with the scheme of the subordinational doctrine of the Logos, led to the inference that the third place in the circle of evolution of the divine nature was to be ascribed to the Holy Spirit. But this did not exclude the possibility of seeing in Him a nature which nevertheless stood very near the grade of the creatures. This consequence led Athanasius, as in the doctrine of the Son, so here also, to oppose that strong subordination, and in place of the representation of an unfolding of the divine nature descending to the world, which forms the transition to the sphere of creation, to substitute the representation **of the purely immanent divine self-unfolding into the transcendent Trinity.** His aim must necessarily have been the transference of the notion of the Homousia to the Holy Spirit too. But it was just this which involved a difficulty for the unification of the anti-Arian elements. Many (according to the account of the Egyptian bishop Serapion, of Thmuis) were inclined to separate themselves decidedly from the Arians "on account of blasphemies against the Son," but cherished such petty notions concerning the Holy Spirit, that they regarded Him as a creature, one of the ministering spirits (Heb. i. 14), and therefore as the highest leader of the angel-world.[1]

Athanasius, who, in his last exile, had combated these opinions in his **letters to Serapion,** required at the above-mentioned Synod of Alexandria (362) from all who were to be admitted, along with the recognition of the Nicæan formula, the rejection also of the doctrine that the Holy Spirit was a creature and separated from the nature of Christ, for only he departed from the false doctrine of the Arians, who did not separate the Holy Trinity or designate anything in it as a creature. But against this some of the semi-Arians strove, who received the name of **Macedonians** from the eminent Bishop Macedonius. In the stormy episcopal elections of Constantinople, which had often led to tumult and bloodshed, this Macedonius had frequently played a part as rival to the orthodox candidates, then again victoriously as the representative of the Oriental middle party (since 350), till in the last turning of Constantius he had been driven by the Arians out of the Emperor's favour as the head of the Homoiousians. As the honoured leader of those Homoiousians who did not join in turning to the Nicene doctrine, he was regarded as the representative of that very doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which

[1] Vid. even Cyril of Jerus., *Catech.* 16, 23.

prevented unification; the **Macedonians** were regarded as **Pneumatomachi.**

Nevertheless, after the death of Constantius and the internal freedom which was given under Julian, the process of unification of all the opponents of Arianism under the banner of the symbol of Nicæa makes powerful progress. After the short reign of Julian, Jovian showed himself the friend of the Nicæans, but exercised much more reserve than Constantius. Under him, in accordance with the incitations of the above-mentioned Synod of Alexandria of 362, there was held the assembly at Antioch under Meletius (363), where men who belonged to the central party (and also the Arian Acacius for the sake of accommodation) signed the confession of Nicæa. Next, however, the hostility to all non-Arians of the Emperor Valens, who was disposed to Arianism, combined the latter ever closer together in a common resistance. In this cause there now worked a series of out-standing men, who all, equipped with the higher classical and philosophical culture of the age, turned their interest towards the dogma of the Church which had passed into the centre of the movement of the time.

3. The Representatives of the Theology which had matured in the Arian Controversy.

1. Hilary of Poitiers (Pictavium), since about 350 Bishop of his native city, was drawn into the dogmatic conflicts from which he had previously kept aloof, by the efforts of Constantius to carry through the condemnation of Athanasius in the West. His resistance led, in 356, to his banishment to the Asiatic Provinces, and the years which he passed here where he could move freely, increased the intimacy he had already acquired with the Greek language and Greek theology, brought him into intercourse with eminent men, and gave him an opportunity of interfering in the controversy, as he did by the book *De Synodis*, by the elaboration of his chief work, *De fide contra Arianos* (generally called *De trinitate;* 12 Books), then by taking part in the Synod of Seleucia (359), by his second book to Constantius (the first was written before his banishment) and his third and most vigorous one against him. Having returned to the West he used his influence in favour of unity in the sense of Athanasius and the Synod of Alexandria, wrote against the Arian Auxentius of Milan, and died in 366. Græco-dogmatic speculation is worked up by Hilary in an independent and energetic grouping of conceptions of a stamp peculiar to himself even in linguistic form. In exegesis his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew makes use of the typico-allegorical method down to the smallest detail; that on the Psalms, written after his return from the East, exhibits a more many-sided treatment following Origen; the one on Job (lost) was a translation of Origen. On the significance of Hilary for ecclesiastic hymnology *vid. infra;* Opp. ed. Maurin. 1693 and Maffei, Verona 1730, MI. 9 and 10; Reinkens, *Hilar. von Poitiers*, Schaffhausen 1864.

2. On the Greek side there is to be mentioned Apollinaris (Ἀπολλινάριος) the son of the Christian grammarian and rhetorician of the same name, who,

belonging to Alexandria, had taught in Berytus and had afterwards settled in Laodicea in Syria. The son (the younger A.), who was of excellent classical education, occupied in the Christian community there the position of a Lector (*anagnostes*), but attended the lectures of the sophist Epiphanius who had remained a pagan, and is said, along with his father to have been temporarily excluded from church-fellowship by the local Bishop Theodorus, because he attended the solemn recitation of a hymn to Dionysos which began in the traditional manner by requiring all who were uninitiated to depart. His listening to the poetical phrases was imputed to him as a denial of Christianity. But attachment to the fine arts and interest in the advancing power of Christian speculation were here still closely associated. When Athanasius, on his way back from exile (346), touched at Laodicea, he was hospitably received by his countryman the elder Apollinaris and formed a friendship with his son. The latter was then, on account of his acceptance of the doctrine of Athanasius, excommunicated by Bishop Georgius (taking advantage of previous occurrences). The zealous friend of Athanasius then, like other Christians, lived at Antioch on friendly terms with the famous pagan rhetorician Libanius (*vid.* his letters to Apollinaris). Finally he again appears as Bishop of Laodicea at the time of the Synod of Alexandria in 362, a man of many-sided literary activity, who combated the treatise of Porphyry the enemy of Christianity, and made other appearances as an apologist; and when Julian forbade Christians to become teachers of classical literature, he attempted to replace the latter by working up Christian matter in classical forms. Thus he rendered the Biblical history of primitive times down to Saul in an epic of 24 cantos, making use of Biblical material imitated the comedies of Menander, the Tragedies of Euripides and the Lyrics of Pindar, and paraphrased the Psalms (cf. A. Ludwich, *Königsb. Universitätsprogramm* for 1880 and 1881). His dogmatic view on the Person of Christ (*vid. inf.*) afterwards led him off the line which was regarded as orthodox and brought him into the reputation of false doctrine; this circumstance has somewhat put in the shade in the later remembrance of the Church the great and outstanding significance of the man and his far-reaching authority which may be still perceived from the words of Epiphanius (*Hæres.* 77, 1 sq.) and from those of Suidas based on Philostorgius. *Vid.* Drăseke, *Apoll. v. L.* in ZWL. 1887, 499 sqq. and *Id.* in JprTh. XIII. 659.

3. Along with him account must be taken of the **three Cappadocians**: first Basil, sprung from an esteemed family holding property in Pontus and Cappadocia, in which the remembrance of the last persecutions of the Church lived as a family memory. Born about 330 at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, the son of the esteemed Christian attorney Basil, who however afterwards took up his abode in Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus, and of Emmelia the daughter of a martyr. His youth was influenced by his father's mother Macrina (the elder) a living witness of the last time of persecution, in whom the traditions of Gregory the Thaumaturge, the famous apostle of Cappadocia, still lived. Three bishops proceeded from this family; another brother of Basil turned finally from a secular career to the monastic life, and in the latter also the daughter, the younger Macrina, with her widowed mother, found her life-task. Thus the family exhibits in a special manner the power of the Christian tendency of the age in a family of note. Basil received the higher secular education of the time in Cæsarea, afterwards in Constantinople, and especially in Athens the centre of classical and philosophical studies, which was as yet but little influenced by the Christian spirit of the age, under the celebrated sophists

Himerius, Prohæresius and others. Here a like enthusiasm for the sciences accompanied by preservation of attachment to the Church united him with his friend Gregory (of Nazianzen), whose close attachment to him began in Cæsarea, and who protected his later arrived friend against the pretensions of the rude studentry. Here they saw Prince Julian who was silently filling his soul with the ideals of the pagan past. Basil, who returned (about 357), was powerfully seized by the spirit of the ascetic life, the practical philosophy of monasticism (vid. sup. p. 359), but at the same time by an inclination towards the Church which drew him away from the secular career which stood open to his rank and education. After the period of his monastic retirement he began his ecclesiastical career as Lector at his home at Cæsarea. Hitherto standing aloof from the ecclesiastical doctrinal controversies, he here came into contact with the chiefs of the Homoiousians; but in himself there was now completed the conversion he has depicted, the turning towards the Homousia, in which the influence of Apollinaris was of weight (*vid.* as to the correspondence between the two, Drāseke, ZKG. 8, 55 sqq.). In this way, as presbyter and afterwards from 370 as Bishop of Cæsarea, he becomes one of the first champions of the Nicene doctrine in its earlier form. The theology of Basil, like that of his friend Gregory, is distinctly rooted in the study of Origen. They composed in common the **Philokalia**, a florilegium from the works of Origen, which exhibits his conception of Scripture and also his speculative views. Also his celebrated exegetical homilies on the "**Work of Six Days**" (*Hom.* 9 *in Hexameron*) exhibit the influence of Origen in the introduction of cosmological learning and speculation although the ecclesiastical sense here lays narrower limits than Origen's on the allegoric method, which however Basil by no means despised. Full occupation with classical literature and philosophy confirms this Origenistic tendency, but Origen's dogmatic undergoes a decided transformation in the two friends in consequence of the movement caused by Athanasius, inasmuch as it turns away from the view which prevailed in the Oriental middle party based on an Origenistic foundation, and distinctly turns towards that of Athanasius. Basil becomes, both in practical ecclesiastical activity and in literature, an outstanding champion of the Nicene doctrine, the latter particularly in the three Books against Eunomius and in his treatise on the **Holy Spirit** (*De spir. s. ad Amphilochium*). His numerous and classically tinged letters bring before us his active share in ecclesiastical transactions. On his moral writings *vid.* p. 360. Opp. ed. Garnier, Paris 1721 sqq., Mgr. 19–32. Cf. Böhringer, 7, 1, and RE. 2, 116.

4. Alongside of him stands his friend, Gregory of Nazianzen, whose father Gregory had belonged to the monotheistic sect of the **Hypsistarians** (*vid. inf.*) before, under the influence of his pious wife Nonna, he attached himself to the Christianity of the Church, and became Bishop of Nazianzen in Cappadocia. The son, born in the neighbouring Ariantium, had, after the residence in Athens already mentioned, where he pursued his studies for about ten years, first of all passed some time with Basil in his monastic retirement. He was next and half involuntarily made presbyter by his father whom he withdrew from a disposition to yield to the Arians into the opinion of Athanasius. In the numerous changes of his subsequent life there is betrayed the remarkable hesitancy of a finely strung but excitable nature, between the inclination towards the contemplative and learned muse and that to ecclesiastical activity, the darker side of which repelled him in clerical party life, while his rhetorically constituted and not unambitious nature ever again impelled him into it. Subsequently Basil, in favour of whose elevation to the bishopric Gregory

himself had co-operated, made him Bishop of the little city of Sasima; he was able however to withdraw from this position in order to stay beside his aged father till the death of the latter (c. 374). He avoided the desire to retain him as successor and withdrew into seclusion, until, after the death of the Emperor Valens, he was called by the small orthodox community which, under the oppression of the Arians, had hitherto kept itself in seclusion in the suburbs of Constantinople; there he now, under an insignificant outward appearance, placed the spiritual eloquence which had been schooled in classical studies at the service of the Nicene doctrine of the faith, which gained for him the name of the Theologian, *i.e.* the teacher of the Godhead (the Trinity). Soon every one desires to hear him; the passion for dogmatizing and disputation of the populace of the capital is attracted, although he does not cease, alongside of the zeal for orthodoxy, to lay to heart the practical seriousness of Christianity, and the claims of personal love and patience. The Emperor Theodosius introduces him and the orthodox doctrine into the chief church of Constantinople which the Arian bishop is obliged to vacate. At the Synod of Constantinople (*vid. inf.*) he is solemnly elected as the rightful Bishop of the capital and consecrated by Meletius of Antioch. But, hurt by opposition to his election, filled with disinclination for ecclesiastical party practices and yearning for rest, he soon again resigns this position and brings his life to a close in his home at Nazianzen and the neighbouring property at Ariantium († 389 or 390). A skillful author, of polished and not seldom striking language, he exhibits in numerous letters classical elegance and a somewhat sententious quality; of the forty-five orations, the famous so-called "theological" exhibit the dogmatic orator, the two directed against Julian (λόγοι στηλιτευτικοί, *Invectivæ in Jul.*) a rhetoric of passionate hate, the orations on church feasts and anniversaries of martyrs a somewhat self-complacent rhetoric. Among his numerous **Poems**, not meant for ecclesiastical use, there are some hymns of a contemplative sort on the Godhead, many finely pointed epigrams, but also much insignificant versification; the poem *De vita sua* is not without satirical severity and indignation. Opp. ed. Clemencet, Paris 1778 and 1840, Mgr. 35–38. Ullmann, *Gregor von Nazianz*, 1825. Böhringer, *KG. in Biogr.*

5. Gregory of Nyssa, the younger brother of Basil and educated by him, was retained by Gregory of Nazianzen in the ecclesiastical career at a time when he showed inclination to give himself up to the life of secular rhetoric. Although married, he was made bishop by Basil in the small town of Nyssa in Cappadocia (371 or 372). The persecution of the Nicæans in the reign of Valens gave rise to the deposition of Gregory, at the instigation of the Procurator of Pontus, by a Synod in Galatia, under the pretext of violation of ecclesiastical laws. He escaped into solitude and, after the death of Valens, was received again with joy by his community. He now took part repeatedly in ecclesiastical negotiations, as in the Synod of Constantinople in 381, where he held the funeral oration upon Meletius who died there. The arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs took him on one occasion to Arabia and on this opportunity to the Holy Places. In Constanstinople he preached the funeral orations of the Princess Pulcheria (385) and then of the Empress Placilla; as late as 394 he took part in a synod there and must have died soon after. Of the three Cappadocians Gregory is most of a speculative dogmatist, and at the same time adheres most to specifically Origenist views; he too however decidedly follows the bent towards the Trinitarian view of Athanasius, in which however there is also necessarily involved a certain transformation of the fundamental notion of Origen's view of the world. He interferes in the dogmatic controversy in

his chief work, the **12 Books against Eunomius**, in which he enters into the literary conflict previously carried on between Basil and Eunomius (the so-called 13th Book is a smaller independent treatise), in a number of smaller treatises towards **the doctrine of the Trinity**, as well as by his work against Apollinaris (*Antihereticus*); the *Oratio catechetica magna* is a kind of Christian apologetic and dogmatic with an attempt at a rational foundation, giving directions for the instruction and bringing over of (educated) pagans and Jews (ed. Krabinger, 1838). The dialogue *De anima et resurrectione* treats of the soul, death, resurrection and restoration in the form of a conversation held after the death of his brother Basil with his sister Macrina, who was near to death (ed. Krabinger, 1837; H. Schmidt, *Gregor von Nyssa's Dialog über Seele und Auferst.* Halle 1864). Linked with the homilies of Basil on the Hexaëmeron are the treatises which are significant for their anthropological views, *De hominis opificio* and *Apologia de hexaëmeron*, Opp. ed. Fronto Duc. 1615, 2 vols., App. by Gretser 1618. In 3 vols., Paris 1638; with the only edition since in Mgr. 44–48. Literature on him in RE. 5, 396 sqq.

6. Sharing in the same bent, we also find Didymus, a decided disciple of the Origenist theology; although blinded in early youth, he became distinguished for his comprehensive learning; he was one of the last presidents of the Catechetical School of Alexandria, and taught there for over fifty years till about 395. Of his writings, among which the exegetical were very numerous, for the most part only fragments are extant, but the three books *De trinitate* (Ed. Mingarelli, 1764), which were only brought to light last century, are preserved, and also the treatise on the Holy Spirit in the Latin translation or rather revision of Jerome (Opp. Mgr. 39).

7. Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem, starting from the Oriental middle party of the Homoiousians and as a member of it, incurring the enmity of his metropolitan, Acacius of Cæsarea, gradually completed the transition to Nicene orthodoxy, was again persecuted under Valens and took part in the Council of Constantinople in 381. The twenty-three catecheses held by him while still presbyter in Jerusalem (eighteen addressed to the *competentes*, five to the newly baptized) are memorials of the highest value, which show what was regarded as general instruction in Christianity. Opp. ed. Toutté and Maran. 1720, Mgr. 33.

8. Diodorus, sprung from a highly respected family of Antioch, was educated at the same sources of classic culture as the Cappadocians and indeed, like Basil and Gregory, at Athens itself, but combined with these elements the learned traditions of **Antioch** which had proceeded from Lucian, but flowed to him through the instruction of Eusebius of Emisa. Sharply separated from the Origenist school by his aversion from allegorical interpretation of Scripture, whereby however he has no desire to throw contempt on the higher sense of Scripture (*θεωρία*) which is necessarily required by the Christian conception of the Old Testament, he nevertheless takes his place alongside of the Cappadocians not only by his enthusiastic devotion to the ascetic life, but also in his defence of the Nicene doctrine, for which latter he already worked when a presbyter under Bishop Leontius of Antioch, then under Meletius, and after his banishment, in the Antioch which was so much broken up into parties. Next, in 378, Meletius made him Bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia († 394). Gradually however, in the dogmatic negotiations, especially on the inducement of Apollinaris, there appeared in him that conception of the Person of Christ already prefigured in the Antiochene tendency, which is said to have brought him into a certain degree of discord with the other defenders of the Nicene doctrine and to have made him the founder of the **dogmatic school of Antioch** (p. 407).

9. In the region of Syrian and indeed East Syrian Christianity, outside the frontier of the Roman Empire and subject to Persian dominion, we note firstly a Semitic Christianity which is still entirely untouched by the movements of Greek dogmatism, the distinguished representative of which is the above mentioned (p. 356) "Persian wise-man" Aphraates (Ἀφραάτης), "Mar Jakûb" "*Sapiens Persa*" as he is called in the one MS. at the end of the homilies, Bishop of Mar Mattai (Matthew) near Mosul, according to what appears to be an unexceptionable memorandum in WRIGHT (catalogue of Syrian MSS. in the British Museum. London 1871 II. p. 401, col. 2). His homilies or rather dissertations show the strong influence of Jewish Scriptural theology but at the same time urgent contention against the Judaism which rejects Jesus the Messiah, its specific legalism and its religious-national claims. In regard to the not beautiful commands, which cannot give life (Ezek. xx. 25), viz. laws of sacrifice and purity, he extols the mercy of Him who has taken away from us the hard and grievous yoke and laid upon us His easy one (Hom. 15), and emphasizes in the sense of Rom. iv. 3 the idea that faith was earlier than the circumcision (Hom. 11). Ancient Syrian traditions are maintained by him, he makes use of Tatian's Diatessaron as Holy Scripture, and after effects of Tatian's doctrine of the Spirit of God in man (RE. 15, 201) are also found (Hom. 6); views, the objectionability of which Bishop Gregory the Arabian (*vid.* RYSSEL, *Ein Brief Gr.'s d. Arab.*, Gotha 1883) sought to modify. Homily 12 exhibits him as a Quartodeciman on a peculiar basis. His confession of faith (Hom. 1. 15) is not yet at all grouped according to the Trinity, and he is entirely untouched by the further development of Greek theology, especially by the logos-speculation in the sense of the latter, and founds the forcibly emphasised divinity of Christ, purely in the sense of John x. 34 sq., by appeal to Old Testament passages, like Ps. lxxxii. 6 sq.— The 23 dissertations, which were first published in Syriac, by WRIGHT, were very early translated into Armenian and here ascribed to the other James to be mentioned immediately (cf. Gennad. *De vir. ill.* I.); vid. *Jacobi Nisibeni opp. omn. ex armeno in lat. serm. transl. a* N. Antonelli, Rome 1756 (also in Gall. Bibl. V.). Vid. *Aphrahat's des pers. Weisen Homilien, aus dem Syr. übers. und erlautert von G. Bert* (Gebhardt and Harnack, Texte und Forschungen III. 3 and 4. Leipsic 1888). On him also SASSE *Proleg. in Aphr. serm.*, Lpz. 1879. Jac. FORGET, *De vita et scriptis Aphr.*, Louvain 1882.

On the other hand the somewhat elder contemporary of Aphraates in Roman Syria, JACOBUS (James) of Nisibis († 338) is already in closer touch with Greek Christianity. He was present at the Synod of Nicæa, and his disciple the celebrated prophet of the Syrians and fertile author EPHRAEM (properly Ephraim) was the decided representative of Athanasian orthodoxy in the East. Born at Nisibis, afterwards, when Nisibis fell back under Persian dominion, he lived in and near Edessa, highly esteemed as an ascetic and a popular preacher († 378). To a great extent Ephraem gave its stamp to the theological literature of the Syrians, by making it in its peculiar form at the same time the bearer of the Greek dogmatic (doctrine of the Trinity, afterwards doctrine of two natures or rather monophysitism), which is more embellished with Oriental figurative fancy than developed in logical dialectic. Apart from his commentaries, which include a great part of the Bible, Ephraem composed the whole of the rest of his works, homilies and addresses as well as polemical dissertations, for popular delivery and aim, in **poetical form**, just as Bardesanes and Harmonius had at one time sought in this form to gain reception for doctrines. This he did in verses with a definite number of syllables, but without prosodical measure (in Ephraem mostly of seven syllables), of which each definite number

were grouped as a strophe. This poetical form lent to homilies and addresses a certain measured solemnity, and in passages of more lyrical character could rise to a poetical flight. The distinctly lyrical productions, such as Ephraem's funeral songs, rise to the proper character of hymns. Opp. partly in Syriac, partly in Greek translation, ed. Assemani, 6 vols. Rome 1732 sq. In addition, the *Hymni et sermones*, ed. Lamy, Louvain 1832. What is preserved in Armenian published by the Mechitarist monks, Venice 1836 (cf. p. 176).

10. But in the Latin West the younger generation of Nicæans is above all represented by Ambrose, who, Bishop of Milan from 474, was of the greatest importance in his personality (*vid. inf.*); through his dogmatic writings also (*De fide*, ll. 3; *De spir. sancto*, ll. 3; *De incarnationis sacramento*) in which as also in his exegetical works he is dependent on the Greeks, he exercised important influence.

4. The setting aside of Arianism in the Church of the Empire.

Sources: Codex Theodosianus XVI., 1 sqq. Cf. p. 382 and A. Harnack in RE. 5, 353, and Uhlhorn, ibid. 15, 408.

Valentinian I. (364–375), elevated by the army, had succeeded Jovian, and himself entered upon the empire of the West, but gave over that of the East to his brother Valens (— 378). In the West, after the oppression ceased with the death of Constantius, attachment to the Nicene doctrine, to which the Emperor Valentinian also addicted himself, had again become victorious, although many bishops who had been appointed by Constantius, *e.g.* Auxentius in the important city of Milan, still stood on the Arian side. Roman synods, under Bishop Damasus (369, 374), likewise a great Illyrian synod in 375, decidedly declared for the Homousia of the Son, and not less, against the Pneumatomachi, for the divinity of the Spirit, to which the expression of **Homousia** is already expressly applied in this Illyrian synod. Now also in Milan, Ambrose, the secular official of high repute who found himself suddenly called to the episcopate by the people, appears decidedly on this side, although Arians had also voted for his election, and exercises a determining influence on the young Emperor Gratian (375–383).

On the other hand in the East, Valens, who had been baptized by the Arian Eudoxius of Constantinople and remained under his influence, had laid hold of the Arian party, as finally favoured by Constantius (Homoiousians with repudiation of Aëtius and Eunomius as the extreme party), and in his tyrannical way sought to make it supreme. In Alexandria, where Valens feared popular opinion, Athanasius indeed remained unassailed till his death (373). Then, however, his orthodox successor, Peter, was displaced by Lucius, who was brought in by force of arms, and persecution was carried on against the Egyptian monks who were devoted to Athanasius. But it was especially the East, where on account

of Persia, Valens resided for some time after the close of the Gothic war, which had to experience his ruthless and capricious attacks. In Constantinople the capital also, after the death of Eudoxius it came to vehement conflicts between the two parties; the destruction on a burning vessel of a great number of orthodox presbyters and deputies who had brought their complaints before Valens in Nicomedia, was ascribed to the instigation of the Emperor.

Under this Arian rule, the amalgamation of the Homoiousians with the Nicæans, in spite of the opposing difficulties, made increasing progress. Homoiousians indeed attempted at the Synod of Lampsacus (365) under Eleusius to maintain their earlier middle position, but, as they would hold no church fellowship with Eudoxius, fell under the same persecution as the Nicæans (banishment of the bishops).

Different semi-Arian synods of Asia Minor now sought by emissaries attachment to Rome and the Roman Bishop Liberius, and the protection of the Emperor Valentinian I., and as a matter of fact were recognised on the ground of the Nicene Symbol approved by them (about 366). Meanwhile much vacillation was also exhibited, as in the case of Eustathius of Sebaste, who had stood at the head of this embassage and who afterwards fell back again to the Arian side and with him many others. The **three Cappadocians,** however, worked successfully in the interest of a real theological conviction in the ways of Athanasius, by at the same time seeking to set aside the old objections by means of prudent definition of dogmatic terminology, and — which holds especially of Basil — by proceeding in their championship of the Godhead of the Spirit with great prudence and regard to the ideas which had hitherto been so fluctuating. The negotiation with Rome (Damasus) for the restoration of complete ecclesiastical peace, in the cause of which Basil exerted himself, at first still supported by Athanasius, advanced slowly on account of the distrust of the Latins in the uprightness of the Orientals and on account of the Meletian affair. But the victory of the Nicene doctrine was already internally decided by the adherence to it of personalities which turned the scale in favour of this doctrine which was most in accord with fundamental Christian sentiment, when after the death of Valens (in August, 378) the oppression ceased, and the Emperor Gratian, who from the very beginning of his reign in the West (375) had been an adherent of the Nicene doctrine, permitted the exiled bishops to return. A great assembly of one hundred and forty-six Oriental bishops, under the presidency of Meletius at

Antioch (in the autumn of 378), now subscribed to the dogmatic declarations of the Roman Synod of 369. The **rulers,** GRATIAN and the Spaniard THEODOSIUS who had been elevated by him to a share in the Empire, now, **by the edicts of 380 and 381, took up the part of the orthodox confession on behalf of the State,** the churches in Constantinople were taken from the Arians, heretical worship was forbidden in the cities in general, and the **great Synod of Constantinople** (381), attended by bishops of the Eastern half of the Empire, confirmed the Nicene doctrine, and after vain attempts to win over the Macedonians, repudiated their doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as also the doctrine of Apollinaris.

The so-called Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Symbol (HAHN, *Bibl. d. Symb.* ², p. 37 sqq.) is not the Nicænum which was provided with additions at this synod and brought into acceptance in this form, but a creed brought forward and recommended by Epiphanius (Ancoratus, 121) as early as 374, which, as a baptismal creed completed in the Nicene spirit, shows itself to belong to the Church of Jerusalem. While CASPARI (*zur Gesch. des Taufsymbols*, in ZlTh. 1857, 634, and the pieces adduced in the *Quellen zur Gesch. d. Taufsymb.*, I. 1886, p. vi.) regards this creed as accepted by the Fathers at Constantinople, HARNACK (RE. 8, 212), following HORT (Two dissertations, Cambr. 1876) and others, has made it obvious that it was not attributed to this synod, which indeed in the letter of the synod of 382 to that of Rome was already designated as οἰκουμενὴ σύνοδος (Theodoret, 5, 9), but in truth only attained the authority of an œcumenical council later on, not till somewhat later than 451 (Chalcedon).

In the West, where, contemporaneously, a Synod of Aquileia deposed two Illyrian bishops for Arianism at the instigation of Ambrose, a certain bad feeling against the Greeks was still dominant, especially when, at Constantinople, by the choice of Flavian to succeed Meletius, they had allowed to pass the opportunity of adjusting the Antiochene schism, which might have resulted from the recognition of Paulinus, the head of the Eustathians. At Aquileia there was a desire for another great assembly, perhaps at Alexandria. But Theodosius summoned another to Constantinople (382), which rejected the invitation of the Latins to come to Rome, and confined itself to issuing an orthodox declaration appealing to the volume of the Synod of Antioch of 378 and the declaration of the Synod of 381, in a synodal letter to the Roman assembly (Theodoret, 5, 9), in which Epiphanius of Cyprus and Paulinus of Antioch took part along with Ambrose and Jerome.

Nevertheless, the continued agitation of parties gave Theodosius occasion once more to bring the parties to negotiate. The new Patriarch of Constantinople, Nectarius, was obliged to negotiate with the Novatian Bishop Agelius (*vid. sup.* p. 264) as to the means of winning the Arians; confessions were presented from various sides,

even from EUNOMIUS;[1] but the decision was given in favour of orthodoxy. In the West, JUSTINA, the widow of Valentinian I. and step-mother of Gratian, after the early death of the latter, as Regent for her infant son Valentinian II., still sought to maintain the Arianism to which she was passionately devoted. Freedom of assembly for worship was conceded to all adherents of the resolutions of Ariminum (386, *vid.* Cod. Theod. XIII. 1, 3): all who resisted them were threatened with severe punishment. The scattered elements of Arianism sought refuge at her court at Milan; but just here Ambrose most tenaciously resisted her exertions to gain ground for Arianism, and successfully refused (Easter 385 and 386) the surrender of a basilica to the Arians; his position at the head of the orthodox populace of the capital was more powerful than that of the Empress, who, in opposition to the spiritual authority of Ambrose, could not even put her trust in the soldiers. When VALENTINIAN II. had obtained the help of Theodosius against the usurper Maximus, and Justina was dead (388), Valentinian II. went over to the side of orthodoxy and Arianism gradually declined in the Church of the Empire. After the emancipation of the Church by Constantine had led to its recognition by the State, and in consequence it had become one of the most important institutions of the Empire, under these historical circumstances the long Arian conflict had the result **that among the conflicting party confessions only the one which was regarded as orthodox received State protection and recognition**; the unity of belief of the church protected by State resources was maintained by the suppression of the parties holding other beliefs, so far as they sought to give themselves a distinct character in worship and constitution, and heresy in this sense became a crime prosecuted by the State. The measures of Gratian and Theodosius decisively laid the foundations therefor.

The Arian conflict, starting from the divinity of Christ, but also including the divinity of the Spirit necessitated the more exact development of the **doctrine of the Trinity** in fixed technical terms. The Son and Spirit, to whom eternal Godhead, but at the same time eternal hypostatic independence in contrast to the Father was ascribed, had to be so grouped in a trinity (τριάς, *trinitas*) with the Father, as to assert both the unity of God and the trinitarian distinction. After initial vacillation in the use of language, the terminology was fixed on the basis of the discussions especially of the three Cappadocians: *One* nature (οὐσία, *essentia*) in three subjects (ὑποστάσεις, *personæ*) whereby the unity of nature was not merely to be the generic conception for three independent individuals, and the hypostases also not mere *modi*, but in-

[1] *Vid.* in G. RETTBERG, *Marcelliana*, p. 147 sqq. and THILO, *Bibl. patr. Græc. dogmatica*, II. 616 sqq.

dependent bearers or *centra* of all the common divine qualities, each under a particular determination (*ἀγεννησία* of the Father, *γέννησις* of the Son, *ἐκπόρευσις* of the Holy Spirit). At the same time the Greeks adhered firmly to a certain subordination of the Son and Spirit to the Father as the highest all-including *ἀρχή* of the Godhead. AUGUSTINE (*De trinitate*, vid. inf.) was the first to attempt to set this aside. While strictly holding the unity he makes the whole Godhead present in each of the persons, and indeed in such a way as to make these persons appear as different internal relations of the **One** God, who stand in an entirely reciprocal relation to one another; a relation which he explains by the analogy of the different moments of the unitary human self-consciousness.

5. The Origenist Controversies.

The theology of Origen (*vid.* p. 209) was early the object of attacks. On the whole however among the theologians of the fourth century the feeling that they stood on his shoulders was very strong. ATHANASIUS does not allow himself to be induced by the attachment of Arius to the one side of the Origenist doctrine of God and his appeal to the authority of the Origenist Dionysius, to deny the consciousness of the connection of his own view (doctrine of the eternal generation of the Logos) with the theology of the great teacher. He believes that in the positive doctrines he has him essentially on his side, from which he seeks to distinguish what else is brought forward by the industrious scholar in the way of free investigation (*De decr. Nic. Syn.* c. 27). The **Oriental middle party** in the Arian controversy had still further ground for adhering to the traditions of Origen, and their representative, Eusebius of Cæsarea, follows his traces in the whole extent of his theological erudition. But even the adherence of this middle party to the decided Nicene doctrine does not hinder the **Cappadocians** from reverencing the great theologian to whom in a special degree they owed their culture; and GREGORY of Nyssa and DIDYMUS of Alexandria along with decided orthodoxy in the doctrine of the Trinity yet represented unhesitatingly many Origenist special doctrines, which had already aroused objections. Western Church teachers too, Hilary, Eusebius of Vercelli and Ambrose, drew from the stores of Origenist Scriptural theology. But during the same period the mistrustful attitude towards Origen finds nourishment, and it is just in the powerfully rising **monasticism** that fanatical hatred for Origen the heretic, such as is attributed to Pachomius, stands alongside of reverence for Origen and zealous study of his writings. Epiphanius saw the heresy of Origen sprouting up among the monks and anchorets. And the spirit which quickly gains ascendency in the whole conduct of the Arian controversy, the **spirit of ecclesiastical dogmatism,** nourished antipathy to the free speculation of Origen, in which indeed in so high a degree the Gospel is mingled with alien philosophy. The most decided representative of this spirit of ecclesiastical orthodoxy is the EPIPHANIUS already mentioned, who was born in the neighbourhood of Eleutheropolis in Palestine; seized in his early youth by the new spirit of the rising monasticism, he freed himself in Egypt from the seductions of the Gnostics and by delivering up their books to the bishops brought about the expulsion of eighty heretics from the cities. **The strict monastic spirit is here combined with zeal for correct ecclesiastical doctrinal propositions.** After he had presided as abbot over a Palestinian monastery for nearly a lifetime, he became in 367 Bishop of Constantia (Salamis) in Cyprus. His literary zeal was directed towards the inculcation of the orthodox faith. His *Ἀγκυρωτός* (374)—"the firmly anchored," a presentation of the orthodox belief,—shows

what points were at that time included in the latter. This great, very wide-sweeping and felicitously composed but at the same time most uncritical work, though to us it is most valuable because of the sources of which it makes use, consisting of a representation and refutation of all the false doctrines which had appeared in the Church from the beginning, bears the title of **Panarion**, *i.e.* Apothecary's chest in which the antidote to all heretical poison may be found, and enumerates eighty heresies. The Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις is a short epitome of these heresies in a somewhat different order. An essay on **Measures and Weights** in Holy Scripture (completed by LAGARDE, *Symmikta*, vol. 2, 1880, from the only preserved version, in Syriac) treats, besides those mentioned in the title, of many other matters relating to Biblical Introduction. Opp. ed. D. Petavius, 2 vols. Paris 1622, Dindorf, 5 vols. 1859, Mgr. 41–43.

In the doctrine of Origen Epiphanius saw particularly incurable heresy which he combated with the whole zeal of his limited but honourable nature. The opportunity of doing so offered itself to him on a visit to **Jerusalem**. Here in the last decades of the fourth century there had gathered a circle of men who were devoted with equal zeal to the monastic life and to theological studies; they were in close intercourse with Bishop John of Jerusalem, an admirer of Origen. To this circle belonged RUFINUS of **Aquileia** (*vid. sup.* p. 365), who had attended the Origenist Didymus in Egypt, and JEROME, the most zealous collector of Origen's writings, whose ambition it was to approach him in scholarship and theological knowledge. He began to make Origen better known in the West by Latin translations of his writings. But after some other attacks had already made him more prudent, Epiphanius came to Palestine (394) and preached against the false doctrines of Origen. John regarded him as a narrow zealot, but with the multitude he enjoyed the reputation of great sanctity. He broke with Bishop John and required the like action of Jerome and the monks over whom he presided at Bethlehem. Infringing on the rights of John he himself ordained Paulinian, a brother of Jerome, presbyter. Jerome, concerned as to his repute for orthodoxy, took the side of Epiphanius, and thereby came to variance with his hitherto friend Rufinus. This conflict in Palestine was indeed adjusted through the intervention of Bishop THEOPHILUS of Alexandria. But, after his return to the West, Rufinus translated the Apology of Pamphilus for Origen (p. 216), glanced at his belittlers in the preface, but guarded himself against certain false doctrines of Origen's, especially in regard to the Trinity and the doctrine of the Resurrection. He thought to be able to relieve Origen by the hypothesis that false teachers had interpolated his writings. Next, in the preface to his translation of Origen, *De Principiis*, he vindicated his undertaking and the method he had observed of modifying certain dogmatically dubious expressions of Origen's, by appeal to the similar procedure of Jerome, who formerly had so highly praised Origen, but now appeared to have discontinued his translations. Jerome took this in very bad part, wrote, in order to expose the procedure of Rufinus, a verbal translation of the chief work of Origen, and sought in every way to disavow his Origenist past. Hence arose a most odious conflict between the two old friends (Rufini *Apologia s. invectivæ in Hieron.* ll. 2; Hieronymi, *Apologia adv. Rufin.* ll. 3. Ml. 21). Bishop Anastasius of Rome, induced by Theophilus of Alexandria, who was now also turning against the Origenists, cited Rufinus, who had retired to Aquileia, before his tribunal. Rufinus however did not come, sent in a written defence, and Anastasius let the matter drop.

The prodigal and ambitious THEOPHILUS had declared himself in 399 decidedly

against so-called anthropomorphism, *i.e.* against that popular view which, in the sharpest contrast with the spiritualism of Origen, ascribed to God a body and a human form, he had represented the doctrine that the Godhead but also it alone was to be conceived as entirely non-material; on this point he was attacked by the fanatic monks, highly reputed for sanctity, of the Scetic Desert, and was so intimidated, that he assented to a condemnation of the works of Origen. At the same time he made use of this change of attitude against outstanding Origenist monks of the Nitrian Mountains, especially the "Four tall brothers," who had assisted the Presbyter Isidore when the latter, by his candid censure of the episcopal administration, had drawn upon himself the hatred of the bishop and fled to those monks. Theophilus now actually pronounced the condemnation of Origen at a Synod at Alexandria (399), carried through a similar declaration at a very stormy assembly in the Nitrian Mountains, and declared himself of the same opinion in the Easter Letter for the year 401. Hundreds of monks were expelled by him, of whom a great part turned to Palestine where also John of Jerusalem was afraid to receive them; others, among them the "tall brothers," came to Constantinople. Here flourished at that time the most celebrated orator of the Greek Church, JOHN, called CHRYSOSTOM by posterity. He was born at Antioch about 347, the son of Secundus the Magister militum Orientis and Arethusa, from whom he derived his strongest religious impulses. He had received his higher education in the spirit of the age from the famous rhetorician and sophist Libanius, but from the secular career of a rhetorician which he had begun, he turned to that of the church, was instructed, baptized and made a Lector by Bishop Meletius of Antioch. Like so many of his eminent Christian contemporaries he was powerfully seized by the spirit of monasticism, lived for years retired in monkish society, but was at the same time introduced to theological studies by DIODORUS (p. 397). After becoming presbyter in 386, he developed the powerful preaching activity in which pure Greek rhetoric was yet combined with deep moral earnestness, and thereby became a popular guide of souls of the highest influence. Next the influential favourite of the Emperor Arcadius, the eunuch Eutropius, who ruled the empire, had made him Bishop of **Constantinople**, and Theophilus of Alexandria had been obliged to give him the necessary consecration. In this way he had come into a very threatening atmosphere. The Goths as dangerous friends were in the pay of the Emperor and in the heart of the Empire. Their leader Gainas was the first general of the Eastern Empire. In Asia Minor the Goth Tribigild threatened a dangerous insurrection. Gainas made use of the threatening state of affairs to bring about the fall of the hated Eutropius, but besides, to compel the Emperor to dismiss his most capable statesmen. He now demanded a church in Constantinople for the Gothic Arians, a requirement which Chrysostom most decidedly opposed. It was only by an unexpected turn of events that Constantinople was preserved from becoming a prey to the Goths. Chrysostom had championed the so-called right of asylum of the church (p. 318) in opposition to Eutropius. Eutropius procured a law which was meant to withdraw this right from the church, but had himself to take refuge by the altar when the general storm broke out against him. In regard to the church, Chrysostom had been obliged to make himself not a few enemies. At the Synods of Constantinople (400) and Ephesus he had deposed a number of bishops from their offices and appointed new bishops. Now, those Egyptian monks applied to him, he received them (401) and interceded for them with Theophilus, respecting meanwhile, however, their excommunication by him. The monks gained the Empress Eudoxia for their cause, and at her instigation

Arcadius summoned Theophilus to Constantinople to answer for himself. The latter however now set all his levers in motion; he required the aged Epiphanius, whom he had already induced to an express condemnation of Origen (401), to go to Constantinople to join him in combating there the protected Origen. In his zeal he actually came to the capital, but here his eyes were opened to the sordid wiles of Theophilus, and he turned his back on the court, but died on the way home. But Theophilus knew how to draw to his side all the elements of the clergy and the court that were discontented with the Christian earnestness of Chrysostom; the Empress too was wounded by the strict preacher of morality. Thus Theophilus, after some hesitation (403), appeared not as the accused, but as judge, and held a synod (*Syn. ad quercum*) at the Imperial estate near Chalcedon called "The Oak," as he was afraid of the populace of the capital. Chrysostom refused to attend this hostile synod, and was deposed on the ground of all sorts of complaints against his conduct of office which were brought forward by clergy and monks hostile to him. It was at the same time left in the hands of the Emperor to banish him, as he was also charged with treason. The matter of the Origenist monks did not come under consideration. The uneasiness of the capital, increased by the occurrence of an earthquake which terrified the Empress, caused the recall of Chrysostom, who was already on his way into exile. Chrysostom returned in triumph and Theophilus fled to Alexandria. But the rehabilitation by a synod which Chrysostom demanded was delayed, and the populace forced him at once to resume his office. The proceedings at the erection of a silver memorial pillar for the Empress gave opportunity for expressions of Chrysostom which anew excited her wrath. Theophilus continued his intrigues; a new assembly declared Chrysostom deposed because he had resumed office without being restored (according to Canon 12 of the Synod of Antioch of 341). During the Easter vigil of 404 Chrysostom was suspended and sent to Nicæa, and then farther to Cucusus on the Armenian-Isaurian frontier. From this point he remained in lively correspondence with the part of the community remaining faithful to him, and wrought at mission work among Persians and Goths. Innocent I. of Rome recognised his orthodoxy, and with the support of the Emperor Honorius demanded his return. But Chrysostom was banished still farther to Pityus on the Black Sea, succumbed to sickness and fatigue on the way, and died with the words, "God be thanked for everything" (407). In Constantinople the community of the Johannites held themselves apart. The second successor of Chrysostom, Atticus, did indeed restore the obliterated name of Chrysostom to the tables of the church, but the schism did not cease till the Patriarch Proclus, the successor of Nestorius, caused the bones of Chrysostom to be brought to Constantinople (438), and the Emperor Theodosius II., after asking pardon on his knees, caused them to be laid in the Imperial vault.

6. Greek Theology from the close of the Arian Controversy to the end of the Period.

1. In the odious conflict which has been depicted **Chrysostom** only comes under consideration as the occupant of the see of Constantinople who was hated by the hierarch of Alexandria, not with reference to his theological tendency. His **theological culture** is rather that of Antioch. His importance lies less in the sphere of dogmatics, although he also took part in dogmatic polemics (*vid.* the 12 Homilies against the Anomœans, *De incomprehensibili*) than in that of ecclesiastical pulpit eloquence; of great effect *e.g.* were his sermons *De statuis*

ad popul. Antiochiæ, delivered by him as presbyter in Antioch, when the people, excited by great pressure of taxation, allowed themselves to be carried the length of throwing down the statues of the Emperor Theodosius and his family (387), and when on that account severe penalties were threatened, for the turning aside of which Flavian, the then bishop of Antioch, successfully exerted himself. Many homilies extend as running scriptural expositions over a great portion of books of the Bible, in which Antiochene scriptural exegesis finds a modified ecclesiastical application, *i.e.* without entirely disdaining the use of allegory in the service of dogmatic theology; as a rule they end in moral applications. Alongside of these there are a few commentaries proper. The six books Περὶ ἱεροσύνης are in the form of a dialogue between Chrysostom and Basil the friend of his youth (not the Cappadocian, who was nearly twenty years older), in vindication of the fact that he had himself withdrawn from the priesthood (office of bishop), while by a trick he had induced Basil to assume it. The treatise extols the high spiritual dignity of the priesthood, which makes the highest demands of purity and holiness in the offerer of the holy sacrifice and demands wisdom in the treatment of souls and devotion for all, knowledge of the world and entire mastery of the **Word**, spiritual eloquence. Separate editions by Bengel, 1725. Leipsic 1825, 1865. Græce c. notis ed. Leo, Lps. 1834. Frequently translated into German *e.g.* by Scholz, Magdeburg 1847. Hans, Tübingen 1868. Tractate in recommendation and defence of the monastic life and the ascetic conception of Christianity. Opp. ed. Montfaucon, 13 vols. Paris 1718. Mgr. 43–64. Opp. præstantiss. ed. Lommler Rudolph, 1840. A. Neander, *Chrys.* 3rd ed., 1848. Böhringer, 2nd ed., IX. Th. Förster, *Chr. u. s. Verh. zur. antioch. Schule*, 1869. Funk, ThQ. 1875.

In regard to science and learning the school of Antioch reaches its highest point in Theodore, born at Antioch, educated in rhetoric by Libanius, in theology by Diodorus (*vid. sup.*), at the same time under the influence of the latter's somewhat elder disciple John (Chrysostom), who kept him to the problems of the Church and the ascetic ideal when he was inclining towards a secular career (Chrysostom, *Ad Theodorum lapsum*). Ordained a presbyter in Antioch, he next went to Tarsus to Diodorus, and finally became Bishop of **Mopsuestia** in Cilicia Secunda, where he died in 428 or 429. Of his commentaries extending over the greater part of Holy Scripture that on the Minor Prophets is preserved in Greek, that on the Epistles of Paul in a Latin translation (with exception of Romans and Corinthians) under the false name of Hilary (in Pitra *Spic. Solenn.* I. 49 sqq. *Vid.* Jacobi, *Die hallische Programme*, 1855–1860, and especially Swete, *Theodori in ep. Pauli comment.* 2 vols. Cambridge 1880, 82); numerous fragments in the Catenas, especially on the Epistle to the Romans. Much must still be to be found in Syriac translation or revision (on the commentary on the Psalms, *vid.* Bäthgen in ZAT. 5, 53 sqq.; 4, 261 sqq.; 7, 1 sqq.). This Antiochene study of Scripture is essentially of the Hellenic sort, based on the LXX., in Theodore himself accompanied by a low estimation of the Syriac translation of the Bible. Theodore wrote on allegory and history against Origen (cf. *sup.* p. 380), doubtless in the sense of Diodorus of Tarsus. Grammatico-historical explanation and observation of the temporal horizon of the writer, even where the indwelling typical character of prophecy is recognised, and on the other hand free judgment on the canon and the value of individual books, are the outstanding characteristics of the exegesis.—Theodore stood on undisturbed relations with Theophilus of Alexandria, and sent his successor Cyril his explanation of Job; but in his combating of Apollinaris and Eunomius (fifteen books composed while still in Antioch), and the treatise

written thirty years later against Apollinaris (both lost except mere fragments), the Christological view is clearly impressed which concealed within itself sharp opposition to the Neo-Alexandrian tendency; so also his treatise Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας φύσαι καὶ οὐ γνώμῃ παίειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους (list of contents in Phot. Bibl. c. 177) confronts Jerome in defence of the Augustinian doctrine of original sin.—Opp. Mgr. 66; SACHAU, *Th. Mopsv. fragmenta Syr.* Lps. 1869, BÄTHGEN l.c.—FRITZSCHE, *De Theod. M. vita et scriptis*, 1836. H. KIHN, *Th. v. M. und Junilius Afr. als Exegeten*, 1880. RE. 15, 395.—A brother of Theodore, POLYCHRONIUS, Bishop of Apamea, was, according to the fragments preserved in the Catenas, an outstanding representative of Antiochene scriptural exegesis, wrote commentaries on Job, Daniel and Ezekiel, and in opposition to the current view of the Church as represented by Apollinaris, maintained the historical reference of the Antichrist in Daniel to Antiochus Epiphanes. *Vid.* Mgr. 101. BARDENHEWER, *Polychr.* 1879.

Finally the school of Antioch also owes its learned culture to THEODORET. Having grown up as a boy in reverence of pious ascetics, then, educated in a monastery in the neighbourhood of Antioch, he adopted the ecclesiastical career, which he ascended from the lectorship, and about 423 became Bishop of Kyros or Kyrrhos in the ecclesiastical province of the Euphrates, a very wide-spread but poor diocese. In this Eastern district he combated all sorts of heretical communities, Marcionites especially (cf. p. 174). He is a very learned and many-sided theologian whose **Commentaries** on the Prophets, the Psalms and the Song of Songs as well as on the whole of the Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews) form the noblest exegetical inheritance of the Greek Church. To the Commentaries which exhibit the fruit of his schooling at Antioch, but make very essential concessions to the dominant spirit of the Church, which separate him again from his great predecessor Theodore, there are added the somewhat late *Quæstiones in Octateuchum* and *in Reg. et Chronic.*, discussions of individual exegetico-dogmatic questions. His Church History, *vid. sup.* p. 7 and 295, his *Historia religiosa*, vid. p. 355. In his hæreseological treatise, *Hæret. fab. comp.* (αἱρετικῆς κακομυθίας ἐπιτομή), the fifth Book contrasts the entire stability of the ecclesiastical doctrine with all heretical doctrines. The Apology for Christianity (Ἑλληνικῶν θεραπευτικὴ παθημάτων, *De curandis Græcorum affectibus*), and the ten orations on **Providence** (περὶ προνοίας) both show in how high a measure the Christian theology of the Church, with all its opposition to Hellenic wisdom, itself stands on the ground of Greek religious philosophy. To ecclesiastico-dogmatic polemics belong the refutation of the twelve **Anathematisms** of Cyril and the **Three Dialogues** under the title Ἐρανιστὴς ἢ Πολύμορφος, in which the Alexandrian dogmatic of Cyril which is attacked is set forth as a false doctrine made up of scraps from various heresies, but especially as a *réchauffé* of Apollinarianism.—Numerous letters of historical value. Opp. ed. J. Simond, 4 vols. Paris 1642, with an auctarium by J. Garnier 1684—ed. Schulze et Nösselt, Halle 1769 sqq., 5 vols. Mgr. 80–84 On Theod., Garnier in the fifth vol. of the Halle edition. E. BINDER, *Études sur Théod.* Geneva 1844. SPECHT, *Theod. von Mopsuestia und Theodoret.* Munich 1871.

A middle position is occupied by ISIDORE of Pelusium, presbyter and abbot of a monastery near Pelusium on the Eastern chief mouth of the Nile († about 435), in so far as on the one side he highly regarded John Chrysostom. and in his treatment of Scripture, shows the influence of Antiochene principles without carrying them logically out; and, on the other side, in regard to dogmatics, he attached himself to the orthodoxy of Cyril, which was dominant in his neighbourhood, over whom indeed the purity of his spiritual character elevates him

advantageously. His numerous **letters** (about 2,000), partly pastoral, partly of exegetical contents (discussions of particular exegetical questions), edited complete after Bellius and Rittershusius by A. Schott: *De Is. Pel. scriptis et doctr.*, 1825. RE. 7, 361.

2. The Antiochene tendency is now met in the Christological conflicts by a **Neo-Alexandrian**, the chief representative of which is Bishop Cyril of Alexandria, the nephew and successor of Theophilus, by whom he was also educated, and whom he equals in fanatical ecclesiastical mania for rule and intrigue. At the head of the Alexandrian mob he drove the Jews out of Alexandria by violence. During the disagreements which hence arose between him and the Prefect Orestes the latter was wounded by the stones of the mob of monks on Cyril's side, and the philosopher Hypatia, because she appeared to be on the side of Orestes was shamefully murdered (Socr. 7, 15). His treatise against Julian, *vid.* p. 302. As a theologian he wrote an esteemed treatise on the **Trinity**, his chief work **against Nestorius** (5 books), and commentaries which by means of the allegorical method draw the word of Scripture entirely into the service of speculative dogmatic. His seventeen books "on prayer in spirit and truth" explain the Mosaic law in the same fanciful way, as also the so-called Γλαφυρά are cabinet-sketches of such exposition. His **Festival-Orations** (λόγοι ἑορταστικοί) on the proclamation of the Easter-Festival expatiate on ecclesiastical questions of the time. A short treatise addressed to the **Anthropomorphites** (p 405) discusses other questions which were agitated in monastic circles besides that designated by the title. Opp. ed. Aubert, 7 vols. Paris 1638, Mgr. 66–77. Kopallik, *Cyr. v. Al.* Mayence 1881.

Alongside of the two tendencies (Antiochene and Alexandrian) which emerge in the ecclesiastical controversies, two other currents make themselves noticeable, viz.—

3. That of **Monastic Mysticism**, that spiritual contemplation directed upon the inner condition of the soul, which forms the essential complement to asceticism. The earliest literary representative of this monastic mysticism which in subsequent times was so fruitful, is the so-called elder Macarius (*vid.* p. 358) from Upper Egypt, said to have been a disciple of S. Antony, a monk and then presbyter and president of the numerous monks in the Scetic Desert, whom he is said to have led for half a century till his death in 391, at the same time a professor of the Nicene faith, for the sake of which he was banished for a considerable period under Valens. He is regarded, with what correctness must remain questionable, as the author of fifty Homilies (ed. Pritius, Lps. 1698, in German by G. Arnold, *Ein Denkmal des alten Christenthums*, Goslar 1702), as also of some other pieces (Floss, *Mac. Aegypt. epistolæ, homiliar. loci, preces*, Col. 1851; the so-called *opuscula ascetica* are later compilations from the homilies. The Greek doctrine of freedom is here broken through by the mystical accentuation of human weakness and incompetence, which can only receive from God, and so far we have here a certain approximation to the Augustinian doctrine of Grace; but it goes quite ingenuously hand in hand with the Pelagianizing doctrine of freedom. Opp. Mgr. 34. *vid.* Lindner, *Symbolæ ad hist. theol. myst. De Macario.* Leipsic 1846. Förster in JdTh. 1873, 439 sqq.—This also holds of Marcus Eremita, a monk in the Scetic Desert about 400, in whose nine tractates (in Gall. VIII., Mgr. 65) it is possible to find Calvinistic and Pelagian elements contentedly side by side (Ficker in ZhTh. 1868). The sententious form of utterance which is generally beloved in monkish moralizing shows itself here. Such are the writings of Evagrius Ponticus, who had formed himself under the influence of the three great Cappadocians, and afterwards lived in

intercourse with the two Macarii. Gennadius, as previously Rufinus, translated writings of his which are said to have been useful to the monks. Gall. VII., 551 sqq.; Mgr. 40.—As already here in part, so still more in the sentences of S. Nilus, the background of **classical philosophy** appears throughout this whole ascetic contemplative way of thinking. Sprung from the higher social circles of Constantinople the capital, this disciple, friend and admirer of Chrysostom, gave up a high secular position and a marriage blessed with two children, resigned his wife and daughter to an Egyptian convent, for the purpose of living with his son (as did many others) as an anchoret on Mount Sinai, some time about 420 to 440. In his letters (of which many are rather sentences or excerpts, which only improperly bear the name) and in his parænetic writings the monastic life is praised as the true philosophy of Christ, which claims man entirely and solely, and forgetfulness of the world as the means to the freedom of the soul and union with God; but the caricature of the ordinary monasticism of handicrafts which makes a trade of divine bliss, and the disposition which only seeks in it escape from civil obligations or the satisfaction of vanity, are openly denounced; the dangers of ascetic exaggeration and the special temptations which the monk in vain endeavours to escape by flight from the world, are soberly kept in view; on the other hand also the new sort of worldly preoccupation with many things which grows up naturally in the great much frequented monastic associations. Opp. Mgr. 73.

4. Other parallel currents are those which are represented by **Christian philosophers.** Nemesius, Bishop of Emisa in Phœnicia, in the style of his philosophy as well as in time approaches the three Cappadocians, especially Gregory of Nyssa, accepts the ecclesiastical doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, but turns his interest to the more neutral questions of philosophical anthropology, on the nature of man, the relation of the soul to the body, on the individual faculties of the soul, etc., on freedom and providence, and alongside of the influence of Plato, shows, in his inclination to the empirical examination of nature, a strong influence of Aristotle. Nem. *De natura hominis*, ed. Matthæi, Halle 1802; Mgr. 40 *vid.* Huber, *Philos der K.-V.* 1859, 321 sqq.

Synesius of Cyrene, born about 370 of a Hellenic family of rank, educated at Alexandria in poetry, rhetoric and philosophy, the friend of Hypatia, lived in the Libyan Pentapolis (Cyrenaica) in aristocratic leisure, led an embassage of the five cities to Constantinople in the interest of the province (397 or 398), held an oration before the Emperor Honorius on the kingdom, lived through very stormy times in the capital (*vid.* Αἰγύπτιοι ἢ περὶ πρόνοιας, in Greek and German by Krabinger, 1835), and lived as a polite-scholar, producing works after the manner of the Sophists and at the same time his **hymns** of Neo-Platonic religio-mystical contemplation, but was won for the Church in spite of the strong opposition of his æsthetic and contemplative character by Bishop Theophilus of Antioch, and made Bishop of Ptolemais. His poetico-religious speculations of a Neo-Platonic tinge were the bridge; he at the same time openly admitted his dogmatic incorrectness, but also was unable to get free from the feeling of internal dividedness and the encumbrance of his episcopal affairs, which was most burdensome to his philosophic leisure; † about 414. The majority of his works are outside the ecclesiastical sphere. Along with the Hymns (best in W. Christ et Paranikas *Anthologia græca carminum christ.* Lps. 1871) his letters are valuable from the point of view of church history. Opp. ed. Petav. (1612) 1633, Krabinger (uncompleted) 1850. Mgr. 66. R. Volkmann, *Syn. v. Cyr.* 1869. Others *vid.* RE. 15, 112 sqq.

If in the case of Synesius Neo-Platonic ideas and the Christianity of the Church

are only loosely bound together, and if Neo-Platonic ideas in ecclesiastical theologians, such as Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen and others are worked up in the ecclesiastical and positive spirit, but also dominated by it, then the writings which bear the name of Dionysius Areopagita (*De hierarchia cœlesti*, *De hier. ecclesiastica*, *De divinis hominibus*, *De mystica theologia;* besides twelve letters, published by Corderius, Antwerp 1634 and frequently, Mgr. 3 and 4. German: L. G. V. Engelhardt *Die angebl. Schriften des Dion. Ar.* Salzb. 1823), exhibit a complete penetration of ecclesiastical Christianity with Neo-Platonic ideas and its transformation into mystical philosophy and mysteriosophy. By abstraction from all positive determinations the ascent is made to the highest definitionless transcendent being as the essence of all essences (apophatic theology), which only reveals itself to mystical absorption in the nameless; but by continuous bringing forth of positive but also ephemeral utterances (cataphatic theology), he unfolds Himself in the infinite manifold of the descending chain of essences, who share in being, and in which the nameless becomes the all-named, the transcendent being, the being in all beings. In this Neo-Platonic emanation of all essences from the source of the Godhead a place is also provided for the Christian Trinity. In the "**heavenly Hierarchy**" of the higher spirit-world there is completed the descending revelation and illumination, and on the other hand the means of gradual ascent of all lower beings to union with God. But with this general philosophical view there is linked the idea of the Incarnation of the Logos as the descent of the divine into the human sphere for the deification of humanity. But all saving efficacy for individuals is bound up with the mediation of the **ecclesiastical hierarchy** and its consecrations which are conceived under the aspect of purifying, illuminating and perfecting mysteries. These writings are first mentioned by name at an ecclesiastical assembly in the time of Justinian (*Disputatio cum Severianis*, 533 or 531 *vid. inf.*), and were early regarded as works of the Dionysius the Areopagite who was converted by Paul (Acts xvii. 34). Their origin is in modern times ascribed by many to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, but may well have belonged to a period as early as the end of the fourth. But it was certainly remote from the intention of the author himself (according to Ep. 7, 3 a Dionysius) to give out his writings as the productions of the Apostolic Areopagite; what might have given rise to the appearance of such an origin in Pauline circles was perhaps afterwards further strengthened by interpolation. *Vid.* F. Hipler, *Dion. d. Areop.* 1861. E. Böhmer, *D. Ar.* in Giesebrecht's und Böhmer's Zeitschrift: Damaris 1864, 2; Nolte ThQ. 1868. J. Dräseke, *Dionysiaka*, Zw Th. 1882, 300 sqq. Cf. Pitra, *Analecta sacra* III. and in addition Loofs ThLZ. 1884, col. 554 sq. Other matter RE. 3, 616. On the question as to the teacher Hierotheus revered by Dionysius: Frothingham, *Stephen Bar Sudaili, the Syrian mystic and the book of Hierotheos*, 1886, cf. Bäthgen, ThLZ. 1887, No. 10.—A. Harnack, DG. II. 426.

5. The application of the traditional forms of **Greek poetic art** to Christian matter also already showed itself in the attempts of Apollinaris (p. 394), which emerged on a special opportunity. In like manner, about 400, Nonnus of Panopolis, who in his Dionysiaca treated the mythological material with equal industry and antiquarian learning and rhetorical art, turned the evangelical history into hexameters in his paraphrase of the Gospel of John (edited by Passow 1834; Marcellus, Paris 1861; Scheindler, Lpz. 1881). Mention has been made above (p. 395) of the numerous poetic performances of Gregory of Nazianzen. Dräseke would ascribe the poem Χριστὸς πάσχων which is printed in the works of the latter to Apollinaris (Jpr.Th. 1884), while others

place it in a much later age (J. J. Brambs, *De auctor. tragœdiæ* Xρ. π. Eichstadt 1883). The hymns of Synesius stand on the border of Christianity.—The famous and classical educated Athenian Athenais, who, raised to be wife of Theodosius II. as Empress, assumed Christianity and the name EUDOCIA, and finally lived in retirement in the Holy Land as the friend of the Monophysites, composed poetical paraphrases of the Octateuch, and sang the Christian legend of Cyprian of Antioch and Saint Justina in hexameters (what is preserved, published by Bandurini, *vid.* Mgr. 85). The Ὁμηροκέντρα (or -κέντρωνες), representations of sacred history composed of whole and half verses of Homer, which in any case belong to about her time, have likewise been ascribed to her.

Entirely appropriated by the spirit of the Christian Church, popularly transformed, and guided in quite other courses than those of the antique prosody, Greek poetry next appears in the liturgical songs and hymns (*vid.* the history of divine worship).

6. In the Syriac-speaking province the production of ecclesiastical poetry, or theology in a poetical form, continues after the great example of Ephraem; and indeed both in church **addresses** and **treatises**, and in **hymns** and liturgical **recitations**. Representative are CYRILLONAS in northern Mesopotamia (about 400), ISAAC of Antioch in Edessa, and afterwards in Antioch († about 460), JACOBUS of Sarug, who died as Bishop of Batnan (Batnæ) about 519, whose homilies and sermons were read at Syrian divine worship; his hymns of praise to the Mother of God show him to have been already an opponent of the Council of Chalcedon, and therefore of that tendency which Rabulas of Edessa († 433) had already entered upon (*vid. inf.* No. 7). *Vid.* examples in BICKELL, *Ausgewählte Gedichte der syrischen Kirchenväter*, Kempten 1872, and *Ausgewählte Schriften der Syr. Kirchenväter*, Ibid. 1874.

7. **From the time of the Council of Chacedon,** Greek theology moves, on the whole, in fixed channels, whereby dialectical dexterity is advanced by the spirit of ecclesiastical controversy, and in connection herewith the influence of **Aristotelian** philosophy is increased, but original and pioneering performances are on the whole of less frequent occurrence. The continued influence of the Neo-Platonic philosophy which was cultivated in Alexandria and Athens leads to continued endeavours on the part of Christian belief to separate itself from the philosophic conceptions which permeated the general culture of the age. ÆNEAS of Gaza, a disciple of the Neo-Platonist Hierocles and a rhetorician at Alexandria, wrote about 487 the dialogue **Theophrastos** against the doctrines of the eternity of the world and the pre-existence of souls, and in favour of the resurrection of the body. ZACHARIAS SCHOLASTICUS the rhetorician, educated at the school of law at Berytus, afterwards Bishop of Mitylene in Lesbos, who took part in the Council of Constantinople in 536 (p. 427), composed under the title of **Ammonius**, a dialogue on the doctrine that the world is not co-eternal with God, but His work and creation. This dialogue was published in 1619 at the end of the Philokalia of Origen, by Tarinus, both ed. by Boissonade, Paris 1836, Mgr. 85.

During the Monophysite controversies prominent places as theological leaders are taken specially by SEVERUS of Antioch, and XENAJAS from Tahal in Persia, called by the Greek name Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug (Hierapolis) in Euphratesia, from whom the so-called Philoxenian Syriac translation of the New Testament bears its name (dedicated to Philoxenus by its author Polycarp). The latter wrote a number of treatises on the Trinity and the Incarnation (fragments in ASSEMANNI, *Biblioth. orient.* II. 25 sqq.). The most important dogmatist and polemic on the side of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, but apprehended

in the spirit of Cyril of Alexandria, is LEONTIUS of Byzantium, one of those Scythian monks who in 519 wrought in Constantinople and Rome in behalf of the so-called **Theopaschite** formula. Leontius, a kinsman of the Byzantine Count Vitalian, lived afterwards among the monks at Jerusalem (hence also called Leontius Hierosolymitanus), by whom he was sent as deputy to the *Collatio cum Severianis* in 533 or 531, as also to the Synod of Constantinople in 536. He wrote three books against Nestorius and Eutyches, seven further books against Nestorius, a treatise against the Monophysites, and several others, all having reference to the Monophysite controversies. To him also must be attributed the matter of the treatise *De sectis* (properly *Λεοντίου σχολαστικοῦ Βυζ. σχόλια ἀπὸ φωνῆς Θεοδώρου*), which was first put together after his death, at the earliest in the end of the sixth century. Leontius shows how the continued and increased interest in the dialectical development of dogma gives growing weight to the influences of Aristotle. Opp. Mgr. 86.—Fr. LOOFS, Leont. v. Byzant. I. 1887 (Gebhardt and Harnack, III. 1 and 2, *Texte und Unters.*). Cf. ThLZ. 1887, col. 336 sqq.—The same preponderance of Aristotle is seen in the learned and many-sided JOHANNES PHILOPONUS (Phot. c. 55 calls him *ματαιόπονος* because of his opposition to the Council of Chalcedon); like Zacharias Scholasticus, a disciple of the Alexandrian philosopher Ammonius Hermeæ, he took a lively part in the Monophysite controversies in the time of Justinian (and Justin). Starting from the Christological question he was brought by his conception of the terms nature and hypostasis to results regarding the Trinity, which were interpreted against him as **Tritheism**; in this he was followed by Johannes ASCUNAGHES and others. Besides his purely philosophical writings, he composed a treatise (lost, except fragments) called *Διαιτητὴς ἢ περὶ ἑνώσεως*, defended the Christian doctrine of creation against the Neo-Platonist Proclus in the treatise *De æternitate mundi*: a detailed commentary on the Mosaic teaching as to creation (*περὶ κοσμοποιΐας*), and a treatise on the Resurrection which was objectionable to orthodoxy. GALLANDI, XII.—TRECHSEL in StKr. 1835.—A. NAUCK in Ersch and Gruber's Encyl.

7. The Christological Agitations.

Literature: The Histories of Dogma.—F. Chr. BAUR, *Gesch. d. Dreieinigkeit u. Menschwerdung;* I. DORNER, *Entwickelungsgesch. d. Lehre v. d. Person Christ* II. 24 sqq., HEFELE, *Conciliengeschichte*, 2nd ed., vols. 2 and 3. WALCH'S *Ketzergeschichte*, vols. 5–7.

I. *Down to the close of the Nestorian Controversy.*

Sources: The writings of APOLLINARIS (p. 394), GREGORY of Nyssa (p. 396), and CYRIL of Alex., THEODORE of Mopsuestia, THEODORET and others mentioned under No. 6. The remains of the numerous writings of NESTORIUS, in Latin in MARIUS MERCATOR (ed. Baluz. 1684. Gal. VIII. Mi. 48), and in the Acts of the Councils (Mansi IV. and V.); the so-called Synodicon also included in Mansi (ed. Lupus 1682, and also in the Halle ed. of Theodoret, V.). Also much in the Acts of the Synod of Chalcedon (Mansi VI. and VII.), and of the Three Chapter Controversy (Ibid. IX.). SOCRATES, H.E. 7, 29 sqq. EVAGRIUS, H.E. 1, 7 sqq. LIBERATUS, *Breviarium causæ Nest. et Eutych.*, ed. Garnerius 1675 (also in Mansi IX.). The other material *vid.* RE. 10, 515.

Just as the divinity of Christ, the Son of God, was found in the fact that the eternal divine Logos is this Son, the question was

further pressed, how the latter could at the same time be the historical human person Jesus, *i.e.* how were the divine and the human to be conceived as combining in the Incarnate One in the unity of a person. The true humanity was to be maintained—at least in theory—just as much as the divinity. In opposition to Docetic fancies ORIGEN had already laid stress on the truth, that in Christ there ought to be conceived not merely human corporeality as the shell of the divine Logos, but also a truly human (reasonable) soul. To this the **Arians,** for whom the Son or (improperly so called) Logos in his higher nature was yet only a creature, could not assent. To them, Christ was just the supra-mundane creature, but embodied by His human birth. The **Athanasians,** however, felt that in the interest of redemption the notion of a real incarnation, and therefore the hypothesis of a complete human nature must be maintained, even in face of the great difficulty of carrying out the conception of a real union of the divine subject with a complete human nature, without resulting in the notion of a double personality. For this reason they opposed the attractive attempt of Bishop APOLLINARIS (*vid. sup.* p. 394), to found a real incarnation of God on the basis of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, by means of the doctrine, that in the Person of Christ the divine Logos was that which the human logos (spirit, reason) is in other men, so that only the soul and body in him are to be regarded as human, but the spiritual personality is to be regarded as divine. Only by this means would the unity of person of the God-man be attained, which would otherwise be burst asunder by the duality of complete natures (δύο τέλεια). Underlying this theory was the so-called Platonic trichotomy which distinguishes spirit, soul and body in man. This attractive attempt, which was carried out with religious fervour, seemed to avoid the Arian objection of teaching the existence of two Sons, a divine and a human, and at the same time to be allied to numerous earlier utterances on the assumption of the flesh by the Logos. But in its culmination, this notion still appeared as an infringement of the incarnation, because a denial of the completeness of the human nature. The Synod of Alexandria of 362 (p. 390) already established the proposition, perhaps even then in view of beginning Apollinarian movements, that the Redeemer had not assumed a sensationless and spiritless body. But the two Gregories now especially undertook to combat this theory of Apollinaris. Only the union of God with a complete human nature can effect the redemption and restoration of all mankind. Hence it is now emphasised **that in Christ two natures are to be distinguished,** without involving two Sons.

Although two bodies mutually exclude one another, two spiritual natures do not do so; the latter can unite themselves in most intimate fashion with one another and with bodies. It is particularly in the human spirit that the middle-term is to be seen, by which the union of God with the flesh is completed. In this opposition Diodorus of Tarsus and his disciple Theodore of Mopsuestia and others were at one with Gregory of Nyssa;[1] but in the attempts to conceive of two complete natures as combining in the unity of the God-man, two tendencies, which are already recognisable in the fourth century, now confront one another in the sharpest contrast in the fifth. From the suggestions of Athanasius, and also the Cappadocians, there is developed the tendency which seeks to base the unity of the divine and the human, and therefore the reality of the incarnation, on the hypothesis that the Logos, conceived as a person, appropriates all human attributes (as it were the material of human nature) as its organ and form of appearance, fully assimilates them and so immediately itself becomes the personal subject of all human action and passion. In consequence, Gregory of Nyssa already looks upon the union of the human nature with the divine as a **mingling** (κρᾶσις), in which the human finite nature dissolves and is deified in the infinite. In this conception, the rational human soul, which is of course attributed to the God-man, sinks back into the shade in the representation, and is swallowed up in the divine Logos. Hence the explanation of the fact that the Apollinarian representation which was repeatedly repudiated by the Church, in spite of this repudiation gains actual influence. A great portion of the Apollinarians, with some obscuration of the point of difference rejected by the Church, makes peace with the Church (Theodoret, H.E. 5, 3 and 37) and thereby strengthens and influences the **Neo-Alexandrian** tendency. Writings of Apollinaris himself and his adherents acquire influence[2] under the names of respected Fathers of the past. Thus it is really Apollinaris who preaches under the famous name of Athanasius: "the same is the Son of God and God after the Spirit, the Son of man after the flesh; we

[1] *Antirrheticus adv. Apollinarium* is our chief source for his doctrine.

[2] Of such are the Exposition of the faith attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus (ἡ κατὰ μέρος πίστις *vid.* Caspari, *Alte und neue Quellen*, Christiania 1879, 1 sqq.), the confession of the incarnation of God gathered from the letter of Apollinaris to the Emperor Jovian and ascribed to Athanasius (*vid.* Mai *scr. vett. nova Coll.* VII., 1, 17) (Athan. opp. ed. Montf. 2, 1), and also a letter and a treatise (περὶ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἑνότητος τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τὴν θεότητα) which bear the name of Bishop Julius of Rome. Cf. on these and some others: Draeseke in JprTh. 1883, 2, 1884, 2; ZwTh. 1883, 4; ZKG. 6, 4.

do not ascribe two natures to the one Son, of which one is prayed to, the other not prayed to, but **one incarnate nature of the Logos of God** (*μία φύσις τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη*)." This solution of Apollinaris is now vigorously taken up by CYRIL of Alexandria, who yet regards himself as the successor of Athanasius. To this Neo-Alexandrian tendency, although it does not deny the duality of the natures, everything human in Christ appears as only the accident of the divinity. The divine Logos becomes the bearer of those predicates also which are in themselves human. Mary, the mother of the Lord, becomes the mother of God (*θεοτόκος*), the Logos himself is designated the crucified.

This tendency now meets with decided opposition on the part of the great **Antiochenes**, DIODORUS of Tarsus (p. 397) and his disciple who excelled him THEODORE of Mopsuestia (p. 407). Both belong to the adherents of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, but both also to the most decided opponents of Apollinaris. This opposition brings the Antiochenes into variance with the Alexandrian tendency also.

In order to maintain the representation of a really human ethical personality in the historical person of Jesus, not only the completeness, but also the independence and the permanent distinction of nature of the human nature is emphasised. The human nature is to be conceived as complete, and therefore in particular as endowed with a human free will; a real ethical development of Christ is to be supposed (Luke ii. 52; the Temptation, Gethsemane). Christ is not sinless according to the necessity of the divine nature, but by His human decision resting on freedom of choice. The human nature, of course, stands from the beginning under the influence of the divine nature in consequence of the indwelling of God (*ἐνοίκησις*). But this indwelling must not be conceived as physical, for such a physical indwelling, if it were other than the universal divine omnipresence, would be incompatible with the unlimited character of the divine nature; it is much rather to be referred to the **ethical** relation of the divine **approval** (*εὐδοκία*), by which alone God can be near to one while He is far from another. Such an ethical indwelling takes place in the case of all righteous men, but in a special manner in that of Christ, because here, the Logos by His indwelling unites the whole man He has assumed with Himself and gives him a share in all divine honour. But as ethically mediated, the union is one which grows with the ethical development of Christ and is only perfected in the state of exaltation, in which the man, on account of his inseparable **combination** (*συνάφεια*) with the

divine nature, is seated at the right hand of God and prayed to along with Him. In this combination (not union or amalgamation) of the two natures, each remains indissoluble in itself, each maintains inflexibly what is essentially proper to it even in the combination with the other. In this way, it is true, the unity of the divine-human person runs in danger of being split in two; the God-Logos dwells in a man as his temple.

The two tendencies now fell into vehement conflict with one another in the **Nestorian** controversy. Nestorius, born in Germanicia in Syria and educated at Antioch, had won a great reputation by his strict life and orthodox zeal and by his sermons, when he was raised to the Bishopric of Constantinople (10 April, 428). His presbyter, Anastasius, preached against the favourite designation of Mary as the mother of God (θεοτόκος), which caused great offence. Nestorius took his part: not God, but only the man assumed by Him has a mother, the creative has not borne the uncreated. "They call the life-creating Godhead mortal and dare to degrade the Logos to the fables of the theatre, as though He had been wrapped in swaddling-bands and had died." In this the populace, and especially the monks, saw an attack on the mystery of the incarnation. Clergy preached against the bishop, laymen interrupted him in the pulpit. Bishop Cyril of Alexandria made use of the opposition of the dogmatic tendency, for the purpose of striking at his rival in the see of the Capital, immediately set everything in motion against him, prepossessed the sister and the wife of the Emperor against him, and won to his view the Roman Bishop Celestine also, who besides was offended by the reception of exiled Pelagians by Nestorius. At a Roman Synod (430) he demanded the recall of Nestorius and exhorted Cyril to the further prosecution of the matter. The latter, in the name of an Alexandrian Synod, required of Nestorius the acceptance of twelve dogmatic propositions (Anathematisms), which give the harshest expression to the Alexandrian view. Nestorius, who deigned no answer to the emissaries, set up twelve other propositions, counter anathematisms (*vid.* Hahn, *Bibl. d. Symb.* p. 238 sqq.); at the same time other men of the Antiochene party turned against Cyril's propositions, especially Theodoret (Opp. V. 1; cf. IV. 1288). For the settlement of the controversy, the Emperor Theodosius II. summoned a general Synod to Ephesus (431). Here the arrival of the Syrians was delayed, and in the meantime the bishops, under the leadership of Cyril and Bishop Memnon of Ephesus, declared Nestorius, who from the beginning was treated as an accused person, to be deposed for

blasphemy against Christ, although the Imperial Commissioner protested against the procedure as precipitate. The later arriving Roman emissaries assented. The Eastern bishops, who now made their appearance, replied by the deposition of Cyril and his friends. The Emperor, on the report of his commissioner, declared the decisions of the Cyrillian assembly to be invalid and then wanted to confirm the depositions declared on either side, with the view of discharging the controversy by exiling the chiefs. But there now began negotiations, in which Cyril step by step gained the preponderance in the Capital and the Court. He finally carried through the banishment of Nestorius, but was obliged to agree to the acceptance of a compromising confession which the Antiochenes had presented to the Emperor in justification of themselves. This did not properly satisfy his views, as it did not expressly exclude the Antiochene view, which however had been his intention in his anathematisms. On the other hand, most of the Antiochenes, especially the leader, John of Antioch, agreed to let Nestorius fall. Cyril, however, and his tendency now gained increasing influence. Adherents of Nestorius were persecuted, and the endeavour to maintain the agreement which had taken place caused John of Antioch also and the Emperor to take the side of Cyril. A decided Antiochene party of Asiatic, but also Thessalian and Mœsian bishops now stood in hostile opposition to the three Patriarchs of the East, and was as far as possible repressed. Nestorius was sent into exile in Arabia, his writings were burned, his adherents branded as Simonians. Then we find him again in Upper Egypt, wandering, now here, now there; it is not known where he found rest in death. Cyril sought to pursue the victory further. In alliance with him, Rabulas of Edessa, a former disciple of Theodore of Mopsuestia, condemned the writings of Diodorus and Theodore and expelled some individuals who were addicted to the Antiochene tendency from the School of Edessa, although they had previously assented to the agreement. But the attempt to degrade the memory of the Antiochene teacher was opposed by John of Antioch, and the Emperor forbade such throwing of suspicion on men who had died in the communion of the Church. After the death of Bishop Rabulas (435), one of the expelled Edessenes, Ibas, a declared adherent of Theodore, became his successor. Of these expelled teachers some had gone to Persia, where, especially in the important city of Nisibis, Theodore's doctrine was held in high esteem. With these Persian Christians Edessa under Ibas remained in active intercourse, as the decided representative of the Antiochene dogma-

tics. In consequence of further developments in the Greek Empire the School of Edessa was destroyed (in 489, under the Emperor Zeno) as the last fortress of Nestorianism in the Greek Empire, and the latter found refuge under Persian rule, and assumed ecclesiastical and literary form in separation (schismatical) from the Church of the Empire. The Antiochene teachers, above all Theodore, the exegete *par excellence*, here remained in the highest esteem.

II. *The Eutychian Controversy and the Synod of Chalcedon.*

Sources: The Acts in Mansi V. and VI., where also the letters of Leo (opp. ed. Ballerini I., Ml. 54 and in THIEL, Opp. Rom. pontif. I.). BREVICULUS Hist. Eutych. in Mansi IX., 674=GELASII gesta de nomine Acacii *vid.* THIEL Epp. Pontif. p. 70 sq. 510 sqq.—The Appeals of Flavian and Euseb. Dor. to Leo in GUERRINO AMELLI, *S. Leone e l' Oriente*, Rome 1882 (*vid.* GRISAR in ZkTh. 1883, 191 sq. and MOMMSEN in NA. XI. 2, 1886, 361 sq.). The Syriac Acts of the Robber Synod; Germ. by G. HOFFMANN 1873 (the Kiel Festschrift for Olshausen); in Syriac with an English translation by Perry: *The Second Synod of Ephesus*, 1887; in French, MARTIN, *Actes de brigandage d'Éphese*, 1875 (and ejdm. *Le Pseudosynode*, etc. 1875). A report of DIOSCURUS on the Council of Chalcedon, from the Coptic by REVILLONT in the Revue Egyptologique, 1880, 187; 1882, 21; 1883, 17; (*vid.* KRÜGER, *Monophys. Streitigkeiten*, 1884) is declared to be apocryphal by E. AMELINEAU, *Monuments pour servir à l'historie de l'Égypte Chrét. aux IV et V siècles*, Paris 1888 (*vid.* ThLZ. 1889, No. 2).

The opposition of the two Christological conceptions continued to persist after the above vague compromise and was sharpened anew, when, in 444, Cyril was succeeded as Bishop of Alexandria by the most passionate and violent DIOSCURUS. He pressed upon the Emperor the deposition of Bishop Irenæus of Tyre who was disposed to Antiochene views. On the opposite side, along with Bishop Domnus of Antiochus there stood the most important theologian, the Antiochene THEODORET, Bishop of Kyros on the Euphrates. In the previous conflicts the latter had never assented to the express condemnation of Nestorius, and as he was otherwise favourable to union this had been overlooked. In order to break his influence the Emperor now commanded, at the instigation of Dioscurus, that Theodoret should confine himself to his diocese and not come to Antioch, where he preached and worked zealously for his party. He now combated the opposing view by his three dialogues under the title: *Eranistes* (p. 408), in which he emphasises the unchangeableness of God which is also to be maintained in the doctrine of the Incarnation, and fights against the mingling of the two natures and the degradation of the divine nature in suffering and human affections. But the actual controversy broke out

through the action of the aged Archimandrite of a monastery near Constantinople, Eutyches, who, even earlier, had been a zealous instrument of Cyril's party, and had sought to interest the Roman Bishop Leo against the Antiochenes as Nestorians. Christ, said he, indeed arose out of two distinct natures, but after the union one nature only is to be confessed; the humanity of the Logos of God is so permeated and appropriated by the divinity that even the body of Christ is not to be regarded as of **one** nature with ours. This advance upon the Alexandrian dogmatic, which, for the rest, was put forth without dogmatic precision and hence with a certain rudeness, also hurt the feelings of partizan associates. Domnus of Antioch had in vain denounced him to the Emperor as an Apollinarian. Now Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum, himself a vehement opponent of Nestorius and zealous adherent of Cyril, laid complaint against him before the Patriarch Flavian of Constantinople at a local synod there (448). Flavian, a moderate adherent of the Antiochene tendency, only engaged in the matter after resistance, knowing as he did the fanaticism of the Alexandrians. Eutyches was condemned on account of the doctrine; but he had on his side a powerful party, the Court and Dioscurus, who willingly seized on this opportunity to interfere. Favoured by the Empress, Eutyches obtained a revision of his case at a new assembly at Constantinople in 449, which however only confirmed the previous judgment. Dioscurus now urged on the calling of an œcumenical council, which Flavian and Bishop Leo of Rome in vain opposed. Here, as the Imperial summons already says, Nestorianism was to be extirpated to its last diabolical root, *i.e.* the Antiochene style of doctrine was to be completely suppressed. Dioscurus opened this synod in August, 449, at **Ephesus**, which was under his ruthless terrorism. Eutyches, without even hearing his accuser Eusebius of Dorylæum, was again restored, Flavian and Eusebius deposed by the intimidated bishops. When one or two bishops made as if they would make representations against it, Dioscurus called soldiers and monks into the assembly, who put down the last opposition with shouts and threats. "Cut those in two, who speak of two natures" was the cry. Flavian was grossly ill-treated, then transported into exile; he died on the way. The Roman legate Hilarius, who had protested against his deposition, saved himself by secret flight to Italy, so likewise Eusebius of Dorylæum. In the subsequent sessions the most esteemed Antiochenes, Ibas of Edessa, Irenæus of Tyre, Theodoret and Domnus were deposed, and the Emperor prohibited the writings of Theodoret, which were to be burned. This **Robber-Synod**

(*Latrocinium Ephesinum*), as it was first called by Leo the Great, indicates the culminating point of the domination of the Alexandrian doctrine.[1]

The reversal however soon resulted on the death of Theodosius II., who was succeeded by his sister PULCHERIA, with her husband, the capable MARCIAN. Bishop Leo of Rome had already, at an earlier stage, in a letter to Flavian of 13 June, 449, sought to give the dogmatic decision, by fixing a just mean between Nestorius and Eutyches, but at the Robber-Synod his legates had not even gained a hearing. After it he had rejected all its conclusions at a Western Assembly. All those who were done violence to by the Robber-Synod set their hopes on the Roman bishop and exalted his authority, as also did Theodoret in very strong expressions. Leo now wished to give the decision on his sole authority, or at a Western Synod under his leadership. But in Constantinople the arrangement of an œcumenical council was preferred. During the preparations for it, Dioscurus also is said to have come to Constantinople accompanied by zealous adherents, and there in the presence of the Imperial pair, matters came to heated discussion. The council met at Chalcedon in 451, quashed the Robber-Synod, deposed Dioscurus for his acts of violence, of course recognised Cyril, but on the other hand Theodoret also, as orthodox, the latter indeed only after very painful scenes, after he had still however assented to a condemnation of Nestorius. On the basis of the previous formula of agreement and especially of Leo's letter to Flavian, the confession was formulated, to the effect that **Christ according to His Godhead is of one nature with the Father, according to His humanity is of one nature with us (apart from sin), and that this one and the same Christ is recognised in two natures, which indeed are united without intermingling and without passing over into one another, but also indissolubly and inseparably** (*ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως*), **inasmuch as the distinction of the natures is by no means abolished by their union, but much rather the peculiar properties of the two natures are retained and only combine in the unity of the person or hypostasis.** By this it was intended that both the Monophysitism of Eutyches and the splitting of the personal unity of Christ of which Nestorius was accused should be rejected. But this Chalcedonian formula, with its careful definitions of the style and manner in which human and divine predicates

[1] We learn the details of the history of this notorious assembly from the Acts of the later Synod of Chalcedon, to which the recently published Syriac Acts afford essential supplements.

are to be ascribed to the unitary person of Christ, and how each of the two natures is to be expressed, as it was directed against an extreme expression of the Alexandrian tendency, naturally received the reputation of a concession to the Antiochene party. As a matter of fact, it was an expression which gave little satisfaction to all the adherents of the peculiar character of Cyril's style of doctrine. Hence for numerous adherents of this Alexandrian tendency, the so-called **Monophysites,** the formula of Chalcedon became a rock of offence. Matters came the length of the famous **Monophysite controversies,** which deeply unsettled the Church and weakened the Empire, and which dragged out through the second half of the fifth and the whole of the sixth century; and, in fact, in their continuation as the **Monotheletic** controversies filled even the whole seventh century, but besides, as the Nestorian controversy had already done, led to the final exclusion of a great schismatic communion from the Church of the Empire.

8. The Monophysite Controversies.

Sources: The **Acts** and **Papal letters** in MANSI, VII.–IX, the latter best in THIEL, Epp. Rom. Pont. I. Braunsb. 1867. The Church History of ZACHARIAS RHETOR, Syriac in LAUD, *Anecdota Syr.* III., 1880 (fragments in Assemanni, *Bibl. Or.* II. 55 sqq. and A. MAI, *Script. vet. nova. coll.* X.; cf. KRÜGER, *Monophys. Streitigkeiten*, 1814, 20 sq.). EVAGRIUS H.E. Bkk. 2-5. THEODORE, Lector, Fragmenta *vid. sup.* p. 295). LIBERATUS, Breviarum and (GELASIUS) Breviculus, *vid. sup.* p. 413 and 422. The Church History of JOHN of Ephesus, Syr. in CURETON, the third part of the Eccles. Hist. of John Bp. of Ephesus, Oxford 1853, Angl. by J. PAYNE SMITH, Oxford 1860, Germ. by SCHÖNFELDER 1862 (other matter by John of Ephesus, in LAUD, *Anec. Syr.*). THEOPHANES, *Conf. Chronographia* ed Goar (Combefis.), Paris 1655 (also ed. CLASSEN in NIEBUHR'S *Corp. scr. Byz.*) and especially ed. de BOOR, two vols. Lps. 1883. 85, (with the Histor. tripert. of Anastasius Bibliothecarius).—The chroniclers Marcellinus, Victor Tunnunensis, Malala and others.—CYRILLI SCYTHOPOLITANI *vita S. Euthymii abb.* in COTELERII *Monum. eccl. græc.* II. 200 (shorter in Analecta gr. ed. LOPIN., Montfauc. etc., Paris 1688). LEONTIUS BYZ. (*vid. sup.* p. 413) *libri* 3 *adv. Nest. et Eutychianos, de sectis* (σχόλια λεοντίου ἀπὸ φωνῆς Θεοδώρου), *libri* 3 *adv. Nest., contra monophys.* and others Mgr. 86. TIMOTHEUS Presb. *De receptione hæreticorum*, in COTELERIUS *Monum. eccl. gr.* II. 377. Patrum doctrina de verbi incarn., Justiniani imper. (alleged) tractatus and some others in A. Mai, *Script. vett. nov. coll.* VII. ANASTASIUS SINAITA ὁδηγός adv. Acephalos, Mgr. 89. GELASIUS, *De duabus naturis in Chr. adv. Eut. et Nest.* (in Thiel, Epp. Rom. Pont.). VIGILIUS Taps. *adv. Nest. et Eutych.* (Ml. 58). RUSTICUS, *Adv. Acephalos* (Ml. 67) and several others.—GIESELER, *Comm. qua Monophysit. . . . opiniones . . . illustrantur*, 2 parts, Göttingen 1835 and 1838. LOOFS *Leontius von Byzanz*, 1887, esp. p. 49 sqq. KRÜGER, l.c.

First of all the monk THEODOSIUS, on his return from Chalcedon, raised a frightful outbreak in Palestine by his fanatical preaching

against the council. With the help of freed criminals Jerusalem was filled with fire, robbery and murder, Bishop Juvenal was forced to take flight, and Theodosius ruled for twenty months in his place. The Emperor exerted himself in vain to overcome the prejudices of the monks, on whose side moreover stood the Empress-Dowager Eudocia, who lived in Palestine.[1] Also, after the putting down of the insurrection, Theodosius remained with the monks on Sinai, removed from the power of the Emperor. In Egypt a large party did not recognise the deposition of Dioscurus, who had had to go into exile. The election of Proterius led to uproar and bloodshed, in which soldiers were burned alive by the mob in the former temple of Serapis, now a church. Proterius only maintained his position by the protection of the military; the adherents of Dioscurus gathered round the Presbyter Timotheus Æluros, who had accompanied Dioscurus into exile, but was now, after the death of Marcian, elevated to the Patriarchate.[2] During the insurrection which arose, Proterius was slain at sanctuary. The Emperor Leo I. indeed, after the approbation of the majority of the bishops had been declared in favour of the retention of the doctrine of Chalcedon, externally restored the authority of the state-church. Timotheus Æl. was exiled in 460, and Timotheus Salophakiolus was set in his stead, who however to a certain extent took account of the Monophysite disposition. But in Antioch too, and therefore on soil not hitherto favourable to the Alexandrian doctrine, Monophysitism now made its appearance, represented by the monk Peter the Fuller (*Γναφεύς*), who was favoured by Zeno the Isaurian, the son-in-law of the Emperor Leo. About 470 Peter effected the insertion in the liturgical formula of the trishagion of the words referring to the Second Person in the Trinity "who was crucified for us," involving that human suffering should be immediately ascribed to the Second Person of the Godhead. After the death of Leo (474) and his grandson Leo II., Zeno himself succeeded, but was overthrown by Basiliscus in 475. The latter depended for support upon the opponents of the Synod of Chalcedon, which he expressly repudiated in a circular letter in 476. Bishops to the number of 500 obeyed and subscribed. Timotheus Æluros and Peter the Fuller retired, but Basiliscus was soon overthrown by Zeno, who now again restored the authority of the formula of Chalcedon. Petrus Mongus, who

[1] Gregorovius, *Athenais, oder Geschichte einer byzantinischen Kaiserin.* Lpz. 1882, p. 226 sqq.

[2] *Αἴλουρος* in Evagrius, *Ἔλουρος* in Theophanis, perhaps (Gelzer in JprTh. 1883, 316 sqq.) = Herulus, cf. Theophan. chron. 174 ed. De Boor.

had succeeded the meanwhile deceased Æluros in Alexandria, had to retire, as also Peter the Fuller in Antioch. Here, however, passions were so hot that one of his orthodox successors was tortured to death in the church. Zeno, who had formerly favoured Peter the Fuller, took a close interest in the attempt to heal the deadly quarrel by a compromise. Zeno, on the advice of his patriarch, Acacius, who had already come to an understanding with Petrus Mongus in Egypt, issued a decree of union (**Henotikon,** 482, Evagr. 3, 14), which was meant to establish peace by avoidance of the controverted expressions, by express approbation of Cyril's doctrine, and by an ambiguous attitude towards the Council of Chalcedon.

The Henotikon naturally failed of its purpose. In Egypt it was indeed accepted by the Monophysite Patriarch, Petrus Mongus, and on that account he was confirmed in his patriarchate, while in 485 Peter the Fuller was raised to the see of Antioch. But the stricter Monophysites renounced it as much as the adherents of the Creed of Chalcedon, such as the Patriarch Johannes Talaja, elected by the latter party. And the latter now found assistance at Rome, where Felix III., after his exhortations had remained unheard and his emissaries had allowed themselves to be intimidated and drawn by Acacius to his side, rejected the Henotikon, and in 484 pronounced the ban against Acacius as its real originator, as also against Peter the Fuller. **Thereby ecclesiastical communion between the Latin and the official Greek Church was broken off;** but the numerous adherents of the Council of Chalcedon in the Greek Church, in Constantinople particularly the Akoimete monks of the monastery of Studion, remained in league with Rome. Zeno's more worthy successor Anastasius,[1] (from 491) who from the beginning was inclined to the Monophysite conception, but on his accession to the throne had bound himself to the Patriarch to take in hand no further innovation as to the Henotikon, did in fact maintain it, but the endeavours to exploit it more and more in the Monophysite sense increased. In the East, Xenajas (Philoxenus), who had been elevated by Peter the Fuller in Antioch to the bishopric of Hierapolis (Metropolitan of the East Syrian Province of Euphratensis), offered ever bolder opposition to Peter's successor, Flavian of Antioch, on the side of Monophysitism, and thereby gained the favour of the Emperor. In Constantinople itself indeed, whither he had come, he accomplished nothing against the Patriarch Macedonius and the disposition of the populace. But in Antioch he forced Flavian to continued submission. In the end, however, it came to murder and

[1] Cf. A. Rose, *Kaiser Anastasius I.* Part I. Halle 1882.

manslaughter between the monks fanaticised by him and the Cœle-Syrians who hasted to the help of Flavian. The Patriarch Elias of Jerusalem likewise found himself thronged about with Monophysite passions; but in Constantinople there now appeared the most important theological representative of the Monophysite party, Severus, who stirred up the people against the Patriarch Macedonius, who finally departed secretly in 511. At the instigation of Xenajas, the Emperor now desired Flavian of Antioch and Elias of Jerusalem to hinder a synod at Sidon, at which they were to be forced to decisions against the Council of Chalcedon. They got the start with a personal and very ambiguous declaration that they repudiated all heresies and innovations of doctrine, and did not accept what had taken place at Chalcedon because of the scandals which had thence arisen. Hereby they thought to be able to prevent the taking place of the intended synod. On the other hand, Xenajas, at the head of an assembly at Antioch, now declared Flavian to be deposed, and raised Severus in his stead. But Elias of Jerusalem, leaning on the support of the populace and the monks, did not recognise Severus and was therefore banished by the Imperial Procurator. Now, however, in Constantinople, where the resistance to the heretical Emperor had again grown into an insurrection, the general Vitalian rose at the head of the troops and interfered on behalf of the party of Chalcedon.[1] The Emperor had to promise to restore the exiles and make peace with Rome. Difficulties, however, emerged which enabled the Emperor to drag the affair out for years longer.

Rome demanded, as it had previously done under Gelasius and afterwards under Symmachus, so now also under Hormisdas, complete recognition of the Synod of Chalcedon and condemnation of Acacius, whose name was to be obliterated from the diptych, which was equivalent to the renunciation of the whole past since the issue of the Henotikon,—a demand which the Emperor and opinion at Constantinople decidedly resisted. The difficulties were further heightened by the fact that the party opposition between Rome and Constantinople had come to a conflict in the church province of Illyria as to the ecclesiastical superiority claimed by Rome. The negotiations with Rome appeared to be elapsing without result, when the Emperor Anastasius died in July, 518. The Præfectus Prætorio Justin (J. I. 518–527), a man of rude and limited soldierly character, behind whom however his nephew Justinian stood as his

[1] Cf. the fragments of Joh. Antioch., Hermes VI., 344 sqq. and in Müller, Fragm. græc. hist. V.

real spiritual guide, gained possession of the throne, and thereby the ecclesiastical current which had already been represented by Vitalian became dominant, for Vitalian, as Magister Militum, was on intimate terms with Justin. The Patriarch John of Constantinople now saw himself compelled to utter the anathema against the Monophysites and celebrate the memory of the saintly fathers of Chalcedon; in the East the adherents of this synod universally rose against their hitherto oppressors, and the Emperor invited Hormisdas Bishop of Rome to restore ecclesiastical peace. The Roman emissaries actually carried through the demands of Rome in Constantinople (519). Severus of Antioch and Julian of Halicarnassus were deposed and took flight to Egypt; Xenajas also had to retire. But it was immediately seen that Rome's harsh procedure awakened opposition even among such as willingly recognised the Synod of Chalcedon.

In close alliance with Vitalian himself were the above-mentioned **Scythian monks,** who during the ecclesiastical schism had maintained church communion with Rome and recognised the Symbol of Chalcedon, conceiving the latter however in the sense of the dogmatic of Cyril, whom indeed the fathers at Chalcedon had expressly recognised, and during the embassy of Hormisdas to Constantinople they declared in favour of the proposition **that one of the Trinity was crucified.** This proposition, which had formerly been vindicated by the Monophysite Peter the Fuller, was of course still compatible with the definitions of the Synod of Chalcedon, as likewise the designation of Mary as the Mother of God. Rejected by the Romish emissaries in Constantinople, they thereupon turned to Hormisdas at Rome. Their leader Johannes Maxentius, upheld this conception most decidedly. A Leontius also was among these monks and in him the highly esteemed dogmatic author Leontius of Byzantium has recently been again recognised.[1]

The rejection of the above formula, in which we recognise the spirit of Cyril, was regarded by those men as Nestorianism. But Hormisdas, bound by the over-hasty declaration of his emissaries, avoided their request. Now however this tendency, which seeks to maintain the doctrine of Chalcedon but at the same time strikes the note which corresponds to the religious disposition in Monophysite circles, found so much the more sympathy from Justin's successor Justinian I. (527–567), as he had at heart the gaining over of the Monophysites and as his wife Theodora was secretly much inclined to them. By the above formula it was attempted in negotiations

[1] Loofs, Leontius v. B., p. 228 sqq.

to win the moderate Monophysites (Severians), especially at the **religious conference with the Severians at Constantinople** in 533.[1] In Rome, Justinian presented a confession of faith with that formula and required of the Roman Bishop John II. the recognition of his orthodoxy. The Akoimete monks in Constantinople, strengthened in their opposition by the previous hostility of the Roman emissaries, were now persecuted as Nestorians. The growing favour for the Monophysites becomes more and more plain. ANTHIMUS of Trapezus, who had co-operated with the Severians at the conference, now becomes Bishop of Constantinople, and enters into intimate relations with Severus who now comes to Constantinople himself. A tacit return to union with the Monophysites was aimed at. Just for that reason resistance now arose. Bishop EPHRAÏMIUS of Antioch approached the Roman Bishop AGAPETUS, and the latter, who had come to Constantinople in March, 536, at the instigation of the Gothic king Theodatus, who was hard pressed by Belisarius, effected the enforced retirement of Anthimus and the elevation of MENNAS in his stead. Soon thereafter Agapetus died while still in Constantinople ; but, at a synod there under Mennas in 536, Anthimus and, with the assent of the Emperor, the heads also of the Monophysites were excommunicated. Justinian forbade Anthimus and Severus to visit the capital. But the favouring of the Monophysites by Theodora went on all the same in secrecy. Bishop THEODOSIUS of Alexandria, who indeed was afterwards again turned out by GAJANUS, an extreme Monophysite, was on close terms with her and her intimates subsequently remained the centre of Monophysite efforts. The Roman deacon VIGILIUS, who had come to Constantinople with Agapetus, bound himself to the Empress, in case of his elevation to the Roman see, to set aside " the Synod," *i.e.* that of Chalcedon and to enter into ecclesiastical communion with Theodosius, Anthimus and Severus. For his sake Silverius, who had meanwhile been elected at Rome, was sent into exile by Belisarius on a political pretext, and Vigilius was consecrated under the protection of Belisarius in 537. When Justinian sent Silverius to Rome for a judicial investigation, Vigilius was able once more to set him aside (p. 351). Vigilius now began his double game, as for the sake of opinion in the West he had to adhere outwardly to the Synod of Chalcedon. He thereby fell into great straits, when Justinian sought to win the Monophysites in another way in the so-called **Three Chapter Controversy.**

[1] Perhaps 531, *vid.* LOOFS l.c. p. 261.

Sources: The most of the Acts in MANSI, Coll. Conc. IX. LIBERATUS *vid. sup.* p. 413. FACUNDUS of Hermiana, *Pro defensione trium capitul.* ll. 12 and *Contra Mocianum*, ed. Sirmond. Paris 1629, in Sirmondi opp. 1696 and Ml. 67. FULGENTIUS FERRANDUS, *Ep. pro tribus capit.* Ml. 67. RUSTICUS *Adv. Acephalos ad Sebast.* Ml. ibid.—Works on the subject: H. NORISII *Diss. Hist. de syn. quin.* in opp. ed. Baller. I., 550 sqq. Verona 1729. Joh. GARNERIUS, *Diss de syn V.* in the *Auctarium opp. Theodoreti* (Ed. Hal. V., 512 sqq.).

The latter is to a certain extent connected with the revival of the **Origenist controversies.** The previous attacks on Origen, in spite of the condemnation of his errors expressed by the Synod of Alexandria in 400 and approved by Rome, had not hindered his theology from continuing to find numerous admirers, among whom DIDYMUS and EVAGRIUS PONTICUS (*vid. sup.* p. 409) remained respected authorities. In the sixth century the Origenists gained sway especially among the Palestinian monks, and in the great Laura, the great monastic settlement founded by S. Sabas. Here a controversy had arisen in consequence of which the numerous Origenists were expelled and found their gathering point in the so-called New Laura. Bishop Ephraim of Antioch condemned the doctrine of Origen at a synod; in opposition to him the Origenists in Palestine sought to gain Bishop Peter of Jerusalem to their side. The latter brought the matter before the Emperor, who allowed himself to be induced by the Roman Apocrisiary Pelagius (the subsequent Pope) and the Patriarch Mennas to issue a theological rescript against the Origenist false doctrines (*Ep. ad. Mennam* in Mansi IX. 487 sqq).

On this basis there resulted, at a Patriarchal Synod at Constantinople in 544, an ecclesiastical condemnation of that doctrine; in Rome too a similar judgment seems to have been expressed by Vigilius. An Origenist monk from Palestine, who through the favour of the Emperor had been made Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, THEODORUS ASKIDAS, seems now, with a view to diverting the attention of the Emperor from further proceedings against the Origenists, to have represented to the Emperor that the Monophysites were to be won by expressly renouncing the chief representatives of the Antiochene (Nestorian) dogmatic. It indeed came to this, that Ephraim, the representative of the Antiochene tendency, was at the same time the decided opponent of the Origenists. Justinian agreed, and in an edict of 544 expressed repudiation of the so-called Three Chapters, *i.e.* 1) the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, 2) the writings of Theodoret in favour of Nestorius and against Cyril, 3) the letter of Bishop Ibas of Edessa to the

Persian Maris (*vid. sup.* p. 418). If orthodoxy had hitherto rested upon a compromise between the Alexandrian and the Antiochene schools, the Antiochene tendency was now to be renounced, and the retained Symbol of Chalcedon to be explained according to Cyril only, although at Chalcedon Theodoret and Ibas had also been recognised as orthodox.

After a brief resistance Mennas and the Greek Church submitted to the demand of the Emperor, while the Latin West, especially the Church of North Africa (Facundus of Hermiana, Fulgentius Ferrandus and Liberatus) would have nothing to do with it. Vigilius of Rome had been obliged to come to Constantinople: under his presidency a number of sufficiently intimidated Greek bishops entered their votes in the name of the Emperor, and Vigilius also agreed to the **Judicatum** of 11 April, 548, but with express preservation of the authority of Chalcedon. Facundus wrote *Pro defensione trium capit.*, and a Synod of Carthage under Reparatus excommunicated the Bishop of Rome. In his perplexity, Vigilius obtained from the Emperor the withdrawal of his Judicatum, in order that the decision might first of all be arrived at by a greater synod; he was obliged however secretly to bind himself by oath to exert himself to bring about a decision in accordance with the Emperor's opinion. But the Illyrian bishops refused to come to the synod, Reparatus of Carthage came to resist the Emperor and was deposed on political charges.

Justinian anticipated the synodal decision with a new dogmatic edict (Mansi, IX. 537 sqq.), and under the pressure of the West Vigilius now resolved to take courage. In the **Constitutum** of 14th May, 553, he indeed rejected a number of propositions of Theodore of Mopsuestia as erroneous, but protested against the condemnation of the Three Chapters. He absented himself from the Council (the fifth Œcumenical) held in May, 553, under the presidency of Eutychius of Constantinople. The Emperor, whose anger he thereby excited, now revealed the previous secret engagements of Vigilius. On the 2nd June, 553, the Council, which besides also confirmed the condemnation of the Origenists, uttered its decision in accordance with the wish of the Emperor. The Church of the Greek Empire submitted without any considerable resistance, but the hoped for regaining of the Monophysites was a failure. Vigilius, detained in the East, finally again submitted, and after some years, the resistance of the African Church was also overcome by the exertions of Primasius of Carthage. For the

bishops of Rome lasting difficulties arose out of the submissiveness of Vigilius (*vid. sup.* p. 353).

To the manifold attempts to gain over the Monophysites, there now corresponded the emergence of internal divisions among themselves: for those attempts always found response only among the moderate Monophysites, the most eminent theological representative of whom was Severus. As a matter of fact these **Severians** stood essentially at the standpoint of Cyril and his one incarnated nature of the divine Logos, had no wish to be Eutychians or degrade the human nature of Christ to a mere Docetic illusion, but rather to maintain the hypothesis of a complete human nature, and rejected any actual mingling and transformation of the natures; but after the incarnation only **one** nature was to be spoken of, because the duality as of two independent factors involved the notion of two subjects or individual essences. The divine nature and person of the Logos, conceived as perfect in itself, becomes man by means of the assumption of the flesh with its reasonable soul, proceeds from the woman as man and remains one, since through inseparable unification He possesses the body as His own and transforms and glorifies the flesh unto His own glory and activity, without prejudice to the retention of its natural properties (*ἰδίοτης ἡ κατὰ φύσιν*). Severus teaches **one composite** nature in Christ, to which all the activities of the divine-human personality are to be referred, and therefore assumes a **synthesis** of the united elements to form a higher unity. In opposition to this view of the Severians (or Theodosians), which was essentially held also by Philoxenus, there now appears that of the **Julianists**, as Julian of Halicarnassus proceeds from the unity of **nature** to the unity of **being** (*οὐσία*) and of peculiar character (*ἰδίωμα, ποιότης*). The doctrine of the indestructibility (Aphtharsia) of the body of Christ, *i.e.* that the body of Christ is not subject to *φθορά*, is regarded as a consequence of this. By their opponents they are designated **Aphthartodocetics** or **Phantasiasts**, while they retort upon their opponents with the reproach of worshipping one who is subject to corruption: **Phthartolatry.** Inasmuch as the Severians only ascribe *aphtharsia* to the exalted condition of Christ, they conceive of His earthly life as still subject to the natural laws of life, and find the implied antecedent of the of course voluntarily undertaken sufferings of Christ in the natural capacity of suffering of the body. On the other hand, the Julianists relegate the *homousia* of the body of Christ with that of other men to the single moment of the assumption of the flesh, and thence onwards conceive of Him as the body of God completely permeated with the Godhead, which undergoes suffering not through its natural qualities but purely in consequence of voluntary assumption. This conception appears in its culminating form in a party of **Julianists** or **Gajanians**, who teach that the body of Christ, from the moment of union, is not only incorruptible but even uncreated (**Aktistetai**, who for that reason designated their opponents as **Ktistolaters**). On the other side, among the Severians, the endeavour to get right with the reality of the human element, in spite of the assertion of the unity of the (composite) nature, went the length of approval of the view of the deacon Themistius, that as the body of Christ was subject to natural conditions, so also the human soul must not be conceived as omniscient (**Agnoëtai**), and Christ as a man must have been ignorant of many things; that therefore in relation to the exercise of cognition the one divine-human energy effected one thing in divine, the other in human fashion; a view which on the other hand was not approved even by the adherents of the doctrine of Chalcedon. On the contrary, the Alexandrian sophist Stephanus Niobes went so far as to

assert that if Monophysitism was to be taken seriously, every distinction of the human and divine in Christ must be denied (Niobites or **Adiaphorites.**)[1] He was opposed by Bishop DAMIANUS of Alexandria.

The further spinning of logical speculation on the ideas of nature, being, and hypostasis led in these Monophysite circles to conflicts in the **Trinitarian** sphere also. JOHN ASCUNAGHES, who taught philosophy at Constantinople in the time of Justinian, and the better known JOHN PHILOPONUS, by their conception of the idea of nature, in consequence of which three natures were to be distinguished in the Trinity, fell under suspicion of dissolving the Trinity into a **Tritheism**; in combating them, however, Damianus emphasised the reality of the divine nature common to the three Persons, in which they participated, so that his view might equally be regarded as a modalistic doctrine of the Trinity and as Tetratheism.

During the whole period of Justinian, we find Monophysistes in and near the capital, especially under the favouritism of the Empress Theodora: Theodosius therefore is here their leader. By him Monophysite bishops were consecrated for the East, such as a Theodore for Bosra on the request of the Arab Prince Harith bar Galaba, and especially JACOBUS, born in Tella in Mesopotamia, who, fifteen years a monk in Constantinople, now as bishop (from 541 or 543) displayed a restless activity and wandered about ceaselessly for forty years clothed like a beggar, keeping together those who were of the same opinion everywhere and consecrating bishops and clergy; thus as JACOBUS BARADÆUS (el Barâdaï), named from his beggar's cloak (also τζάντζαλος), he received and strengthened the Monophysitism which in consequence of the measures of Justinian was languishing, and became the chief of the Syrian Monophysites, the **Jacobites**, in Syria, Mesopotamia and Babylon. Also, the important position which JOHN of Ephesus (of Asia) occupied with Justinian for more than a lifetime (*vid. sup.* Chap. I. p. 309) is noteworthy for the practical influence of Monophysitism in spite of the official maintenance of the Council of Chalcedon. Through the influence of Theodora, Monophysite monks and nuns who had been expelled from the Eastern countries (Antioch, Isauria, Cilicia and Cappadocia) found admission to cloisters in Constantinople and all around it.

The dominant current of feeling at the court, being what it was, sufficiently explains the fact that Justinian shortly before his death made an attempt to gain recognition for the extreme Monophysite opinions of the **Aphthartodocetists.** The Patriarch Eutychius, who had been compliant with the wishes of Justinian in the Three Chapter controversy, here however resisted, and was deposed by a synod

[1] According to Timotheus presb. *De rec. hær.*, p. 397, *Diaphorites*, for which however we must read *Adiaphorites*, *vid.* Dionys. Ant. in Assemanni *Bibl. Orient.* II. 32.

under John (of Sirimis, Sarmin near Antioch), who succeeded. Justinian's edict however met with most decided resistance, as in the case of Anastasius (Sinaita) the orthodox Patriarch of Antioch, and the matter was ended by the death of Justinian.

Under Emperor Justin II. (565–578) the toleration which had hitherto been extended to the Monophysites, who had held their assemblies in the capital and elsewhere unmolested, again gave place to persecutions and attempts at unification from the year 571. It was desired to compel clergy and monks of this party to hold ecclesiastical communion with the adherents of the "Synod." Tedious negotiations were intended to bring the retired bishops, among them Paul of Antioch and John of Ephesus, to agreement; adjustments were again attempted, but were finally broken off, as, out of regard for Rome, the sacrifice of the Synod of Chalcedon was not to be seriously thought of. For a long time Paul of Antioch allowed himself to be retained by the attempts at union and acquired important influence over the Emperor, but he finally escaped and again made his peace with the Jacobites.

The Monophysite communities again come to the surface in the latter years of the imbecile Justin II.; under Tiberius (sole ruler from 578), the exiled Eutychius again becomes Bishop of Constantinople, and in opposition to the Monophysites, although he himself fell into an opinion on the doctrine of the Resurrection included in the heretical Monophysite doctrine which had emerged, again proceeded as far as rejection of the Theopaschite formula. Even then there still existed in the Imperial palace of Marina a Monophysite oratory, which Eutychius destroyed!

Under Emperor Mauritius (582–602) and the Patriarch John (Jejunator) the measures against the Monophysites ceased. Among the latter themselves, however, and apart from the doctrinal differences mentioned, there had meanwhile arisen numerous controversies, partly personal, as to the elections of bishops, especially between Jacobus Baradæus, and Paul of Antioch, for the settlement of which, even in the time of Tiberius, negotiations had been conducted at Constantinople under the protection of the Arab chieftain Mundar bar Charet, who was of great influence with the Emperor on account of his military deserts. In these negotiations Damianus of Alexandria also took part.

But the isolation of Monophysite ecclesiastical affairs advanced towards completeness from that point onwards with increasing decisiveness among the Syrian Jacobites, and in the Coptic, Abyssinian and Armenian Churches (*vid. inf.*).

9. Western Theology and Christian Literature in the Age of Augustine.

We have seen the Western theologians of the Arian age taking part in the movements which arose on Greek soil. It is now our business to turn our attention to the theological life which was peculiar to the Western Church. Ambrose (p. 399) as regards scholarship, is it is true, to a great extent dependent upon Greek theology; in the practice of allegorical interpretation of Scripture he is directed by the spirit of Origen and the Alexandrian school, and in fact like the latter goes straight back to Philo (*De paradiso*, *De Cain et Abel*, *De Noë et arca*, *De Abrahamo*, *De Jacob et anima*, etc., biblical tracts partly arising out of sermons or (*De Abr.*) addresses to catechumens). In particular in the exposition of the story of Creation (*Hexaëmeron*) he draws from Basil, though with independent judgment also; but in his dogmatic works above-mentioned he is also thoroughly dependent on Greek theology (Athanasius, Basil, Didymus). But Roman sense, gravity and dignity blend with Christian impulses in the scion of a noble race as the inheritance of political and national culture, and the practical ecclesiastical tendency of an eminent orator and churchman, gives him with all his scientific dependence a peculiar Roman importance. A spiritual Cicero, but of far stronger character, he does not disdain to give to his spiritual sons, the clergy, in the *De officiis ministrorum*, a Christian doctrine of ethics, which in marked dependence on Cicero, *De Officiis*,[1] twists round its stoically tinged popular-philosophical morality into the Christian, by substituting religious transcendentalism and the ascetic points of view of the moral theory of the Church, which makes the work scientifically loose and somewhat wanting in unity; but the ascetic (monastic) view of life, which is elsewhere recommended by Ambrose with his whole energy (*vid.* the treatises *De Virginibus*, *De viduis*, *De virginitate*), is thus moderated and counterbalanced. In the problems of sin and its consequences and of grace, there crops up, in the midst of views which are governed by the Greek doctrine of freedom, a tendency, which next reaches its logical outcome in Augustine. The Roman attitude is also to be traced in the vindication of of the claims of the Church and its discipline as against the great of the earth. *Vid.* the catastrophe at Thessalonica and the "Penance of Theodosius" in Forster, *Ambros.* p. 64 sqq. The dramatic delineation of the event in the *Acta Ambrosii* and the Greek ecclesiastical historians is an embellishment, but the kernel of the affair is vouched for by the *Oratio de obitu Theodosii.* His very conscious ecclesiastical disposition comes to light in his partizanship for the Christians of Callinicum against the Jews whom they used with violence (Förster, l.c. p. 60 sqq.), and his procedure against the Empress Justina and the Arian party. For his significance for worship, preaching and hymnology, *vid. inf.*—Opp. Maurinian edition, Paris 1686. Venice 1741 sq. 1748 sq. Ml. 14–17; a splendid new edition, Milan 1875 sqq.—Böhringer 2nd ed. X. Joh. Förster, *Ambrosius v. Mailand*, Halle 1884.

Tyrannius (Turranius, Toranus) Rufinus of Aquileia, mentioned in the Origenist controversies, born about or after 340 and early caught by the monastic life, which bent led him (p. 366) to the East († 410), although without independent theological importance, became of great importance for the Western Church through his translation of Greek works of Origen, and also of Eusebius

[1] *Vid.* P. Ewald, *Einfluss d. stoisch-ciceron. Moral auf die Darstellung der Ethik des Ambr.* Lpz. 2. 1881. Ebert, I. 125 sqq. Luthardt, *Gesch. der christl. Ethik*, I. 174.

(whose Church History he at the same time continued down to the death of Theodosius), Basil and others. The *Historia Monachorum* s. **De Vitis Patrum** also (in Her. Rosweyde, *Vitæ patrum*, Antwerp 1615, the second Book in 1628), which became so influential, is founded on Greek material (cf. ZKG. VII. 161 sqq.) To his *Expositio symboli apostolici* we owe most important disclosures as to the history of the Creed, *Opp.* Ml. 21.—It is in the adaptation of Greek science for the Latin Church that in great part the importance consists which has been attained by the most learned of the Latin Church-Fathers, Sophronius Eusebius Hieronymus (Jerome, for his life *vid.* p. 365). This scholar, trained in the classics, of deep learning in Greek and to some extent in Hebrew and Chaldee also, of comprehensive though wide rather than deep scholarship, "the first ancestor of the Humanists," an adept in style, began about 382 at the instigation of Bishop Damasus of Rome prudently and considerately to improve the text of the **ancient Latin translation of the Bible** which had gradually fallen into great corruption. He began with the New Testament (the Gospels first); in the Old Testament, first with the Psalms which he revised with reference both to the usual text of the Septuagint (*Psalterium Romanum*) and to the text of the Hexapla (*Psalt. Gallicum*), after which latter he began also to revise the rest of the Old Testament (the Book of Job preserved). But the necessity of going back to the original Hebrew text so forced itself upon him, that he undertook a **new translation** of the Old Testament from the original text (from 392) and finished it in twelve years, not without thereby giving manifold offence. Thus, out of the improved ancient Latin translation of the New Testament and the new translation of the Old Testament from the original text, there arose the **Vulgate** which afterwards gradually attained universal dominance in the Church. His *Biblical Commentaries*, a mine of wealth for after times, unite with discussions of the historical sense all sorts of allegorical fantasies. His treatises *De nominis hebræicis s. de interpretatione nominum Hebræorum* follows similar works of Philo; his book *De situ et nominibus locorum Hebræorum* is a free revision of Eusebius (p. 379). With the latter is also connected the continuation of the Chronicle of Eusebius, which he translated and revised. The treatise *De viris illustribus* (*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*), an imitation with reference to Christian literature of the work of the same name by Suetonius, is intended to enumerate the Christian writers in series, and briefly to state any notable utterances they may have made with reference to the Holy Scriptures; a work which in spite of many cursorinesses and lack of proportion is of great importance, but which stands in need of still more exact investigation in regard to its sources. He has found numerous successors (among whom, Gennadius, etc., ed. by J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca ecclesiast.* Hamburg 1718 folio). His *Lives of the Saints*, that of S. Paul of Thebes which quite strikes the fabulous note of a popular legend, that of Malchus and of Hilarion, as also the biographical sketches of pious women of his personal acquaintance (S. Paula, S. Paulina, Fabiola and Marcella), are entirely devoted to the recommendation of monasticism. His controversial writings: against the **Luciferians** (*Altercatio Lucif. et Orthod.*) against Helvidius, against Vigilantius, and the unedifying correspondence with Rufinus, exhibit less dogmatic significance than literary pugnacity and personal excitement and party passion. His numerous **letters**, which in considerable part go beyond a merely private character and are literary productions meant for the public from the first, form a rich quarry for the history of civilization and the inner history of the age.—Opp. ed. Bened. (Martianay) 1693 sqq. ed. Vallarsi, ed. alt. Venet. 1766 sqq. Ml. 22–36. The older literature upon him

in Zöckler, *Hieronymus*, Gotha 1865. E. L. Cutts, *M. Jérome*, London 1878. On his contemporaries, Sulpicius Severus, *vid. sup.* p. 7 and p. 295; Paulinus of Nola p. 367.

2. Jerome's contemporary, Aurelius Augustine, introduces a new epoch for the Latin Church, in which a new conception of Christianity emerges and gives to Western ecclesiastical development most powerful impulses which affect the whole Middle Age, and which also continue in the age of the Reformation, and, indeed, in one direction are only then fully realized. His life, especially the early part of it, as it is elucidated by himself in a dialogue of his soul with God in the *Confessions*[1], written about the year 400, is of the highest interest in relation to the form of Christian view of the world which now emerges. Augustine, born on the 13th November, 354, at Tagaste in Numidia, owed his first deep impressions of a religious sort to his mother Monica. Of exceptional talents, the boy took in instruction in everything which was then regarded as included in a liberal education, with a burning desire for knowledge which was not free from ambition; afterwards with a view to educate himself as a rhetorician (forensic orator) he studied classical literature and rhetoric in Carthage, while at the same time his passionate nature led him into the life of pleasure of a great city. The religious impressions of his boyhood fell into abeyance. The reading of Cicero's Hortensius (in praise of philosophy) powerfully aroused his slumbering yearning after a higher truth and wisdom which should satisfy mind and heart at once, which he afterwards regarded as his first movement towards God. The empty glitter of rhetorical fame pales before this sacred thirst for truth. He also grasps at Scripture, but could not find himself at home in its homely simplicity. With a view to dialectical training he studied Aristotle's doctrine of the Categories. But the thirst for truth which should satisfy his religious feelings now led him to the sect of the *Manichees*, then widely spread in the North African province, whose strictness of life made a strong impression on him, and whose mysterious seclusion excited his curiosity and allured him by the promise of deeper knowledge of truth. From his nineteenth to his twenty-eighth year he allowed himself to be retained in this community (as *auditor* or catechumen) by the prospect of final initiation into the full secrets of the truth after which his soul aspired. But he was gradually undeceived and fell into new doubts of all truth. It was Neo-Platonism which next paved the way for him, by means of its idealistic religious dogmatism again awakening his faith in

[1] Edited and explained by K. v. Raumer, Stuttgart, 1856.

objective truth and revealing to him a new world of thought. The Dualism of the Manichees was specially counteracted by the Monism for which only the Good is the substantial, the truly existent, while evil is a mere negative. Augustine, who had formerly taught rhetoric with much approbation in Tagaste, next in Carthage, came in 383 to Rome, in 384 to Milan. Neo-Platonism had made him again receptive of religious truth, but he still looked upon the Christian faith as a substitute for philosophy for the common man. Now however the Pauline epistles seriously attracted him, and the Christian substance of the sermons of AMBROSE, which he first attended only on account of the beauty of their form, began to influence him. With severe inner conflicts he was converted to Christianity and was baptized by Ambrose in 387, at the same time as his natural son Adeodatus. In Rome he now began the conflict with Manicheism which continued throughout his whole life.

Returning to Africa in 388, he at first lived for several years in rural and monastic retirement, but was chosen as presbyter against his wish in Hippo Regius in 392, and in 395 was elected bishop there. His life from now till his death in 430 belonged to the Church, the essence and the substance of the faith of which, as he had grasped them on the ground of his own religious experiences, he sought to defend both against the Manichees, and now also against the important sectarian phenomenon of Donatism and against Pelagianism. In opposition to the **Donatists,** he developed the **idea of the Church** in a way which had a decisive influence on subsequent times; in opposition to PELAGIUS, he developed the doctrine of **sin** and **grace** as the real pith of his original conception of Christianity, which has set its definite stamp on the Latin Church, although the latter never in the full sense owned to the Augustinian dogma, to which indeed evangelical Protestantism also linked itself.

The earliest writings of Augustine (*Contra Academicos ; De Vita beata ; De ordine*), indicating the transition from philosophy to Christian theology, are devoted to the overthrow of Scepticism and the attainment of subjective certainty of truth; also the *Soliloquia* and the treatise *De immortalitate animæ* revolve round the conditions of the knowledge of God. From these beginnings there is further developed the vigorous endeavour to advance from the undeniable facts of self-consciousness, of personal thinking, which at the same time contains the guarantee of personal existence, to the recognition of an objective truth which is the necessary presupposition of our thinking. Inasmuch as he sees this eternal truth in God, more accurately in the Logos of God as the essence of the eternal laws of reason, this is made the foundation for the presupposition for all thinking of a **faith**, which must precede the bringing about of **knowledge.** We must have God Himself for teacher if we are to know truth.

But this philosophic notion of faith, of the necessary trust in the truth which attests itself to the spirit, and which is superior to man and is the condition of his thought, is immediately converted, from consideration of the sinful weakness of man and his spirit, into the ethically and religiously tinged notion of *the* faith, which is based on the renewal and divine illumination of man as brought about by the revelation and redemption of the Son of God.—Truth itself, viz. the Son of God, the eternal Word, founded this faith. In this way he reaches the positive ground of the **Divine Authority**, which the Church, possessing Scripture and tradition, brings to men. In the energy with which Augustine maintains this positive foundation of divine revelation, and indeed in the definite historical form of the truth delivered to the Church, there is reflected the process of his own development, which first attained contentment when he was powerfully seized upon by Christian truth. Like Origen he holds firmly that **faith** must precede knowledge and is the way to it, but in more profound amplification; but in like manner he also holds that it is a duty to advance through faith to knowledge and insight: *intellectus enim merces est fidei* (Tract. 29 in Ev. Joh., § 6, cf. cp. 120). God Himself, as He is the highest object of faith, is also the proper and highest aim of all knowledge, although He cannot in the proper sense be conceived but can only be negatively and approximatively known. With great speculative energy Augustine follows out the doctrine of God and the Trinity (*libri de trinitate*, cf. p. 403) from presuppositions which preserve the influence of the Platonic philosophy but adjust it in a new way with positive Christian belief. All the essential fundamental lines of ecclesiastical speculation are here already drawn. But while in this speculative doctrine of God Augustine not only condenses in an independent way the previous development of ecclesiastical dogma, but also modifies it into the doctrine of the Trinity, on the other hand he is at the same time led by his personal development to force the essentially deepened conception of Christian **salvation**, as the converting **effect of divine grace** on sinful man, into the centre of the Christian view of the world.—But the influence of Platonism may also be clearly demonstrated in Augustine's general idea of the world, and the finite and evil in the world. Although, by the distinct accentuation of the creation of the world out of nothing, as the free act of God, the ground of the Greek philosophy of the age had long been deserted in the Church, it still had after effect in the way in which God was conceived as the true being in all beings, the world as mingled of being and non-being, and evil not as something positive and substantial but as a mere accident of the good, a defect or *privatio*. (Cf. G. Loesche, *De Aug. plotinizante*. Jena 1880; Id., ZWL. 1884, 7. J. Storz, *Die Philos. des h. Aug.* 1882. K. Scipio, *A.'s Metaphys. im Rahmen seiner Lehre vom Uebel*, 1886.) Augustine still coincided with the way of thinking of the Greek Church in his decided maintenance, especially against the Manichean explanation of sin by a natural principle, of its derivation from the free moral self-determination of man. But these general ideas, the form of which he took partly from the Platonic philosophy, partly from previous Greek theology, are filled out in his case with a content thoroughly peculiar to himself. On the ground of his own life and conversion, the conviction of the moral weakness and corruption of human nature, as it arose in the original free turning away of the human will from God (Adam's Fall), but is now become a universal power abolishing man's freedom, as also of the exclusive efficacy of divine grace, gradually acquires such a fundamental importance and such far-reaching consequences are drawn from it, that his entire Christian view of the world now revolves around the cardinal point of moral **regeneration** (sin and grace). And

this regeneration is historically conditioned by the incarnation of the Son and the salvation therein given, and conveyed to mankind by the Church, but is founded beyond history in the divine counsel and the predestination which forms theoretically the ultimate expression for the religious fundamental conviction of Augustine, that salvation, light and life are given to man solely through divine grace, determined by nothing outside of itself, unconditional and omnipotently efficacious. From this starting point his theology also receives its completion in a comprehensive religious examination of history: *De civitate Dei, ll.* 22 (p. 314).

For Augustine's most important writings against the Manichees *vid.* p. 289. For his own Christian view of the world besides *De moribus ecclesiæ cath. et de moribus Manichæorum*, the writings against the **Donatists**, *vid. inf.* No. 11; those against the **Pelagians**, No. 12. His apologetic and dogmatic chief works (*De Trin.*) have been mentioned. The essence of the Christian conviction —as regards its apologetic foundation, is given in the book *De vera religione*,—in respect to its condensation for ecclesiastical instruction, in *De fide et symbolo*, *De catechizandis rudibus* (on its methodical aspect) and in the *Enchiridion ad Laurentium s. de fide, spe et caritate* (ed. Krabinger—Ruland 1861). The work *De doctrina christiana* rather gives directions for the exposition of the Holy Scriptures and for Christian instruction (*modus inveniendi quæ intelligenda sunt* and *modus proferendi quæ intellecta sunt*). Among his numerous exegetical writings, *De genesi ad literam ll.* 12 (to be distinguished from the uncompleted treatise of the same name directed against the Manichees), the *Quæstiones in Heptateuchum*, the *Ennarrationes in Psalmos*, partly in the form of sermons for the people, call for special attention; the treatise *De consensu evangelistarum* in furtherance of the harmonising of the Gospels, the treatise on the Sermon on the Mount, the tractate on John and the numerous explanations on the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, writings in which religious congeniality compensates for defects in regard to language and method. —On the questions of the **practical life of the Church** are bestowed the treatises *De bono conjugali* on the one side, and on the other *De sancta virginitate* and *De bono viduitatis; De adulterinis conjugiis; De opere monachorum* in recommendation of manual work for the monks, and many others. Finally his numerous sermons (*sermones*) and his not less valuable numerous letters. His *Retractationes, libri duo*, in which, towards the end of his life (c. 427) he subjects his numerous writings to self-criticism. Opp. ed. Bened. (by Blampin and Coustant) Paris 1679 sqq. Issued again by J. Clericus (Phereponus) 1700–1703, 12 vols. folio, and Paris 1836 sqq. MIGNE 32–47.—Monographs by BINDEMANN, 1844–1869, 3 vols. in Böhringer 2nd ed. XI. A. DORNER, *Aug., sein theol. System* etc., Berlin 1873. REUTER, *Augustinische Studien* (ZKG. Voll. 4–7), Gotha 1887. E. FEUERLEIN in HZ. vol. 22.

3. In **Christian Latin Poetry** there had been most characteristically accomplished since the age of Constantine that general tendency in which pagan forms of culture sought to blend with Christian matter, and indeed with the intention of satisfying the æsthetic taste of the educated, by applying classical forms to the Christian notions which had become prevalent. The **Gospel History** is celebrated in poetry about 330 by C. VETTIUS AQUILINUS JUVENCUS, a native of Syria, in comparatively flowing hexameters, a Christian epic in furtherance not of fables but of the truth, with expedients borrowed from Virgil. The authorship by Juvencus of a similar treatment of Genesis, and the extensive versification of the books of Moses and Joshua only recently published by Pitra, *Spicil. Solesmense I.*, is quite uncertain. Ed. Ml. 19, *vid.* RE. 7, 327. Other

poems of a similar sort by unknown authors follow it. This is the beginning of a poetical treatment of biblical matter, which became of the most far-reaching importance for the Middle Ages. Perhaps COMMODIAN, who was above assigned to the third century, belongs also to this period (*vid.* WEINGARTEN, *Zeittafeln und Ueberbl.* 3, KG. 3rd ed. 1888, p. 37, 231). Such also were the *Metra in Genesin* by a certain Hilary (perhaps him of Poitiers) (in the works of Hil. Pictav.), and the *Commentaria in Genesin* of CLAUDIUS MARIUS VICTOR (probably the Massilian rhetorician Victorius or Victorinus, Gennad. *De vir. ill.* 60), which, exceeding the limits of a poetical paraphrase, give many excursus and show a tendency to the instruction of the young (*vid.* EBERT, I. 353). CŒLIUS SEDULIUS (ed. Huemer, *Corp. scr.* X.) likewise belonging to the fifth century, celebrated in his *Carmen paschale* the good deeds of Christ, who as the true Paschal Lamb was slain for us, and contrasted the true miracles of Christ with the invented myths of the poets. The *Opus paschale* is an amplified prose version of the same evangelical matter in very turgid diction, while the *Carmen* is free from this fault.

We have **Christian epigrams** by Bishop Damasus of Rome, partly epitaphs on saints and martyrs and other Christian persons, partly inscriptions in churches and chapels in memory of his own buildings and foundations. But the ripest fruit of the process of the permeation of the forms of antique Roman culture by Christian ideas and opinions is the **Latin-Christian composition of hymns,** of which Hilary of Poitiers is regarded as the beginner; to him however none of the hymns ascribed can with entire certainty be assigned. Opposition to the Arians and their successful cultivation of hymnody is supposed to have induced Hilary to the composition of his Latin Hymn-book. His incitement wrought upon AMBROSE whose hymns already exercised a powerful influence on worship (*vid. inf.* History of Worship), but also served as models for subsequent times: **Ambrosian Hymns,** the designation of the sort. Only four can with full certainty be named as the work of Ambrose himself: the three hymns for the daily *hours* (*Deus creator omnium*, *Æterne rerum conditor*, *Jam surgit hora tertia*) and the Christmas hymn *Veni redemptor gentium.* Each hymn has 32 verses in iambic trimeters, of which four are linked together in a strophe. Metre and quantity are strictly maintained, the hiatus is avoided. In contrast with the serious simplicity of these hymns, which in virtue of these qualities had so much influence, are the poems of AURELIUS PRUDENTIUS CLEMENS. He was a noble Spaniard (born in 348, probably at Saragossa), who retired from the world and a high political office (Rector of a Spanish Province) to serve God by his spiritual poetry. The book **Cathemerinon** contains twelve hymns, of which six are likewise intended for use at the ecclesiastical hours of prayer. A close connection with Ambrose is evident, but the hymns are much longer (hence only selected strophes passed into church use) and less popular; he makes use of most various metres, the treatment is partly artistic, partly more broadly pictorial and narrative. Of the collection **Peristephanon,** hymns in praise of the martyrs (especially the Spanish and those whose graves Prudentius had visited in Rome and Italy), part is written in popular style and part on the other hand in very artistic form. Of these hymns, which are very long, only isolated stanzas have made their way into church usage. The very extensive poems, **Apotheosis** (in defence of the divinity of Christ against heretical views) and **Hamartigenia** (the Fall), rather belong to didactic poetry, with their polemic against Marcion and highly coloured picture of perdition; it is worth noting that the poet does not venture to claim full salvation for himself, and only prays for mitigated punishment in the future world. The two

books **against Symmachus** are partly based on the treatise of Ambrose against the latter. The detailed allegorical poem *Psychomachia*, depicting the battle of faith and the Christian virtues against the vices, became of endless influence in the Middle Ages. Under the title of *Dittochæon* epigrams were collected.—*Aur. Prud. Cl. carmina*, ed. A Dressel. A. Brockhaus, *A. Prudentius*, 1872.

Less rich in fancy and brilliant in colour than these poems of Prudentius, but more elegant and in accord with formal taste are those of his contemporary Paulinus of Nola (p. 367), the disciple of Ausonius. "The heart, consecrated to Christ, denied itself to the Camœnæ and locked itself up from Apollo," but celebrated in a whole series of panegyrical songs the holy martyr Felix, and John Baptist as the first ascetic, and in an ode, Bishop Nicetas of Dacia who spread Roman Christian civilization among the barbarians beyond the Danube. Even the *Epithalamic* species of poetry here finds an application in the Christian spirit. By a friend of Paulinus, Endelechius, we have also a Christian bucolic song, *De mortibus boum*, in praise of the cross, which has afforded protection against the rinder-pest; by a certain Bishop Orientius (middle of the fifth century) there is a moral-didactic poem: *Commonitorium*. Prosper, the admirer of Augustine, apart from his dogmatic and polemic poems (*Carmen de ingratis*, vid. section 13) poured forth a whole hundred dogmatic sentences in the form of epigrams. Ecclesiastically however, it was of special importance that the above mentioned Sedulius followed his predecessors Ambrose and Prudentius in the composition of hymns. In the alphabetical hymn on Christ (*A solis ortus cardine*) the first seven stanzas of which (A—G) became the church's Christmas hymn, the following four the Epiphany hymn (*Hostis Herodis impie*), he follows the model of Ambrose, like him observes quantity, but shows the beginning of a remarkable change and poetical popularisation. Already the hiatus is no longer avoided, rhyme is used and it is attempted to make the accent of the verse and of the grammar coincide. J. Huemer, *De Sed. vita. etc.* 1878.

10. Priscillianism.

Sources: Priscilliani *quæ supersunt rec.* G. Schepss (*Corp. scr. eccl. lat.* XVIII.) Vienna 1889. *Canones Syn. Cæsaraug.* (Mansi III. 633) the acts of the so-called *Toledan Synod* (Mansi III. 1997 and Florez, *Esp. sagr.* VI. app. p. 319) and the Canons of the Syn. Bracarens. (Mansi IX. 773).—Sulpicius Severus, *Chronicon* II. 46–51. *Dialog.* 3, 11 sqq. Pacati Drepanii *Panegyricus Theodosio I. dictus* c. 28 sq. (XII. *Panegyrici latini* ed. Bährens, Lpz. 1847, p. 297). P. Orosius, *Ad Aur. Augustinum commonitorium de errore Prisc. et Orig.* (in the works of Aug. t. VIII. Ml. 31, 124 and at the end of the edition of Priscillian). Augustine, *De hæres.* c. 70. Jerome, *De viris ill.* 121. Leonis M. *ep. ad Turibium* with the narrative of Turibius (Ml. 54, p. 677). Different letters of Augustine and Jerome.—*Literature:* Walch, *Ketzerg.* III. L. v. Vries, *Diss. crit. de Prisc.* Ultraj. 1745. Lübker, *De hæres. Prisc.* Hannover 1841. Mandernach, *Gesch. des Priscill.* 1851. Schepss, *Priscillianus ein neu aufgefundener Schriftsteller*, Würzb. 1886. Loofs, ThLZ. 1886, col. 392.

The originator of this movement which excited the Church of Spain and the neighbouring Aquitanian Gaul at the close of the fourth century is Priscillian, a man of noble family, of great intellectual vivacity and high culture, the disciple of a rhetorician

Helpidius (Elpidius), probably one and the same person as the admired rhetorician and poet Delphidius (Jerome, *De vir. ill.* 120. Chronicle on the year 355) in Aquitanian Gaul, whose widow and daughter are afterwards mentioned among the adherents of Priscillian. The recently discovered tractates of Priscillian give expression to a strong and decided devotion to belief in **Christ the sole God**, who is life and wisdom and everything to believers, a faint echo of mystico-pantheistic views of the one God in all things, who desires to find His resting place in the divine image, man ; in addition a lively grasp of biblical, especially of Pauline conceptions (of sonship, the Christ in us),[1] but also the conviction that the action of the Spirit of God is not bound to the narrow limits of the biblical canon, since he has had and has his prophets everywhere. In his defence addressed to Damasus (pp. 34–43) he decidedly adopts the belief of the Church (the Apostles' Creed), although his accentuation of the divinity of Christ and the unity of God smacks of a Modalistic conception of the doctrine of the Trinity, and his conception of the Incarnation sounds Apollinarian and he seems to regard the human soul as of divine substance. Also the founding of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body on Matt. xxii. 31, may indicate an intentional abstention from the crasser ecclesiastical conception. He is penetrated by the idea that the world and the kingdom of God stand in sharp contrast, that the friendship of the world is the enmity of God, that the ascetic realization of Christianity is to be gone about with bitter earnestness. Behind the ethical dualism there here peeps out the possibility of a metaphysical dualism. In these tractates, in spite of their often harsh mode of expression, the force of a religious personality which had the power to enchain religious minds of serious purpose may be divined.

Bishops too (Instantius and Salvianus) are found on the side of this layman, who drew them into this spiritual and ascetic movement. The Bishop of Corduba, Hyginus, drew the attention of Bishop Idacius (Ydacius) in Emerita (Merida), the capital of the neighbouring Province of Merida, to conventicle Christianity, to which bishops also attached themselves, but subsequently when Idacius took passionate measures against it and lighted the ecclesiastical conflagration, he took the part of Priscillian. The movement seized upon various Spanish provinces. In the year 380

[1] Of this the *Canones epistularum Pauli* (ed. A. Mai, now recently again edited from the MS. by Schepss), which were edited by Bishop Peregrinus with some alterations, also afford remarkable evidence.

a synod was held at Cæsaraugusta (Saragossa) in Tarraconensian Spain, in which Aquitanian bishops also took part. Its eight canons are aimed against conventicle Christianity with its tendency to harsh asceticism and separatist retirement from the church and sacerdotal clergy, especially forbid pious women to attend such conventicles, repudiate the custom of fasting on Sunday and not really partaking of the communion received in church, censure abstinence from attendance at church, and proceed against clergy who desert their office to live as monks. It is the conflict with ascetic separatism which is here carried on, a separatism which is aimed against the secularisation of the clergy. No one is to put himself arbitrarily forward as a teacher, and no bishop (who may to some extent side with these pietists) is to receive any one who has been excommunicated by another. From the 17th December till Epiphany every one is to attend church daily, on penalty of the ban on all who during this season abstain from doing so, disappear into the mountains and go barefoot. We perceive an ascetic opposition to the feast of Christmas which had made its appearance, whether arising merely out of hatred to the pagan tendencies of the celebration of the festival, or from Docetic points of view. The canons mention no name, but at Saragossa the Priscillianists, who were not present, viz. those two bishops and the laymen Helpidius and Priscillian, were excommunicated (Sulp. Sev.). This, Priscillian (*Liber ad Damas.*, p. 35, 15; 40, 17) contested, with an appeal to Bishop Symposius (Symphosius) who had himself been present at Saragossa, and who along with Hyginus was among the well wishers and advisers of Priscillian. Symposius (Mansi III. 1997 sq.) was only one day in Saragossa and would not hear the condemnation of the Priscillianists. The condemnation was therefore without legal trial and followed by contradiction on the part of members who did not acknowledge it. But Bishop Ithacius (Itacius) of Sossuba (Ossonoba in the Province of Emerita) —seeing that Hyginus, the bishop of the provincial capital, now took the part of the accused—was commissioned to make known to the bishops the judgment of the synod, and especially to exhort Bishop Hyginus in the same sense.[1] Ithacius, who is depicted by Sulpicius Severus as an entirely unworthy, fleshly-minded man, now becomes head of the opponents of Priscillian. But Idacius (Ydacius), after his return from Saragossa, was accused of evil offences by his own clergy, and Priscillian, who meanwhile had been elevated by the bishops who were friendly to him to the

[1] I read Sulp. Sev. II. 47, maxime Hyginum *commonefaceret.*

bishopric of Avila (in the same province), interfered; he himself came to Emerita, was indeed insulted here in church, but received public support against Idacius in the pious party, received here the *professio* (confession of faith) of the laymen, *i.e.* of those who were hostile to Bishop Idacius, and desired to make priests of such. Powerful parties are therefore formed, and a war arises against secularized bishops. Hyginus and Symposius advised the adjustment of the conflict by means of a synod.

In this party conflict Priscillian's opponents now raised accusations of **magic** and **Gnostic** or **Manichee heresies.** The associations of Manichees owed a great part of their influence to their strict asceticism. Where unusual ascetic stringency was observed to accompany conventicular gatherings, similar heresy was conjectured. Now Priscillian was never an actual Manichee, and the derivation of his heresy from the alleged Egyptian Gnostic Marcus (Sulp. Sev.) is worthless. But the accusations had a real basis in Priscillian's mathematico-astrological occupations, his actually existing inclination to Gnostic speculations on the conflict between souls descending from the higher world and the powers of the world, and in a dualistic view which was breaking through. Ascetic Christianity naturally seeks a theoretical basis in Gnostic-dualistic ideas, and a certain tendency to conceal an esoteric speculation behind the creed of the Church, with the religious kernel of which he is in conscious unity, may also be traced elsewhere in Priscillian.

His opponents now sought to reach the Priscillianists through the secular arm. They obtained an edict of Gratian, whereby the Priscillianists were to be banished. Priscillian and the other bishops of his party now betook themselves to Rome for the purpose of seeking help from Damasus and also from Ambrose of Milan.[1] They took their way through Aquitaine, where they found many adherents, especially in Eluza (Euze in Gascony). Bishop Delfinus of Bordeaux rejected them; they found a friendly reception at the country seat of the widow of the rhetorician Delphidius; she and other pious women accompanied them on the way to Rome, which gave rise to odious rumours. Damasus and Ambrose did indeed hold back; but the Priscillianists through Macedonius, the Magister Officiorum (according to Sulp. Sev. by bribery), effected the recall of Gratian's decree; Priscillian and Instantius were given back to their churches (Salvian had died in Rome), their opponent Ithacius had to leave Spain and sought in vain to influence Gregorius the Prefect of

[1] Their written vindication is no longer extant.

Gaul against them. Then he turned to the usurper Maximus who had just come into power, and who, after his victorious entry into Trèves, caused the Priscillianists to be set before a synod in Bordeaux by the Prefect of Gaul and the Vicar of Spain. Here Instantius was deposed by the bishops; but Priscillian withdrew himself from their judgment by appealing to the Prince himself. But in the trial, held by command of Maximus before the Prefect Evodius, as the result of the accusations, Ithacius, after admissions of magic and immoral doctrines and assemblies had been forced from him by torture, was found guilty and executed by the sword, with him also Euchrotia, the rhetorician Latronianus and others, while Instantius was exiled to a British island. Maximus sought to vindicate himself by communicating the transactions to Bishop Siricius of Rome; he is besides accused of covetousness of the property of the accused, not only by the panegyrist Pacatas, who in his panegyric on Theodosius is inclined to depreciate Maximus, but also by Sulpicius Severus (Dial. III., 11, 11). The whole procedure of the episcopal informers, who were inclined to espy heresy in every pale ascetic, was indignantly opposed by earnest churchmen, such especially as Martin of Tours. He had sought in vain to prevent bloodshed and, in general, the interference of the secular authority in the ecclesiastical question; and he would have no fellowship with the compromised bishops at Trèves. In the end he was at least successful in keeping Maximus from further persecution of suspected persons in Spain. The chief agitator in the affair, Ithacius, was finally deposed as the individual most compromised. Idacius himself retired from his bishopric. When Ambrose appeared as the ambassador of the Western ruler at the court of Maximus, he would have no fellowship with the bishops who had co-operated in bringing about the death of Priscillian, and Siricius of Rome must have been of the same way of thinking. The schism on this point dragged out for some time longer.[1]

By his party in Spain Priscillian was regarded as a holy martyr; the bodies of the executed were brought to Spain and there solemnly buried. The Priscillianists continued to spread in Spain, especially in Gallicia. Here wrought Symphosius, Dictinnius, whom he raised to the episcopate (also known as the writer of his party), Paternus of Braga and others. Ambrose already sought, probably in agreement with Bishop Siricius of Rome, to interfere as mediator so as to make

[1] The bishops who stand in ecclesiastical alliance with Bishop Felix, who had been consecrated at Trèves by bishops who were his fellows in guilt, seek in vain at the Synod of Turin in 401 to reunite the ecclesiastical connection which had been broken off.

reunion with the Church possible to Priscillianists like Symphosius and Dictinnius under certain conditions, if they would sacrifice the commemoration of Priscillian. At first he was unsuccessful, but at the Synod at Toledo (about 400), reconciliation seems really to have been attained; but still with opposition on the part of zealous opponents in the Provinces of Bætica and Carthagena, to the hushing up of which Innocent of Rome (404) sought to contribute.

The Priscillianist party however became a sect which was able to maintain itself undisturbed amid the restless times of the pouring of the barbarians into Spain. When Leo I. in Rome had taken proceedings against the Manichees, his attention was drawn by Bishop Turibius of Asturicum (Astorga) to the Priscillianists who were widely spread in Spain. Leo demanded the holding of synods against them, of which one was held in Toledo (447), another in Spanish Galicia. For the last time however steps were taken against them, after the kingdom of the Suevi had meanwhile gone over from the Arian to the Catholic creed, by Bishop Lucretius at the Council at Braga, in 563. The sentences there directed against them were based upon Leo's accusations and the corresponding anathematisms of the (Toledan) synod, which are preserved in the Acts of the Synod of 400, but belong to the synod of 407. Among the false doctrines attributed to the Priscillianists, along with the accusation which was made from the very beginning, of using apocryphal scriptures, which were probably derived from Priscillian himself, there may specially be perceived a Modalistic doctrine of the Trinity with the consequences therein involved for Christology (*filium dei antequam ex virgini nasceretur non fuisse*), the doctrines of the substance of souls, of their pre-existence, and those astrological speculations which relate to the correspondence of human faculties and limbs with the sidereal world-powers; therewith however were combined strong dualistic notions connected with the rejection of the flesh (marriage and the eating of flesh), which must have had a hold likewise on Priscillian himself, of which however it would be difficult to state clearly what in the Priscillianists was popular coarsening of the conception or what of Manichee, *i.e.* dualistic conceptions was transferred to them.

11. The Donatist Controversy.

Sources: Optatus and the Monumenta in du Pin, *vid.* p. 331. Of Augustine's writings, *Contra Epist. Parmen. ll.* 3, *De baptismo ll.* 7, *Contra litteras Petiliani ll.* 3, *Contra Cresconium ll.* 4, *Breviculæ collationis C. Don. ll.* 3. —Literature: Norisii *hist. Donat.*, continued by the Ballerini in the works of Noris, t. 4. Walch *Ketzergesch.* vol. 4. Ribbeck, *Donatus und Augustin*, 1858. Bindemann, *Augustin*, II. 366 sq. III. 178 sqq. Völter., *vid. sup.* p. 331.

In the Donatist movement (p. 331) the constitutional question was combined from the very beginning with **enthusiastic opposition to a secular Christianity,** which was further increased by the interference of the coercive power of the State. The old world-alien Christianity of the times of persecution seemed to live on in the Donatists, who still asked even now, as Tertullian had once asked, in presence of a state force which was hostile to Christianity, "*quid*

imperatori cum ecclesia?" The forbearance too, by which, from 321, Constantine endeavoured to soothe the heat of the controversy, and the cessation of persecution, were unable to heal the breach; the party which in 330 sent 270 Donatist bishops to one synod was conscious of its power. An asceticism of a rude sort, run wild, professed by uneducated folk, who were at war with the world for Christ's sake, and wandered about begging (*milites Christi*, *Agonistici*, *Circumcelliones*), propagated the excitement, especially since, after the death of Constantine, Constans again began to take measures against the Donatists. This fanatical disposition against a secularized imperial Christianity received a religious-socialistic stamp, inasmuch as peasants, impoverished by the oppression of taxation, and runaway slaves, were seized by the agitation, and ideas of freedom and fraternity were mingled with the ascetic flight from and conflict with the world; on the other hand the ardent glow of fanaticism was augmented till it became martyrdom of frenzied self-annihilation. Against these wild masses the more moderate minority of the Donatists themselves had at last to appeal to the help of the state-power, which then restored peace even by force of arms. But the separation from the catholic party of the Church lasted on, even when the death of the hated Bishop Cæcilian of Carthage seemed to offer an opportunity of settlement. In Carthage, and in almost all the cities, Catholic and Donatist bishops stood opposed. In the year 348, Constans sought to win over the Donatists in a friendly way, by causing monetary support to be offered to the Donatists who had been impoverished by the disturbances, and who for the most part proceeded from the poorer classes of the populace. But Donatus Magnus at their head protested against such seducements, and another Donatus (of Bagai) met the negotiators with armed Circumcellions. It came to an insurrection, in consequence of which Donatus of Bagai was executed; Donatus Magnus and others were exiled. The revolution under Julian again gave Donatism breathing space, its exiled bishops might return; in place of Donatus Magnus, who had died in the meanwhile, Parmenianus was conducted to Carthage under a military guard. Against him was directed the theological polemic of Bishop Optatus of Mileve: *De schismate Donatistarum adv. Parm.*[1] which went a tolerable length to meet him, and willingly acknowledged their common basis of belief. In the last decades of the

[1] The first six books (as far as proved by Jerome *De vir illustr.* 110) were written somewhere about 368; the seventh book, if written by Optatus at all, must in any case have been added later.

century however, considerable differences make their appearance in the Donatist party itself. We find men of scientific culture among them, who entered on a milder and more moderate policy without being able to overcome the rigorists and fanatics. To the former belongs the grammarian Tychonius, who is also known by his *regulæ septem ad investigandam intelligentiam sacrarum scripturarum* (Gall. VIII.), to which Augustine does not disdain to make reference, and who does not approve the Novatian principle of the Donatists and especially the non-recognition on principle of baptism by catholic priests. We now find bishops of the stricter and the milder Donatist observance alongside of one another and in feud with each other, in many places, such as Carthage. Augustine now interfered with vigour by writings and negotiations at synods, with a view to adjusting wherever possible the schism which was doing deep injury to the African Church. But the advances by which a few allowed themselves to be won over, only awakened anew the fanaticism of the majority. Even Augustine now no longer resisted the desire, which found expression among the Catholics, to call in the aid of the secular power and the penal law. To it the Emperor Honorius responded in 405. Pecuniary fines, the exile of the clergy, and the taking away of churches were applied, and the opinion of the Catholics drove him to give up the attempted return to toleration in 409. Up till now the Donatists had evaded the desire that they should engage in a public disputation; the Emperor now compelled them to do so. In the famous **Collatio cum Donatistis** in 411, Augustine and Bishop Aurelius of Carthage contended with the Donatists Primian and Petilian in presence of 286 Catholic and 279 Donatist bishops, and the imperial commissioner assigned the victory to the Catholic party. From that time onwards decisive measures were taken against the beaten party, to which, in 414, all civil rights were denied, and in 415 the holding of assemblies forbidden on pain of death. Soon however both parties had to suffer equally severely under the invasion of the Vandals; the Donatists only disappeared gradually.

The controversy had started from objection to the ecclesiastical action (consecration of a bishop) of a *traditor*, one therefore who by (real or apparent) surrender of the sacred books had denied the faith. The Donatists attacked the validity of such sacramental actions as were performed by clergy under the taint of mortal sin: the Catholics asserted that the validity and force of sacraments were not dependent on the subjective condition of the administrating priest: *sacramenta esse per se sancta, non per homines* (Opt. Mil.).

But among the Donatists the more general tendency, following the notions of Noviatianism, now becomes prevalent: the true Church is only to be recognised where its essential predicate of **holiness** is guarded by the expulsion of all who may be guilty of mortal sin; in contrast whereto the Catholic conception held strictly to the principle that the holiness of the one true Church was not abolished by the dead or impure members who remained in the Church, but was essentially based on the divine foundation of the Church and the Holy Spirit and its means of grace conferred upon it as an institution as the objective conditions of holiness.[1] But on the Catholic side the actual universal diffusion of the (Catholic) Church, in contrast to the small Donatist community which was limited to Africa and to some extent to Rome, was also regarded as the practical confirmation of the predicate of catholicity which was equally essential to the one true Church.

12. The Pelagian Controversy.

Sources: The writings of PELAGIUS: *Expositiones in epist. Pauli*, *Epist. ad Demetriadem* (ed. Semler, Halle 1775) and *Libellus fidei ad Innocentium*, all in the opp. Hieronymi ed. Mart. V.—ed. Vallars. XI. (Ml. 30 and 48), the Confession in HAHN, *Bibl. d. Symb.*², p. 213 sqq.—A fragment of the Confession of CELESTINE in Augustine (Hahn, Ibid. 218). Numerous fragments in Augustine and Jerome, especially those of JULIANIUS Eclanensis, whose eight books *Ad Florium contra Augustini secundum de nuptiis* may be mostly restored from Augustine's *Opus imperf. contra Jul.* AUGUSTINE'S numerous controversial writings in the tenth vol. of the Benedictine edition (Ml. 44 sq.). JEROME, *Ep. ad Ctesiphontem* and *Dialogi c. Pelag.* ed. Mart. IV. 2 (Ml. 23). P. OROSIUS, *Apologia c. Pelag.* (opp. ed. Zangemeister, 1882, p. 601 sqq.) MARIUS MERCATOR, *Common. adv. hæres. Pelag. et Cœl.* and *Commonit. super nomine Cœl.* (Ml. 48). The Acts of Councils, Mansi IV.—Of the older works on the subject, G. J. VOSSIUS, 1618 (1655), H. NORISIUS, 1673, GARNIER, 1673 (*vid.* RE. 11. 425); of the more recent WALCH, *Ketzergesch.* IV. and V.; F. WIGGERS, *Pragm. Darst. des Augustinism., und Pelag.* 2 vols. 1831, 33. WÖRTER, *Der Pelag.* 2nd ed. 1874. KLASEN, *Die innere Entw. des Pel.* 1882. J. L. JACOBI, *Die Lehre des Pel.* 1842.

The Greek Church gave expression to the belief in the supernatural nature of Christian salvation in the dogma of the divine incarnation, in which the Godhead reveals itself to man, and really unites itself with human nature, so that the knowledge of God is opened to the human spirit, and human nature is raised to *ἀφθαρσία*. But, inasmuch as it conceived the divine work of salvation on the one hand as a revelation for the human spirit, on the other hand as deification of human nature, it looked upon the personal appropria-

[1] *Sanctitas de sacramentis colligitur, non de superbia personarum ponderatur.* Opt. Mil.

tion of salvation less with regard to the question of the extent to which the divinely effected benefit of salvation consisted in religious-moral conversion itself, than to the extent to which the acquisition of transcendent salvation is conditioned by moral effort. Greek theology had chiefly the interest which was nourished by Greek philosophy, of setting man free from the bonds of pagan naturalism. Opposition to Gnosticism with its tendency to reduce moral contrasts to natural powers, was here specially influential. In opposition thereto, man is above all things to be regarded as a responsible moral personality, who breaks through the ban of nature. Hence, this constant and preponderating accentuation of human freedom, the *αὐτεξούσιον*, among the Greek Fathers from the Apologists and Origen on to Chrysostom and farther, and the shyness of everything which was capable of making sin appear as a natural power. Hence however willingly the present natural condition of man is recognised as deeply degraded by the Fall, however decidedly enchained sensuality and, as a consequence of it, death and therewith the weakness and easy seducibility of the will by the world, the devil and demons, and the obscuration of the God-consciousness which has become so strong, are looked upon as consequences of Adam's sin, yet actual sin always remains man's own deed, proceeding from that one attribute which cannot be taken away from man without abolishing his moral nature, his free power of will. The universal sinfulness of man is indeed admitted as a universal fact of experience; at the same time there remains, as is also here and there expressed, at least the abstract possibility that perhaps a few men may have kept themselves free from sin. For the condition of man is after all only become more difficult, his inner nature is not so far altered, that he should be subject to sin as to a power of nature. But it is true that all human freedom was yet unable by itself to abolish the actually existing separation between God and man. The very obscuration of the knowledge of God can only be set aside by divine revelation; and the corrupt condition of man occasioned by the Fall, his subjection to transiency and death, requires divine redemption. In this objective sense it stands firm for the Greek Church teachers, that man can only have salvation by grace, viz. in the actual grace of the Incarnation and the supernatural effects which proceed from it. But even so, it also remains fixed for them that man must appropriate the salvation which is offered him, by the right use of his spiritual freedom, and it never occurs to them that the most decided emphasising of human freedom in appropriating salvation could involve any prejudice to grace; and where and to the extent

that this point is reflected upon, it is found sufficient to recognise a necessary co-operation of grace and human freedom. Thus both sides appear in their practical significance but without any deeper adjustment, *e.g.* in Chrysostom, who energetically emphasises freedom with a view to incite men to moral effort and to take away from carnal indolence the excuse which it finds in the appeal to the sinful frailty of human nature; but he none the less, for the purpose of exalting the divine grace, depicts human wretchedness from which divine grace alone could rescue man. But even where he gives expression to the pious consciousness that the whole of redemption is not our work but the work of divine grace, he adds, but we must draw it down upon ourselves, indeed, in order to obtain the divine mercy we must make ourselves worthy of it. At bottom the two methods of looking at the matter run alongside of one another without touching, inasmuch as, where grace is praised, in regard to it the supernatural bringing about of a so-to-speak physical condition of salvation is set before us, but where appeal is made to the moral independence of man, the moral process appears as the means of obtaining the salvation which itself is not found in mere moral renovation.

Another attitude to these problems had however been preparing in the Latin West. Following Tertullian's example, HILARY and AMBROSE had assumed, with appeal to Psalm li. 7, as a result of Adam's sin, a peculiar sinfulness (*vitiositas animæ*) which was propagated from Adam downwards by generation; corresponding to it grace also was designated not only as the objective principle of salvation, the cause of the rescuing of man from misery and the state of death, but also as the efficient cause of conversion and improvement, and salvation is therefore also perceived in moral regeneration itself.[1] At the same time, in Ambrose himself, the influences of Greek theology and that specifically Western turn of thought still move on alongside of one another. But in Augustine, a considerable time before the outbreak of the Pelagian controversy, and as the result of his personal development, these fundamental views had already arrived at their logical development, according to which, on the dark ground of the corruption and guilt of man through original

[1] In the Commentary on the Pauline Epistles which has been placed among the works of Ambrose, the so-called Ambrosiast (Ml. 17), the view of the propagation of Adam's sin is already found and indeed in the part of the commentary which seems to belong to the old stock. C. MAROLD in ZwTh. 1884 has recently upheld the unity of this commentary which according to a passage in AUGUSTINE is ascribed to an (unknown) Hilarius.

sin, his religious and moral regeneration is looked upon as his salvation itself wrought exclusively by God.

PELAGIUS, a British monk, of whose early life nothing is known, came, sometime about the beginning of the fifth century, from his home to Rome, and as a respected representative of monastic piety, was there on friendly terms with eminent men such as Paulinus of Nola, Sulpicius Severus and also Rufinus. His education was also influenced by acquaintance with Greek theology. As regards Pelagius' turn of mind the letter written (413 or 414) to a Roman lady of rank, DEMETRIAS, is of special interest. Demetrias, who, before the destruction of Rome in 410, had fled to Carthage and been there gained to the monastic life by the speeches of Augustine, corresponded with Augustine and Jerome; Pelagius also sought in the letter to give her instruction on the regulation of morals and a holy conduct of life. As a zealous monk of strict morality, Pelagius was scandalized at the wide-spread laxity and indolence, which would enjoy the gifts of Christian grace without energetic moral effort, and excused itself by human frailty. In opposition thereto he desired to awaken the feeling of moral responsibility; God required nothing impossible from men, as the sinner's own consciousness of guilt attested. The only point was to become conscious of the power for good which God had implanted in human nature (the *bonum naturæ*), that capability of freedom, which indeed involves the possibility of evil, but also the faculty of voluntary affirmation of the good, and in favour of which the voice of conscience, the *naturalis sanctitas*, bears witness. Pious men lived in holiness according to this law written in the heart, before there existed any positive law, and thereby showed what human nature was capable of. Of course the long custom of sinning has darkened the light of reason and made necessary the appearance of the divine law. But if that custom of sinning *seems* to a certain extent to have acquired the strength of nature, the divine law and, further, the Gospel, contain an increasing divine support. If even before the law, and under it, many have lived in righteousness and holiness, how much more must that be possible for Christians, who are instructed by the grace of Christ and born again better men, reconciled and purified by His blood and incited to perfect righteousness by His example. The Christian can now either keep to avoidance of what is forbidden and obedience to all that is commanded, and in contempt of the higher perfection, avail himself of all that is permitted, or, for the sake of the higher reward, he may abstain even from what is allowed and aspire after the counsel of perfection, which however does not emancipate him from the law which is binding upon all. Nor do special ascetic exercises of virtue absolve him from the inward duties of overcoming self. On the contrary he censures as hypocritical humility the conduct of such as cannot plainly enough bewail their sins and misery and yet allow themselves to be set in a heat by the smallest insult. The legal and one-sidedly moral standpoint of Pelagius, however, never allows him to recognise the living root of morality in the religious attitude of man to God. He regards the religious element as only an external, accidental means of progress. For that reason it is also concealed from him, that a sharpened and deepened consciousness of sin might, by faith in the grace of God, give rise to the birth of a great moral energy. He nowhere conceives grace as an inwardly-working, but always as an increasing external support of the will, corresponding to the increasing power of sinful habit, and as the revelation of the divine will for the intelligence of men, emancipation from the guilt of past sins, a spurring on by the holding out of divine punishments and instruction. Augustine judged of the period

before the controversy, that Pelagius (in a letter to Paulinus) occupied himself almost exclusively with the forces and capacities of nature (the naturally moral equipment of man), and in doing so allowed the idea of the grace of God to disappear almost entirely. From this point Pelagius could only see objectionable and morally dangerous notions in the conception of original sin and of a sinful corruption, the result of which must be death, and in the exclusive foundation of conversion and all good—even the good movements of the will—on the grace of God. He turned away in indignation when a bishop appealed to Augustine's expression in prayer: *Da quod iubes et iube quod vis.*

It was not Pelagius who brought the conflict which was agitating the Church to its outbreak; but Cœlestius, a man of noble origin, who from an advocate had become a monk and had attached himself to Pelagius. Both had come from Rome to Africa (411); Pelagius had come slightly into contact with Augustine, had evinced his admiration for him and had then parted from him on good terms to go to Palestine. Cœlestius, however, exerted himself in Carthage to obtain a position as presbyter. He was then accused by the Presbyter Paulinus from Milan at a synod at Carthage (412). The six points of the accusation reproached him with denial of original sin and a deep corruption of human nature introduced by Adam's sin, especially also of the derivation of death from Adam's sin, the last therefore a point in which he had the whole preponderance of the opinion of Greek theology (though not that of Theodore of Mopsuestia) against him. But these questions became burning through the consequences which they involved for the significance of infant baptism. Adam would have died, even if he had not sinned. Children are born in the same natural state in which Adam was before the Fall, have also eternal life if they die unbaptized, for Adam's sin only injured himself, not the whole human race; but before and after the coming of the Lord there have been individuals who did not sin; the work of the Saviour does not form such a deeply marked contrast to everything previous, but: *lex sic mittit ad regnum cœlorum, quemadmodum et evangelium;* as Adam's sin may not be regarded as the cause of the dominion of death, so also the resurrection of Jesus may not be looked upon as the sole cause of our resurrection. Cœlestius appealed to the fact that the question whether any *tradux peccati* existed, was not a dogma of the Church, but a free problem, and sought to show that infant-baptism was compatible with his principles, seeing that participation in the **kingdom of God**, which was still to be distinguished from eternal life, was not to be attained by the power of nature, but only by grace. The synod however, as he would not retract his principles, excommunicated him, and Cœlestius betook himself to the Greek East.

Pelagius had meanwhile found a friendly reception with Bishop John of Jerusalem. Jerome, who since the Origenist controversy had been on a strained footing with John and had been informed as to the controversy in North Africa by Augustine—he had sent him the Spanish Presbyter Orosius in 415 in order that the latter might learn the true fear of God at the feet of Jerome—now turned against Pelagius (*Dialogi adv. Pelag.* and *Epist. ad Ctesiph.*) in whose doctrine he was inclined to see a revival of the Origenist heresy. Without deeper understanding of the points to be decided, with odious attacks he fell especially upon the assertion that weak men, standing so far below the holy God, should have been able to exist without sin. In an assembly of the Jerusalem presbyters under Bishop John, Orosius reported on the discussions in Africa, read publicly a letter of Augustine's, and asserted that the Pelagian doctrine was already condemned there and by such eminent men as Augustine, and now also by Jerome. John, who caused Pelagius to be seated among the presbyters, required definite accusations. Orosius upbraided him with the assertion that man could be sinless and easily keep the commandments of God; John however was satisfied when Pelagius admitted, that man could only do so by divine help; but consented, seeing that Pelagius belonged to the Latin Church, to apply to the Bishop of Rome, and that meanwhile Pelagius should keep quiet. But in the same year two deposed Western bishops, Heros of Arles and Lazarus of Aix, composed a written accusation against Pelagius, on the ground of which negotiations were conducted at a Synod at Diospolis (Lydda) under Bishop Eulogius of Cæsarea. But here too Pelagius was able to gain recognition, partly by giving a sense which seemed unobjectionable to the Greeks, to the odd and confused style of expressions, partly by repudiating responsibility for sayings of Cœlestius and agreeing to the condemnation of the latter, which was not quite candid and without reservation; Augustine asserted (*De gestis Pelagii*) that as a matter of fact Pelagius thereby pronounced his own sentence.

On information of these proceedings, further measures were proceeded to in North Africa, in order to counteract the impression made by them especially in Rome. The Synod of Carthage under Aurelius (416) demanded of the Bishop of Rome, that however Pelagius and Cœlestius might declare themselves, a general condemnation should be expressed of those who: 1) taught that human nature had power enough in itself to overcome sin and keep the commandments of God, and therefore showed themselves to be enemies of grace, and who, 2) denied that children were freed from a state of corruption and made

participant in eternal life by baptism. The Numidian bishops expressed themselves similarly at an assembly at **Mileve** against the Bishop of Rome, and with the special acquiescence of five African bishops, Augustine at their head, who felt the absence in Pelagius or his party of the idea of Christian grace as a principle **working inwardly by the imparting of the Holy Spirit,** since by grace partly the merely natural equipment of freewill, partly the revelation of the divine will, partly the forgiveness of sins effected by Christ was understood. Innocent I. praised the African bishops for applying to the authority of the Roman see, and concurred with them. Meanwhile Pelagius also had applied to the Bishop of Rome with a confession of faith which bore out his orthodoxy in the dogmas, which alone hitherto had been regarded as decisive (those regarding the Trinity and Christology), but expressed himself indefinitely on the points which had now become controversial, yet in such a way as to indicate his assertion of the freedom of men though they still required divine help, as the correct middle way between the Manichean assertion that man could not avoid sin, and the one which was ascribed to JOVINIAN, that it was not possible that man (sc. the regenerate man) should sin.

The letter and confession of Pelagius found Bishop Innocent no longer in life. His successor ZOSIMUS now also received explanations from Cœlestius, who had become a presbyter in Ephesus, but seems afterwards to have been driven away from Constantinople as a heretic by Bishop Atticus. He strictly maintained that there was no question of dogma, but of *quæstiones præter fidem*, avowed himself ready to receive instruction from the Roman see, but yet on his part decidedly maintained his repudiation of **original sin** (*traduæ peccati*) because sin was not *naturæ delictum* but *voluntatis delictum*. Zosimus discussed at Roman assemblies the affair of Cœlestius and (the absent) Pelagius and found both explanations satisfactory, as they nowhere put grace or the divine aid out of sight; and accordingly in his writings he blamed the African bishops, for carelessly granting a hearing to the accusations of men of evil repute (the deposed Gallican bishops) against men of such entire faith, and exciting controversies which went beyond the province of the simple faith of the Church.

But the African bishops now declared at the Synod of Carthage (end of 417 or beginning of 418) that the matter should stand on the decision of Innocent, until Pelagius and Cœlestius had plainly assented to the proposition that **the grace of God by Jesus Christ assists us not only to the knowledge, but also to the exercise, of righteousness in every single act, so that without it**

we should be able to think, to say or to perform nothing truly pious or holy.

At the **General Council** of all the African Provinces at Carthage, in which Spanish bishops also took part, the Pelagian false doctrine was further solemnly condemned in the same year (418), especially the propositions, that man had been created mortal and would have died without sin, that children had no inborn sin, that justifying grace in Christ only effected the forgiveness of past sins and did not help towards the avoidance of future sins; as also all those assertions which denied an inwardly working grace. Zosimus had already begun to hesitate after the first declaration of the provincial Synod of Carthage; now, however, the opponents of Pelagius obtained a Rescript of the Western Emperor Honorius (30 April, 418) to the Præfectus Prætorio Palladius, which threatened the adherents of the new heresy, of whom there seem to have been not merely a few in Rome, with expatriation. In consequence of this Zosimus thought it advisable likewise to break with them. At a Roman synod, Pelagius and Cœlestius were condemned, and in his **Epistola tractoria** (Ml. 20, 693) which was sent to all foreign churches and of which only fragments have been preserved, he declared for original sin, the significance of infant baptism based thereon, and the doctrine of the inward working of grace. The Western bishops had to subscribe. Among the few Italian bishops who did not submit and sacrified their office to their conviction, was JULIAN, Bishop of Eclanum in Apulia, an acute and gifted man whom Augustine had formerly for a long time wished to draw into his neighbourhood. He now came forward as the most capable champion of Pelagianism which he sought to found deeply, fundamentally and systematically, in literary conflict with Augustine. The Augustinian doctrine of original sin, its foundation on the evil inseparable from generation, seemed to him to lead to the rejection of the intercourse of the sexes altogether and even to Manichean inferences; and in the contention with the Augustinian doctrine of grace the doctrines of **election by grace** and **predestination** also came under more distinct consideration than hitherto.

In the next years the measures for the suppression of the Pelagians were prosecuted. Bishop BONIFACE of Rome, the successor of Zosimus, was in close alliance with Augustine, who sent the African Bishop Alypius to Rome in 420 with his treatise *C. duas epp. Pel.* composed by desire of the Pope. According to Julian, Alypius seems to have been commissioned by the African bishops to agitate by means of presents and incitements against the Pelagians. More severe

measures against the "despisers of grace," especially against Cœlestius, actually ensued under Constantius, the co-regent of Honorius. Of Pelagius himself we learn nothing further that is trustworthy. Julian, and probably Cœlestius also betook themselves to the East to Theodore of Mopsuestia, who indeed had already with his Greek idea of freedom, in his treatise mentioned above, p. 407, attacked the doctrine of original sin—"this sickness which had made its appearance in the West"—occasioned as it seems by the procedure of Jerome against the Pelagians. That Theodore nevertheless afterwards condemned Pelagianism at a Cilician assembly, is an erroneous supposition (*vid.* R.E.[2] 15, 399) Cœlestius once more in 424 demanded an investigation from Pope Celestine, but had to leave Italy and betook himself with Julian and other Pelagians to Constantinople with a view of winning the Emperor Theodosius II. and the Patriarch Nestorius to their views. But the fact that Nestorius endeavoured to take their part, involved them in his fate. To his representations, Celestine answered, that Nestorius' predecessor Atticus had already declared against them, and Marius Mercator, who was devoted to Augustine, obtained their expulsion from the capital by means of the *Commonitorium super nomine Cœlestii*, which was delivered to the Emperor, and the Synod of Ephesus in 431 condemned Cœlestius and his party along with Nestorius, without entering into their erroneous doctrine (Can. 1 and 4).

In the conflict with Pelagius, and especially with Julian of Eclanum, Augustine had taken the opportunity of thoroughly developing his views on sin, freedom and grace. The **Pelagian doctrine of freedom** said that sin was not an affair of nature but of will, only what had proceeded from a man's will could be attributed to him as sin. This will consisted in the capacity of deciding equally for the good or for the evil. What precedes one's own voluntary decision cannot be sin. Hence man comes into life pure, there is no original sin or original guilt. The first man came into the world like an innocent child, whom God sought to guide by an external command corresponding to his power of apprehension, but who allowed himself to be enticed into transgression by the sensuous charm of the forbidden fruit. The sinful element in the natural opposition, not in itself sinful, between the sensuous and the spiritual nature, merely consisted in the fact that the will, guided by God's command did not dominate the charm of sense. For in itself *concupiscentia* is essential to the human nature which God created. Hence by that act of disobedience also there arose no essential disturbance of the harmony of human nature; bodily death is natural, and not the result of the sinful disturbance of human nature. Hence also there is no propagation of sin by generation. New-born children are in the same state as Adam was before the Fall. A sinless life led by man's own power is at least not absolutely impossible, however much the customary power of sin, increased by bad education, is to be recognised. The free will can always at the decisive moment shake off its ban.

To AUGUSTINE, on the other hand, sin and guilt appear so to have grown together with the empirical nature of man down to its most secret beginnings, that he always finds himself already in a state of non-freedom and weakness. And this sin appears to him as a deep anti-divine principle, which has entirely altered the attitude towards God which corresponds to human nature. The original attitude was founded on entire and exclusive openness to the guidance of the divine influence; man's real freedom consists in the fact that he receives from God, obtains all goodness from Him, and keeps it as the fulfilment of his own most real nature. Therefore Adam's sin, which turned him away from God by means of the formal freedom which was suited to the mutable creature, is an immeasurable one, which cuts man off from the highest good and disorders his whole nature, sacrifices it to spiritual death and bondage, as sin works out into its consequences, especially unchaining the lusts of the flesh against the spirit in him who is separated from God, and thereby at the same time laying the germ of death. This human nature corrupted by sin generates sinners, inasmuch as concupiscence is especially active in generation. And this inborn sinfulness is actual sin and guilt in every child of Adam. For in Adam all his successors were not only potentially but really present, since the first man contained the whole race. We all existed in Adam, since we were all that one individual (*Civit. Dei*, 13, 14), we all sinned in Adam, according to Rom. v. 12 (*in quo omnes peccaverunt*); thus original sin is at the same time actual sin, and the punishment of the guilt which is common to all. The whole of natural humanity forms a *massa perditionis*, men are by nature children of wrath (Eph. ii. 3), and sin is present, even before individual sinful acts exist. Just from this natural condition there follows moral slavery, the impossibility of living without sin by one's own strength, the absence of all true virtue among the heathen, the damnation of unbaptized infants and heathens, even the noblest.

This involves an idea of **grace** quite different from that of the Pelagians, who by grace partly understood the capability of the moral nature bestowed by God (freedom), partly the external supports which come to the assistance of the will through divine guidance, through the law and the Revelation of Christ, which through doctrine, threats and promises, remission of the punishment of sins and holding out the perfect example incite and support the will (*auxilium divinum*), an ascending assistance in contrast to the growing power of habit of sin, the action of which however is always dependent on the free resolution of the will. On the other hand, according to AUGUSTINE, it is the fundamental problem of divine grace, to raise man out of the state of guilt and complete unfreedom for goodness, in which he indeed acts under the form of the *liberum arbitrium*, but is only capable of acting sinfully. Grace abolishes the hitherto state of guilt in baptism, extirpates the *reatus* of original sin, which however remains *actu* as capability of sin, as *concupiscentia carnis*, and thus continues ever anew to make man the child of wrath, if grace does not further **convert the will** and thereby make it free for goodness. This takes place not only by revelation and teaching which influence the will by intelligence, but by creating good impulses of will, by the inbreathing of divine love, by which the sinner is converted into a righteous man. This grace, the divine compassion, must come first, must prevent man; even **faith** itself is the work of this grace. Previously, it is true, Augustine in connection with the conflict with Manicheism and under the influence of Greek theology (*vid. sup.* p. 437) had adhered to the position, that believing, as the apprehension of the divinely offered salvation, and willing, were man's affair, to which then God's grace gave the corresponding power of performance (*Exposit. quarund. propos.*

ex. Ep. ad Rom. c. 61); but some considerable time before the outbreak of the Pelagian controversy (at first decidedly in the *Quæstiones ad Simplicianum* of 397) he had already recognised, that even faith itself, from which alone any goodness can come, is the exclusive work of converting grace. Only after preventing grace (*gr. prævenies*) has operated (*gr. operans*) has the will, which throughout has become free, the power to enter into co-operation with it, but even here only in such a way that grace continues to work in the regenerate one (as *gr. subsequens*), and co-operates with the will (*gr. co-operans*). For even the converted man can do nothing without grace. requires it for each individual act, and even with it man is unable to keep himself quite free from sin. Thus properly speaking all human merit is exclusively the work of grace; in the good works of the pious, God rewards His own gifts. But finally, since salvation depends exclusively on the divine grace by which alone the will is converted, this grace must be conceived as working irresistibly (*gr. irresistibilis*); otherwise there would always be a certain merit in the human will, in so far as it might submit to or resist the divine grace; we must much rather say: God makes willing men out of unwilling, and the human will cannot resist the Almighty.

Hence there are now developed those conceptions of **election by grace** and **predestination,** which, combated by Julian as particularly objectionable, must also have further nourished the opposition to strict Augustinianism. It was solely divine irresistibly working grace which was able to rescue men who had fallen into the corruption of guilt. Now if only a part of mankind are participatory in this grace, the cause can only lie in the sovereign will of God, who thereby reveals His justice and His mercy at the same time. Out of the mass of humanity which has fallen into corruption His grace selects a definite number, to bring them to believe and make them vessels of compassion. Those who are affected by this selection by grace, the **elect**, are those who are predestined by the eternal counsel of God (*prædestinati*). Predestination is founded upon God's own act and is the *præparatio gratiæ;* the actual working of God's grace is the *effectus prædestinationis.* But the divine prescience—not predestination which is the narrower idea—is also directed towards what God will **not** do, and therefore towards the fate of those whom He does not accept, the **reprobi.** Since all have by right fallen subject to damnation, and none has any claim on grace, the selection of a number and the passing over of others involves no injustice to the latter. Hence it follows, that God does not properly will that all should be helped: the doctrine of the **particularity of the divine will of grace.** Not even the *vocatio* of the individual is yet proof that he belongs to the elect, the *secundum propositum vocati* (Rom. viii. 28); it is only endurance till the end, by means of the divinely conferred *donum perseverantiæ*, which gives assurance.

This doctrine seemed to Julian of Eclanum to be immoral and dangerous; but even the admirers and adherents of Augustine drew dubious inferences from it. Among the monks at Hadrumetum in North Africa some opined, entirely denying man's free will, that one might not say that on the day of judgment God would reward every man according to his works, indeed one might not blame anyone (*neminem corripiendum esse*) if he did not do the commandments of God, but pray for him, that so he might do them; others in order to avoid these inferences, thought it necessary however to retreat from the strict Augustinian reasoning to the assumption that the grace of God was granted on some kind of human merit (*secundum aliqua merita humana dari gratiam*). Augustine endeavoured to defend his doctrine against these scruples (*De correptione et gratia; De gratia et libero arbitrio*). Free will is not abolished by grace, but rather remains the form through which grace works; the punishment and censure of sinners is not unjust, since they bear the guilt of their sins; nor are blame, punishment and discipline useless, because they may possibly be the means by which the grace of God achieves its purpose in the elect.

Natural repugnance to the high Augustinian doctrine of grace and predestination now led to the decided appearance of the tendency, which subsequently (in the Middle Ages) was designated **semi-Pelagianism.**

13. The Post-Augustinian Theology of the Fifth Century.

1. To the closest of the adherents of Augustine who were stimulated by him, belong: the Spanish presbyter, PAULUS OROSIUS, who became acquainted with Augustine on a journey in 414, asked his advice about Priscillianism, and was sent by Augustine to Jerome in Palestine for further theological equipment, where he took part in the battle with Pelagianism (*Liber apologeticus* [*c. Pelag. de arbitrii libertate*]). He then, being prevented from returning home by the war troubles in Spain, wrote in Africa, at Augustine's instigation and following the thoughts in his *De civitate Dei*, his 7 books *Historiarum contrà Paganos* (p. 314). Opp. ed. Haverkamp, Leyden 1767. 4. Ml. 31, the *Hist.* and the *Apologeticus*, ed. Zangemeister, Vienna 1882 (*Corp. scr. eccl. lat.* V.).—MÖRNER, *De Orosii vita eiusque hist.*, Berlin 1844.—PAULINUS of Milan, who raised the complaint against Cœlestius in North Africa, and wrote a *Libellus c. Cœlestium ad Zosimum Papam* (Ml. 20) is better known by his *Life of Ambrose* written at the instigation of Augustine, a valuable book although devoted to the love of the miraculous which was characteristic of the time and which moreover in the form in which it has been preserved has suffered subsequent modification.—MARIUS MERCATOR, sprung from the Latin West, a learned layman in Constantinople, and who worked there as an admirer of Augustine, for the condemnation of Pelagius, and in doing so also found occasion for polemic against Nestorius and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Opp. ed. Garnier, 1673, better edition by Baluz, Paris 1684, Ml. 48 (after Garnier).—

Prosper Aquitanus (Pr. Tyro), was a learned layman, educated in the schools of rhetoric in Gaul, who after the death of his wife was on terms of lively intercourse with the monastic circles of Massilia, but as a zealous adherent of Augustine, whose writings determined his theological conceptions throughout, came into collision with the semi-Pelagian ideas which were dominant there. Among his writings which have reference to the conflict over Augustine's ideas, the *Carmen de ingratis*, which was written before Augustine's death, in 1000 hexameters combats semi-Pelagianism, as falling under the same verdict as the Pelagianism which had been repudiated by the Church; of the rest, the chief is the treatise *De gratia Dei et libero arbitrio contra collatorem* (*i.e.* Cassian, the author of the *Collationes Patrum*) written about 433. In the *Sententiarum ex operibus Augustini delibatarum liber* excerpts from Augustine's writings are gathered together, the order of which is on the whole followed by the book of 106 epigrams of dogmatic substance. Besides these works belonging to the movement of the time, we have a Chronicle by Prosper, which in its first part is an abstract from Eusebius and Jerome with some amplifications, in the second, the work of Prosper himself (down to 455). It was probably begun in Gaul and completed in Rome where from about 434 he constantly resided, as it appears, in the service of Leo the Great. Opp ed. Bened. 1711, Ml. 51. The book *De vocatione gentium*, which, while maintaining the fundamental Augustinian conception, sought by a milder form to mitigate the objection to the doctrine of God's particular will in grace, is attributed to a Prosper, who however cannot have been the Aquitanian; positive support is wanting to the attempt to ascribe this book to Leo the Great.

The **theological position of Leo the Great** is a universal one, conditioned by his lively relation to the Greek Church, but it was also essentially determined by Augustine. His eminently ecclesiastical attitude gives his numerous letters an outstanding importance, as also his sermons. Opp. after Quesnel, published by the Ballerini, 1753–57, Ml. 54. Monographs by Arendt, 1835. Perthel, 1843, and Böhringer.—His contemporary, Bishop Peter of Ravenna († 450), won for himself the name of Chrysologus by his highly prized sermons (*Sermones* opp. Ml. 52). He, as also Bishop Maximus of Turin, the author of numerous homilies and sermons which are interesting for the history of morals (ed. Brunus, Rome 1794, Ml. 87) took part in Leo's Christological negotiations with the Greeks.

2. The great theological activity of the Church of Gaul in the fifth century has its most eminent representatives in the **semi-Pelagian group**, and grows up, fructified by the zealously adopted and cultivated monasticism (*vid. sup.* p. 364) out of the classical education, which was still assiduously cultivated in Roman Gaul, and the influences of Greek theology which were specially brought over by Johannes Cassianus. For Cassian's life and those of his writings which are important for the history of monasticism, *vid.* p. 368 sqq. In his seven books *De incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium* he trenches upon the Christological controversies of the East, but seeks at the same time to demonstrate an inner connection between Nestorian and Pelagian heresy. Opp. ed. Alardus Gazæus, Frankfort 1722, Ml. 49. Petschenig in the *Corp. script. eccl. lat.* vol. XVII. (tom. I. 1888).—Vincentius Lerinensis, who after a troubled life in the world, found rest in the monastery of Lerinum, wrote in 434, under the pseudonym of Peregrinus, his *Commonitorium pro catholicæ fidei antiquitate et universalitate*, in which, in plain opposition to Augustine's high doctrine as a perilous innovation, the safety of the Church is sought in attachment to

ancient and universal ecclesiastical tradition. An edition along with Salvian by St. Baluz; by G. Calixt (along with Augustine's *De doctr. christ.* and *De fide et symb.* 1629 [1654]), numerous modern editions, among them that of Klüpfel, Vienna 1809.—Salvianus, born about or after 400, probably in Trèves, of a highly esteemed family, married a wife who was still a pagan, and after her conversion, both bound themselves by an oath of abstinence; he passed into close alliance with the monastic circles of Southern Gaul, became presbyter at Massilia and undertook the education of the son of Eucherius, who since 422 had been a monk at Lerinum and subsequently became Bishop of Lyons. Salvian did not die till after 480, at a considerable age. His treatises, *Adversus avaritiam*, one of the strongest commendations of meritorious almsgiving to the church (*vid.* cap. 5, 2), and *De Gubernatione Dei* (*vid. sup.* p. 314), are both of great importance in the history of morals. Opp. in Ml. 53, but especially in Halm's ed. 1878 (*Monumenta Germ.*) and ed. of Pauly, 1883 (*Corp. scr. eccl. lat.* vol. VIII., cf. *Sitzungsber. der philhist. Klasse der Wiener Akad.* vol. 98). Zschimmer, Salvian, 1875.—The above-mentioned Eucherius, who after occupying a position in the world, retired to Lerinum where his sons were educated, and then to the island of Lero, but became Bishop of Lyons in 434, and died about 450, is the author of several treatises representing the ascetic conception of Christianity (*Epist. parœnetica de contemtu mundi et sæculari philosophia*, *De laude eremi*), homilies, and the *Liber formularium spiritualium*, elucidations of scriptural expressions and scriptural sayings according to the mystical sense, and a few others. Opp. Ml. 50.—The most eminent and many-sided theologian among the semi-Pelagian group is Faustus, Bishop of Riez in Upper Provence (Faustus Rejensis), a man who, after being educated in the schools of philosophy and rhetoric, worked for a while as an attorney, but afterwards applied himself to the ascetic life and the study of Holy Scripture in the cloister of Lerinum, where he acted as abbot from the year 434, until, like his predecessor Maximus, he was transferred thence to the bishopric of Reji or Regium (462); a man of outstanding ecclesiastical activity in the maintenance of the Catholic confession under the rule of the Visigothic Arians (King Euric sent him into exile on account of his opposition to the Arians, from 481 to 484), for ecclesiastical order amid the storms of the time and for the promotion of the ascetic life; he died in high esteem after 491. For his dogmatic chief work *vid. inf.* in the semi-Pelagian controversy; besides it he wrote different letters and tractates of a polemical sort against Arians, Macedonians, Nestorians and Monophysites, and discussions of other dogmatic questions. Opp. Ml. 58. In a small treatise, not entirely preserved, Faustus (in conflict with the Arians for the Homousia of the Son) had put forward the assertion (which in its foundation goes back to Origen, and was shared by Hilary and Didymus and maintained by Cassian and also Gennadius) that God only is absolutely immaterial, but that all creatures, even the higher spirits and human souls were something corporeal; the denial of the Homousia of the Son would, in his opinion, make Him a corporeal being. This was opposed by the presbyter Claudianus Mamertus, presbyter in the diocese of Vienne and brother of the bishop there, a man of not less classic culture, in the treatise *De statu animæ*, in which the influence of Augustine may be traced (ed. Engelbrecht, Vienna 1885. *Corp. scr. eccl. lat.*, cf. Rönsch in ZwTh. XXX. 480 sqq.).—A common friend of the two last mentioned was Sidonius Apollinaris, a man of noble origin and position, son-in-law of the Emperor Avitus, and born at Lyons about 430. He was indeed a Christian, but in his rhetorical and poetical compositions he showed respect to secular classical aims in a thoroughly profane manner; all the same, for the

sake of his worldly influence, he was made Bishop of Urbs Arverna (Clermont-Ferrand) in 472, defended this city against the Visigoths, but after its fall knew how to make his peace with them (King Euric), and died about 487. His letters, interesting for the history of culture, exhibit the man, who from his elevation to the episcopate desired to bid farewell to poetry, in friendly relations with eminent ecclesiastics.—Gennadius, presbyter at Massilia, who died after 496, was a fertile theological writer, and acquainted with Greek theology. According to disposition he also belongs distinctly to the semi-Pelagian group, as is shown in the treatise *De theologicis dogmatibus*, provided we are to recognise in it the *Epistula de fide sua*, which Gennadius, according to *De vir. ill.* c. 100, sent to Pope Gelasius (at the same time it would be possible, according to Mansi, VII. 1011, to ascribe the book to Bishop Patiens of Lyons). The original treatise (fifty-five chapters) has been expanded to eighty-five chapters by later interpolations in the interest of Augustinianism (Letter of Celestine to the Gallic Bishops and various dogmatic propositions of Councils). The treatise **De viris illustribus** *s. de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* follows the work of Jerome of the same name. The original composition has however received spurious additions and interpolations. Cf. Jungmann, *Quæstiones Gennadianæ*. Leipsic 1881. The younger Arnobius (Ml. 53) also belongs to this group.—Cf. in general Ebert, *Gesch. der christl. lateinischen Literatur*, I. and the *Histoire litteraire de la France*, I. and II.

14. The Semi-Pelagian Controversy and the Final Preponderance of Augustine.

Sources: The relative works of Cassian, Prosper, Faustus Reg. (*vid. supra* under No. 13) and Fulgentius Ferr. (*vid. infra* No. 15); the Acts of Councils in Mansi, VII. and VIII., the book **Prædestinatus**, *s. prædestinatorum hæresis* etc., ed. Sirmond, Paris 1643 (Galland. X.). *Vid.* the literature on Pelagianism, and Wiggers in ZhTh. 1844 sqq. Sirmond, *Historia prædestinatiana*, Paris 1648 (opp. VI. and in Gallandi X.) and Mauguin, *Vindiciæ prædestinationis et gratiæ*, t. II. Paris 1650.

Prosper of Aquitaine, the zealous admirer of Augustine and Hilary, informed the latter in the last years of his life (Augustine epp. 225, 226) of many servants of Christ (monks) in Massilia, who had found propositions in Augustine's controversial writings against the Pelagians, which in their opinion were objectionable and in contradiction with the doctrine of the Fathers; a few had been convinced by Augustine's treatise *De correptione et gratia* (*vid. sup.* p. 459), but others had been only so much the more alienated from him. Men otherwise of such admirable distinction in all zeal for virtue, they stood in danger of falling victims to the Pelagian false doctrine and just because of their pious reputation, of leading others astray. Thereby Prosper glances at the tendency, which was dominant in the monkish societies at Massilia and which had John Cassian as its theological head, and with which the most eminent representatives of ecclesiastical and monastic piety in Southern Gaul, *e.g.* Hilary of Arles, were in active association. The delineation of their doctrinal

conception coincides in essential points with that expounded by John Cassian in the thirteenth of his *Collationes patrum* with obvious reference to Augustine. He distinctly guards himself against the doctrine of Pelagius, and will specially recognise that all have sinned in Adam, and that none can be saved by works, all rather can only be so by the grace of God, by means of second birth in baptism. Deep reaching results of Adam's sin for human nature are therefore recognised, namely death and a hereditary sinfulness, a disease of the moral nature of many which consists in weakness of the will and in the opposition between flesh and spirit which is first called forth by sin. Man cannot himself make himself whole, or by himself attain salvation. He is also willing to see in divine grace, more than a support coming from outside, an illuminating and vivifying power, working inwardly upon the will. But man is only morally weakened, sick, not dead. With the moral power of free will which remains to him, he can make himself receptive of divine grace. The interest above all, here, is to save the **universality of the divine grace** and to avoid absolute **predestination**. For that reason, as against the notion of irresistibly working grace, the will to believe and obey is looked upon as the decisive factor on the human side, which as a rule is precedent, and by which man appropriates the externally offered grace, in order then to attain actual saving faith by its support: *nostrum est velle, Dei perficere.* Human will and divine grace must always work together, must not be separated from one another, or mutually exclude each other. As a matter of fact, indeed, in the presentation of their relation there is only attained the notion of an alternation between the two instead of a real co-operation. But grace is always conditioned in its working by the decision of the will; the will can always resist. Instead of election by grace and predestination, there comes the notion that pre-determination to bliss or damnation is conditioned by the fore-knowledge of the free moral procedure of man.

Augustine wrote further against this tendency of the Massiliensians the treatises *De prædestinatione sanctorum* and *De dono perseverantiæ*, without thereby being able to set aside the objections to his doctrine. After Augustine's death Prosper exerted himself personally in Rome, to determine the Roman bishop to interfere in the interest of Augustine, also obtained a letter of Celestine's, which in general upheld the authority of Augustine and threw side-glances on the Gallic presbyters and their prying questions, but without condescending on the controverted points (Mansi, IV. 454, also in Augustine's works in vol. X. of the Benedictine edition). The

Auctoritates de gratia appended to this letter in ancient collections of church law (with what right is not clear), do indeed represent the Augustinian doctrine of grace, but evade the *gratia irresistibilis* and the doctrine of predestination. Prosper, little satisfied by Celestine's reserve, went on with his literary opposition (*vid. supra* p. 460), and in his treatise against Cassian's doctrine set forth the Augustinian doctrine of grace in skilful ambiguities, concealing the difficulties. Also the above mentioned work *De vocatione gentium* sought to give modified expression to the essential Augustinian conception, without however sacrificing anything essential to Augustine's doctrine. From the semi-Pelagian side on the other hand, the zealous adherents of the Augustinian doctrine of election by grace are represented as the sect of the **Predestinationists**, and the actual and alleged harsh consequences of the doctrine of predestination are imputed to them, whereby they were made to appear as a heretical party, which unfairly appealed to the celebrated name of Augustine. Such is the case in the **Prædestinatus**, a celebrated book by an unknown author first published by the Jesuit Sirmond. The author depicts his opponents as wolves in sheep's clothing, who have mingled with the catholic flock and by their writings under the name of Augustine have already wounded nearly the whole world. A catalogue of heretics, following Augustine's book *De hæresibus*, is prefaced; as the last and ninetieth heresy that of the *predestinati* is adduced; then as proof of it there is given the alleged treatise of a predestinationist, which, written under the false name of Augustine, is secretly read in the party and held in great esteem. Probably this book was not discovered by the author of the treatise, but composed from the writings of Augustine and his adherents, and supplied with odious exaggerations and deductions therefrom. In the third part of his book the author follows with a refutation from the semi-Pelagian point of view.

A clear decision was not at first arrived at between the Augustinian view and that of the Massilians. On the one side the name of Augustine stood too high to be directly attacked; but on the other side the ecclesiastical importance of the Gallic circle of thinkers was too great to be pushed aside by exertions such as those of Prosper or to be successfully brought under the stain of heresy. In the second half of the fifth century, we find the highly esteemed Bishop Faustus of Reji in negotiations with a presbyter, Lucidus, a decided adherent of Augustine's doctrine of predestination. Faustus (*Ep. ad Luc.*, also in Mansi, Coll. Conc. VII. 1008 sq.) attempted to refute him. Divine grace and human practical proof by conduct are always to be

thought of together; whoever asserts predestination to the exclusion of the latter, is as much to be blamed as Pelagius. All pride in his works must be taken from man, since he was not born without sin, and cannot become free without grace. But he who is lost by guilt, might have been saved, if he had not refused his own obedience to divine grace; he who comes to perfection through grace by means of obedience, might also have fallen through neglect and have been lost by his own guilt. Hence the principle must above all things be maintained, that Christ died for all, that God desired that all men should be helped; and the opinion is to be rejected, that a vessel unto dishonour *could* not have become a vessel unto honour. Lucidus seems to have appeared before the synod at Arles (475). He recanted in writing (Mansi, l.c. 1010). Another synod was held shortly thereafter at Lyons. By both synods Faustus took occasion to draw up his work *De gratia et humanæ mentis libero arbitrio*, which was so highly esteemed by his consentients and contemporaries.

While the semi-Pelagian view thus remained unattacked in Gaul, and was shared in by Arnobius the Younger and Gennadius, in Africa of course the tradition of Augustine, and in Rome at least his name, were powerful. In the beginning of the sixth century a new attack followed by those Scythian monks who wished to gain recognition for the Theopaschite doctrine in Constantinople under Justin I. (*vid. sup.* p. 426). Pre-eminent among them was Joannes Maxentius. In Constantinople they delivered to the emissaries of the Roman bishop Hormisdas, a confession of faith, in which they also declared decidedly against the enemies of divine grace, also against those who say: *nostrum est velle, Dei perficere.* Here and also in Rome, even with Hormisdas, whither four from among them betook themselves, they found no attention. On the other hand, they and their letter, both on the Christological question and on the relation of grace and freedom, found favour with the African bishops in Sardinia, expelled by the Vandals, especially with Fulgentius of Ruspe, who is designated their *lingua et ingenium.* Their missive is directed not only against Pelagius, but also against the books of Faustus, who was said to combat against predestination and to subordinate the help of divine grace to human nature. Fulgentius responded approvingly with the treatise *De incarnatione et gratia*, but without naming Faustus. Also, when the African bishop, Possessor, applied to Hormisdas on the commission of Vitalian and Justinian, on account of the controversial questions raised by the Scythian monks (520), he received from him an evasive answer,

against which Maxentius came forward most decidedly in the *Responsio ad epist. Hormisdæ* (Mgr. 86, 93): if the writings of Augustine were yet valid, Faustus must necessarily be a heretic. Fulgentius continued the war against semi-Pelagianism in the (lost) books against Faustus, and in the treatise *De veritate prædestinationis et gratiæ*, in which the Augustinian doctrine of predestination is distinctly expounded, though with prudent repudiation of predestination to sin. And the African bishops staying in Sardinia sent, in 528, a declaration to Constantinople (Epist. synodica in Mansi VIII. 591 sq.) which accepted the appeal of Hormisdas to Augustine in itself, but for that very reason declared the writings of Faustus heretical. In Gaul also a tendency to recede from semi-Pelagianism (the dominant Gallic theology of the fifth century) and follow the growing influence of Augustine gradually prevails, represented by Avitus of Vienne and Cæsarius of Arles. The exertions of the latter in this regard found support from Pope Felix IV. On occasion of the dedication of a church built by the Prefect Liberius, a synod of fourteen bishops was held, in 529, at **Orange** (Arausio) in the ecclesiastical province of Arles, then still under Ostrogoth rule. This synod accepted the capitula ("which had been collected from the ancient fathers and Holy Scripture") sent them from Rome. These are not to be regarded as the above-mentioned *autoritates* of Cœlestine, on which the Arausicanian decisions only touch and with which they do not coincide (*vid.* RE. 14, 90).

The twenty-five propositions accepted at Arausio, taken from sayings of Augustine and Prosper, in general contain decidedly the Augustinian doctrine of original sin, human inability for goodness, and grace transforming the will as *inspiratio dilectionis*, so that faith itself is already a gift of grace, but do not enter into Augustine's more exact definitions as to the propagation and imputation of Adam's sin, and evade express confession of the irresistibility of grace, of predestination and the particularity of the divine will of grace, although these doctrines are logically involved in the principles established; indeed, in the final confession, the bishops content themselves with confessing that by the Fall the will has been so bent and weakened, that no one can love God as he ought, no one can believe and do good for the sake of God, unless he is prevented by the grace of the divine compassion. The Old Testament saints also only had their faith through God's grace. A *prædestinatio ad malum* is expressly repudiated; finally it is sought to maintain, at least for all the baptized, the universality of the divine will of grace in the universal possibility of obtaining salva-

tion by means of baptismal grace, "*si fideliter laborare voluerint.*" The definitions of this synod were confirmed by the Roman Bishop Boniface II. The Synod of **Valence**, about the same time, which was also brought about by representatives of the church province of Arles, also declared in the same sense.

Even the universally acknowledged authority of Augustine was unable to bring about straightforward admission of the consequences drawn by Augustine himself from his doctrine of grace. People fell back upon the sayings of Augustine which were of immediate religious importance, and the whole spirit of the Church repeatedly led to great weakenings of his doctrine, however little inclination there was to sacrifice his authority. Thus *e.g.* in Gregory the Great views which are conscientiously taken from Augustine are intermixed with practical views of a more semi-Pelagian sort.

15. Survey of the Theological and Christian Literature of the West from the close of the Fifth and in the Sixth Century.

1. At the transition from the fifth to the sixth century stands Magnus Felix Ennodius, born about 473 in Southern Gaul, of an esteemed but poor family. He was early left an orphan, but received into a rich and pious household, in which he found his wife. Having received a purely pagan education, he passed over to Christianity; but it was a severe illness which first wrought conversion in him. He had hitherto lived entirely in the pursuit of profane literature (poetry and rhetoric), but passing now into the ranks of the clergy (his wife took the veil), he made his gifts available to the Church, as a deacon in Milan and finally (from 511), as Bishop of Ticinum (Pavia). His rhetorical culture was often made use of in public affairs. He accompanied his predecessor, Epiphanius of Pavia, on his mission to Gundobad, king of the Burgundians, on the commission of Theodoric; twice he went to Constantinople on the commission of Hormisdas, Bishop of Rome. On his share in the controversy as to the Roman episcopate of Symmachus *vid.* p. 350. He died in 521.

Ennodius is one of those figures in which profane pagan literary culture, which passes off into skill of form, versification and stilted artifice, without deeper content, becomes reconciled with the Christian culture which has been apprehended, and a certain ecclesiastical disposition. As regards the former, he to some extent follows Sidonius Apollinaris, as regards the latter, the semi-Pelagian theologians of Gaul (*vid.* Epp. II. 19). Theologically important are the **Eucharisticum de vita sua**, a kind of confession as to his earlier life, his treatise for Pope Symmachus, the biography of Bishop Epiphanius of Pavia and that of the ascetic Antony, which latter ministers to the ecclesiastical taste of the age. In most stilted epigrams, we have Christian epitaphs and inscriptions for church buildings, poems on bishops and saints occurring between such as are in the spirit of Martial. Opp. ed. Hartel (*Corp. scr. eccl. lat.*) 1883, and by Fr. Vogel (in Monum. Germ. hist.) 1885.—Magani, *Ennodio*, 3 vols. Pavia 1886. His somewhat elder contemporary, the African poet Dracontius, likewise exhibits in his *Carmina minora* the survival of antique scholarship and the ingenuous intermingling of antique (mythological) and Christian images.

His poem of repentance addressed to the Vandal King Guthamund, whose anger he had incurred, is important as showing the relation of the Roman populace to the German rulers. Of the larger theological poem, *De deo*, the section on the history of creation has been independently preserved (EBERT, I. 367 sqq.). The classical forms and æsthetical views of Latin poetry are pervaded in an increasing measure by Christian tendencies and ideas.—The influential bishop and theologian ALCIMUS ECDIDIUS AVITUS (*vid. inf.*) in his biblical poem *De spiritalis gloriæ gestis* (The Fall, etc.) rises to free poetical composition; he has been called a predecessor of Milton. PAULINUS of Perigueux gave a poetical biography of Saint Martin of Tours after Sulpicius Severus. The juristically and rhetorically cultured ARATOR, who had been closely associated in his youth with Ennodius, and had next served under the Ostrogoth Athanaric and, when the war with Byzantium broke out, had entered the clergy on the instigation of Bishop Vigilius of Rome, was author of a poem *De actibus apostolorum*, which he dedicated to Vigilius and delivered publicly in the church of St. Peter ad Vincula several days in succession with great approbation. **The union of the spiritual and the profane tendency of Latin poetry** is especially represented by VENANTIUS HONORIUS CLEMENTIANUS FORTUNATUS, on the one side closely attached to Ambrose and Paulinus, on the other to Sidonius Apollinaris. Educated at Ravenna in grammar, rhetoric and jurisprudence, he afterwards came into the Austrasian-Frankish kingdom under Sigebert, then to Tours and Poitier, where he formed a close spiritual friendship with the widow of the Frankish king and Thuringian princess Radegundis, who lived there in cloistral seclusion. Venantius entered the clergy, and finally became Bishop of Poitiers. Of his very numerous poems (mostly in elegiac measure) many are panegyrical in subject, on potentates or martyrs and saints, or relate to the erection of ecclesiastical edifices and the like. His swinging hymns are partly Ambrosian (in iambic dimeters: *Vexilla regis prodeunt*), partly composed in the popular measure of the Roman soldiers' songs, the trochaic tetrameters (*catalecticus*) (*Pange lingua gloriosi*).—At the end of our period the great Pope, GREGORY the Great, also enters the ranks of ecclesiastical hymn-writers. Although there are also two of his hymns in sapphics known, they mostly follow Ambrose, whom he also imitates in his prayer-like tone and moralising tendency; his hymns, however, are more sober and less fantastic than those of his predecessor. While his hymns, like those of Ambrose, are still to be regarded as entirely metrical, and do not give so much space to rhyme as those of Sedulius and Fortunatus, at the same time, alongside of these, so-called **rhythmical** hymns already make their appearance, in which, breaking with antique prosody, that popular form arose which gained ascendancy in the Middle Ages (EBERT, I. 521 sqq.).

2. As regards the development of **theology** in particular, there is a trend back again from the hitherto preponderating semi-Pelagian theology in Gaul, more towards Augustine, on the part of the above-mentioned ALCIMUS ECDIDIUS AVITUS, a man of highly esteemed Gallo-Roman family, Bishop of Vienne († 325) under Burgundian rule. His appearance at the religious conference of Catholic and Arian theologians (499) procured him the confidence of King Gundobad, whose son Sigismund came over to the Catholic confession under the influence of Avitus. His **letters**, of great historical importance, exhibit him in the most important associations on every side. Fragments of numerous homilies are extant. Opp. ed. Simond, Paris 1643 (Gallandi X. Ml. 59, 191).

CÆSARIUS, of humble descent as it seems, educated in the cloister of Lerinum, then deacon, and finally (from 502) Bishop of Arles till 542 (†), is distinguished

as a practical churchman and promoter of monasticism (*vid. sup.*), and especially as a popular preacher. His treatise, *De gratia et lib. arb.* in support of the Augustinian doctrine, is lost. Of his sermons many have been preserved under the name of Augustine, others under that of Ambrose.

3. The following eminent theologians arose in the **African Church**: Fulgentius of Ruspe, born at Telepte in North Africa, of a family of rank; soon turning from secular employment (Procurator of his native city) to the monastic life, he suffered under the persecution of the Catholics by the Vandal King Thrasamund, betook himself to Sicily and Rome, after his return became abbot of his monastery, and then in 508 Catholic Bishop of Ruspe, in the Province of Byzacene, but was shortly banished along with a number of Catholic bishops, and betook himself with the majority of them to Sardinia, where he established a *monasterium clericorum* according to the rule of Augustine, and kept up active intercourse with the outside world (*vid. sup.* p. 466). After Thrasamund's death, Fulgentius returned to his native land, and died in the year of the overthrow of the Vandal rule by Byzantium in 533. The conflict with Vandal Arianism gave occasion for: *Liber contra Arianos* and *Ad Thrasimundum ll.* 3, and some other works; the Scythian monks to: *Ad Petrum diaconum de incarnatione et gratia Domini n. J. C.;* semi-Pelagianism and especially the writings of Faustus, to the seven lost books against Faustus and the above-mentioned treatise, *De veritate prædestinationis.* Opp. ed. Mangeant, Paris 1684, Ml. 65. His pupil, friend and biographer is Fulgentius Ferrandus, who lived with him in Sardinia, afterwards became deacon at Carthage, and died about 547; known through his literary participation in the Three Chapter Controversy (*Pro ep. Ibæ*, etc., *Adv. Acephalos*), a number of missives relating to the Trinity and theology, and his *Breviatio canonum*, a collection of the church-laws, obtaining in North Africa, from Greek and African synodal decisions. Opp. Ml. 67, and in addition the letters in Reifferscheid's *Anecdota Casinensia*, Breslau 1871.—Facundus, Bishop of Hermiana in North Africa (Province of Byzacene), the most important representative of the African opposition in the Three Chapter Controversy. *Vid.* the literature, p. 428. Ibid. the works of the Roman deacon Rusticus, and p. 413 those of the Carthaginian Archdeacon Liberatus.

4. In remarkable contact with the scriptural study of the Syrian East, stood about the same time Junilius, a North-African by birth, who lived in Constantinople in the position of a high state official (Quæstor sacri palatii) and composed, at the desire of Bishop Primasius of Hadrumetum, who had come to Constantinople on occasion of the Three Chapter Controversy, the treatise, *Instituta regularia divinæ legis* (erroneously, *De partibus divinæ legis*, after the title of the first chapter), an introduction to the Holy Scriptures in form, extent and content, the substance of which sprang from the Persian Paul, who had been educated at the school at Nisibis. In this treatise the views of Theodore of Mopsuestia, which survived in Syria, as to the canon, and also his dogmatic views, are reflected. These were therefore offered to the Latin West, at a time (c. 551) when the very name of the great Syrian was to be tainted with the stain of heresy by the Church of the Greek Empire. Junilii Africani *instituta regularia divinæ legis*, ed. H. Kihn, Freib. 1880. Kihn, *Theodor v. Mopsv. und Junilius Afr.*, Freib. 1879.—The Primasius mentioned, himself composed a commentary on the Epistles of Paul and five books on the Apocalypse (Ml. 68), excerpting from older exegetes.

5. For the maintenance and propagation of the entire learned culture of Classical and Christian antiquity on into the Middle Ages, two men belonging

to the Roman Church in the time of the Ostro-Gothic rule gained the greatest merit, viz.:—

(*a*) Anicius Manlius Severinus Boetius (Boethius), born about 480, of the noble family of the Anicii, Consul in 510, he was held in high esteem by King Theodoric; later, however, he himself fell under political suspicion through his bold defence of the Senator Albinus, who was accused of a treasonable league with Byzantium, was in addition accused of magic, condemned to death, and after long imprisonment was executed under torture in 525.—Acquainted with Greek science in a rare measure, he purposed the translation of the entire works of Aristotle and all the Dialogues of Plato, with the view of exhibiting their agreement. He actually carried out the translation of and commentating on the logical writings of Aristotle and their Greek commentators; he translated and commentated especially the Isagoge of Porphyry, which was so much made use of in the Middle Ages; also arithmetical, musical and geometrical works of antiquity; in prison he composed the famous five books **De consolatione philosophiæ** (poems in the most various metres alternating with prose, after the example of Martianus Capella). The philosophical grounds of consolation in this work, based on eclectic popular philosophy rooted especially in Platonic conceptions and Stoic ethics, do indeed represent monotheistic belief in providence and are in light touch with Christian conceptions, but quite ignore positive ecclesiastical dogmas. Hence, the dogmatic treatises of quite another sort on the **Trinity** (*Quomodo Trinitas unus Deus*, etc.) and on **Christology** (*De duabus naturis et una persona adv. Eut. cf. Nest.*) and some others which have been attributed to Boetius, have been denied to be his (following others with special force by Fr. Nitzsch, *Das System des Boethius*, 1860). But the strong logico-dialectical interest and the ecclesiastical circumstances of the time form the bridge between such heterogeneous elements in the thought of Boethius, and Usener (*Anecdoton Holderi*, Bonn 1877), has adduced important external testimony from a fragment of Cassiodorus. Cf. J. Draeseke in JprTh. XII. 312 sqq., and against Schepss (*Geschichtliches aus Boethius' Handschriften* in NAD. XI. 125) in the ZwTh. XXXI. 94 sqq. (other material in Alzog, *Patrologie*,[3] p. 478 sq.). Opp. Ml. 63, 64, and ed. Peiper, Lpz. 1871.

(*b*) Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorius, *vid. sup.* p. 373. Besides the chief writing there mentioned and the *Historia tripartita* (p. 7, cf. ibid. Jordanis also and the *Variæ*, which are important for the history of the time, he also composed commentaries. Opp. ed. Garnet, 1679, Ml. 69, 79. Monographs by Thorbecke, 1867, and Franz, 1872.

On the literary activity of Gregory the Great see the following period.

FIFTH CHAPTER.

Life under the Law of the Church.

1. Entrance into the Christian Society. Catechumenate and Baptism.

Sources: Const. Apost. 2, 7. 3, 9 sqq. 7, 22. 8, 32. CYRIL of Jerusalem, *Catech. mystag.* 1 and 2 (Mgr. 33, 1066). GREGORY of Naz., *Or.* 40 *in s. bapt.* (Mgr. 36, 359). GREGORY of Nyssa, *Or. in eos qui differunt bapt.* (Mgr. 46, 415). CHRYSOSTOM, Κατηχήσεις πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας φωτίζεσθαι (Mgr. 49, 223). AUGUSTINE, *De catechizandis rudibus* (Ml. 40, 309) and his *Sermones in traditione symb.*, p. 212–214 (Ml. 39, 1058) and many others attributed to Ambrose, Cæsarius Arel., Faustus Rej., etc. (cf. CASPARI, *Quellen* II., 1869). FULGENTIUS FERRANDUS, *De catechizando Aethiope* (Ml. 67). J. GOAR. *Euchologium græc.* Par. 1648, p. 279 sq. and the liturgical collections (p. 21) and the literature mentioned pp. 254 and 256 and *infra.* ch. VI. No. 1.

FROM the time of Constantine's patronage of the Church greater masses begin to seek entrance into it. The baptisteries, in the Greek East often of large size, saw great crowds come to baptism, especially at Easter. At the same time many still maintained a waiting attitude, even when they were not hostile or indifferent to the new religion, but adopted the Christian conviction. Men were shy of the obligation to live like Christians from love of the untrammelled life of the world, feared responsibility and the danger of a fall, and therewith the loss of baptismal grace. Only at the end, at an advanced age or on occasion of dangerous illness, baptism was to remove all stains and open the entry to heaven. Thus Constantine himself only received baptism on his death-bed. Hence there was a great number of persons who took part in Christian worship, so far as it was open to them (*Missa catechumenorum*), *i.e.* in particular, heard the sermon, till some specially threatening event or serious experience drove them to baptism. On announcement of actual intention to join the Church, chiefly during the preparatory stage of the catechumenate, the Church sought by its known sureties, by preference from among the clergy, to obtain assurance of the disposition of the candidates for baptism and to secure itself to a certain extent against the entry of ambiguous elements. Persons of certain kinds of callings were obliged to free themselves first of all from objectionable conditions; slaves had to be recommended by

their masters as sureties. Admission to the rank of catechumen (the *catechumenum* or *Christianum facere*) took place by means of certain, so to say sacramental, actions, especially signing with the cross and laying on of hands, also by a kind of preparatory exorcism (*exsufflatio*, also *insufflatio*), in the West also by the administration of salt. The period of catechumenate (Can. Nic. 2) was not to be of too brief duration; at Elvira (Can. Illib. 42) two years were fixed, elsewhere (Const. Ap. 8, 32) even three, but with remission under certain circumstances. In reality, however, the practice was very various, according to circumstances. If in missionary work the time was so limited, that in certain circumstances baptism itself followed after a few days of preparation (*ieiunare*) and instruction (Socr. H.E. 7, 30), Augustine, on the other hand, recognised that in the case of the educated, when it was to be supposed that they had already taken knowledge of Christian writings from personal interest, no longer time was required (*De catech. rud.* 8, 12). In the case of an already admitted catechumen falling into grave sin, the date of baptism was postponed, in certain circumstances even to the end of his life. Even in families already Christian, baptism of **children** is as yet by no means general. Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, Chrysostom, all sons of Christian families and of especially pious mothers, only received baptism when, after passing through a secular education, they applied themselves to the problems of the Church; similarly with Jerome and Augustine, in whose cases baptism distinctly coincides with the crisis of inner conversion. Children of Christian families were regarded as admissible after their seventh year (Augustine, *De anima* 1, 12)[1] But the process which made the Church of the confessors more and more a popular Church, promoted the growing naturalisation of the baptism of children; and the magical conceptions of the effects of baptism, and, especially in the West, the Augustinian doctrine of original sin, from the guilt of which children had to be freed by baptism so as to become participant in salvation, worked in the same direction. The fourth Carthaginian Synod of 401 (Can. 7) lays down, that children, of whom it is not certain that they are baptized, are to be baptized at once.

Previously, however, and just in the circumstances of the fourth century, the mysterious treatment of the worship of the Supper

[1] Augustine was already signed with the cross as a child and had salt administered to him, and thereby to a certain extent had entered into the catechumenate and in a threatening illness was nearly being incorporated with the Church, from which he subsequently held himself so far and so long apart.

and of the other parts which belonged to the so-called *disciplina arcani*, gained its full weight and essentially contributed to lend its mysterious magic to Christianity in the eyes of the world. This gave special importance to that treatment of the **catechumens**, by which they were prepared for baptism. The proper **terms for baptism** were Easter and Pentecost, to which the Eastern Church added Epiphany, the Western the latter, Christmas, and the days of the Apostles and Martyrs, especially the day of John the Baptist. But Roman bishops, Siricius, Leo I., and Gregory I., repeatedly sought to adhere to the original times of baptism and to allow exceptions only for the sick and (Siricius) for children. But the compulsory baptismal term was again applied to the latter (apart from dangerous illness), till later in the Middle Ages the cessation of the catechumenate and the universality of infant baptism made general the neglect of the times of baptism. On the approach of the time of baptism, and so especially at the beginning of the Easter Quadragesimal period, the catechumens were invited to announce themselves for baptism by entering their names. By so doing they entered into the class of the so-called **competentes.** While, hitherto, the influence of the Church, apart from the first doctrinal communications on their entry into the catechumenate, had been limited to the participation by the catechumens in the preaching service at the place appointed for them and the special prayer for them at the close—before they were dismissed—there now began their **instruction** proper in the substance of the Christian requirements and the Christian faith, along with a series of special ecclesiastical **customs.** As regards the first, Cyril's *Catecheses* begin with exhortations to repentance and pointings to the great grace of baptism, next develop in a more popular style the individual parts of the confession and gave an introduction to the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, to which the catechumens were to hold. Gregory of Nyssa, in his *Oratio catechetica magna*, gives more a dogmatic text-book, developing the points to be referred to in the instruction of catechumens; but in doing so he has in view the winning of educated Hellenes and heretics, not popular instruction. With Augustine, however, the thought of the history of the preparation of salvation and of the kingdom of God, comes more into the foreground, and the impression of the preventing love of God is here meant to seize and warm the heart. Special capacity for instructing catechumens in Christianity, for which Gregory of Nyssa presupposes disputatory treatment, but in which, in far the most cases, as in that of Cyril, the form of the

lecture seems to have predominated, gave rise in large cities to the habit of bringing catechumens by special preference to individual clergy, such as the deacon to whom Augustine addressed his treatise. The instruction of the *competentes* begins in the Quadragesimal period. In the Church at Jerusalem the full period of forty days is assigned, but we frequently find the inclination to limit this period to the last four or three weeks, and even to a shorter time. For the *competentes* the whole period is regarded as a time of serious repentance, of self-examination and collection, which is signalized by fasts and eventually by other abstinences, *e.g.* during it Augustine demands abstinence from the intercourse of matrimony on the part of candidates for baptism. The community is to demonstrate its lively participation by its spiritual demeanour and intercession. The instruction is accompanied by other ecclesiastical actions. Signing with the cross and the laying on of hands and a preparatory conjuration (*exsufflatio*) had already taken place on entry into the catechumenate. The special acts of **exorcism** are now carried out over the *competentes*, under circumstances of special solemnity and with some ceremony, so that they may be admonished (Greg. Naz. *Or.* 40) to persevere in them patiently and decently, and to busy themselves quietly with reading and prayer during their performance upon individuals. "Without exorcism the soul cannot be purified" (Cyr. of Jerus.). These conjurations were intended to break the influence of the evil spirits on the entrance of the catechumens into the Christian atmosphere, to purify souls, as noble metal is purified from dross by fire. Patient submission to this spiritual healing is at the same time to establish the sincerity of the desire for grace. The exorcisms are performed in church, in presence of the community, and during the ceremony the candidates for baptism stand barefoot, clothed only in an under-garment, with bowed head and trembling, folded hands; as it appears each individual was taken separately, while the others had to wait quietly together. The customs of various sorts relative hereto are in any case the chief matter in the so-called **scrutinies,** which have nothing to do with the previous catechetical examinations on learning.[1] The order of the individual usages is various. In the Greek Church of the fifth century, the procedure in the case of heretics who had to be baptized by the Church, as in the case of heathen who were to be admitted, shows the general course in the so-called seventh canon of the second Synod of Constantinople (Hefele, *Con-*

[1] Leo I. Ep. 16 Ad episcopos Siciliæ: *Baptizandi electi secundum regulam apost. exorcismis scrutandi sunt.* *Vid.* MAYER l.c. 110 sqq.

ciliengesch. 2, 27): "on the first day we make them Christians by signing with the cross and laying on of hands, on the second they are made catechumens, on the third there follows a three times repeated breathing upon the face and ears, which is then followed by instruction."

The distinctive feature in the instruction is the period of the so-called **traditio symboli,** *i.e.* the oral imparting of the confession of faith. This takes place according to Cyril's catecheses, already at the beginning of the instruction (Cat. 4), and is followed in the succeeding catecheses by the doctrinal explanation of the individual parts. In accordance with this, John of Jerusalem (Jerome, *Ep.* 61 *ad Pamachium*) applies the phrase *tradere sanctam trinitatem* to the whole forty days. In the Western Church we find Palm Sunday as the day of the *traditio symboli* (Gall. Church), in Milan (Ambrose) it is the Sunday before Palm Sunday, in Africa it is "Judica" Sunday. On occasion of the handing over (orally, not in writing) of the confession to be learned by heart, a sermon is delivered in explanation of the confession (*sermo in tradendo symbolo*). Examples may be found in the relative sermons of Augustine and many others. Finally there follows, before the assembled community, [1] the solemn declaration of the confession by the candidates for baptism (*redditio symboli*). In many places this takes place immediately before baptism, elsewhere on the Thursday of Passion-week [2] or on Good Friday. The imparting of the Lord's Prayer and its repetition by the *competentes* has also its definite position.

The **baptismal confession** was hitherto the so-called Apostles' Creed, alongside of the simplest form of which, the **ancient Roman,** there now appear others supplemented by small additions, such as that of Aquileia (which has already the *descensus ad inferos*) and the later Spanish and Gallican (addition of the *sanctorum communionem*).[3] The Latin Church generally adheres to the Apostles' Creed as its baptismal confession. On the other hand the Greek Church exhibits **dogmatic** expansions of it, under the influence of the doctrinal controversies as to the conception of the divinity of Christ, which had begun especially from the time of Paul of Samosata and afterwards of the Council of Nicæa; such was the baptismal confession of Eusebius of Cæsarea (Hahn l.c. 187), which he laid before the Council of Nicæa and out of which the Nicene creed grew by accentuation of

[1] So at least in Rome, Rufinus, *Expos. in Symb. Ap.* p. 1. August. *Confess* 8, 2. 5.

[2] Conc. Laodic. 46. Cf. Can. 49 of Martin of Bracara (Conc. Brac. II.).

[3] Hahn, Bibl. d. Symb. 2nd ed. p. 13 sqq.

dogmatic points, and that of the Church of Jerusalem (ibid. 62), as also the baptismal confession of the Church of Cyprus in Epiphanius (ibid. 70). The **Nicene Symbol,** however, generally took the place of these particular creeds, as a baptismal confession, although it was little adapted to such a purpose with its adherence to the naked *καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα*; but it was itself again replaced in the Greek Church from the beginning of the sixth century by the so-called Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed (*vid. sup.* p. 401) which did not share in this defect. Indeed, about the middle of the sixth century, at a time in which Rome stood in great dependence on Byzantium, this creed was also accepted by the **Roman** and **Spanish** Churches as the **baptismal confession,** to which result the need of a dogmatically marked symbol in face of German Arianism also contributed.[1]

The actual act of baptism is immediately preceded by the **renunciation of the devil** (*abrenuntiatio*), which the candidate has to utter in response to the question of the priest. In the porch of the baptismal church, the candidate, facing the West and with raised hand, utters the formula, "I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy works and thy pomp and service." The candidate then turns towards the East, the region of light, for Paradise is now to open to him, and in answer to questions acknowledges his belief in the Father, Son and Spirit, and in one baptism of repentance (Cyril), or also professes himself expressly a follower of Christ. Both in the exorcisms and the *abrenuntiatio* the fundamental idea is that of solemn emancipation from heathenism, as the kingdom of the devil and the demons, especially from all that is connected with the service of idols; hence the *pompa diaboli* easily suggest purely heathen customs, especially the spectacles of the theatre and the circus; Cyril, however, still thinks also of the use of meat offered to idols. The candidate now enters the baptistery itself, is stripped, anointed with oil, over which prayers of exorcism are uttered, and is interrogated as to the faith. The *interrogatio de fide* is in three parts, either directed merely to the name of the Trinity, or to the further substance of the symbol. Baptism is completed by submersion, three times repeated. In the Spanish Church alone the usage of one submersion is adhered to, with the purpose of expressing the unity of the divine nature as against West-Gothic Arianism, and Gregory the Great declared this difference unessential. In the Greek Church the following was the fixed **baptismal formula:** "So and So (N.) servant of God, is baptized in the name of the Father—Amen, and the Son—Amen, and of the Holy Ghost—Amen, now and for ever and

[1] *Vid.* A. HARNACK in RE. 8, 212 sqq.

to all eternity—Amen." In the Latin Church, in the Sacramentary of Gelasius we still find the form to be that the *interrogatio fidei* coincides with the act of baptism, submersion following on each answer of the candidate to each of the three questions: believest thou (in the Father, etc.). Further symbolic acts are attached, such as the already mentioned administering of milk and honey as to the new-born child; in the West the administering of salt also, but especially the anointing with the chrism, which is to be thoroughly distinguished from the anointing with oil which precedes baptism. It indicates the anointing of the Christian with the Holy Spirit, whereby, like Christ Himself, he becomes an anointed one. This anointing remained in the Latin Church a necessary part of the baptismal act, which could be completed by every presbyter. But the **laying on of hands** has already been separated from the baptismal act in the West, and as the privilege of the bishop in conjunction with a further anointing became the special sacrament of confirmation (*Confirmatio*, *vid. sup.* p. 258). The putting on of white garments and a fillet immediately after baptism, in the Greek Church also the girding of the loins and crowning with a consecrated garland, and in the West the burning taper put in the hand, heighten the solemnity.

The already known institution of **baptismal sponsors,** although owing its origin to infant-baptism and here of especial importance, nevertheless, from the fourth century, also finds application in the case of the baptism of adults. It is connected on the one hand with the need of the guarantee (*vid. sup.* p. 471) for the sincere intention of the candidate, on the other hand also, with the need of certain assistance at the act of baptism, or of representation in the case of those who were very ill or speechless and at the moment unfit to express their own minds. The fact that deacons and deaconesses frequently appear as sponsors, seems to be connected both with the Church's need of safe guarantors, and with the fact that the deacons seemed the proper persons to render the assistance in the baptismal act in the case of men, and deaconesses in the case of women (Const. Ap. 3, 16). So likewise we frequently find widows and holy virgins in this function; but the undertaking of sponsorship was subsequently prohibited to priests and monks. The fact that a Christian master must give testimony to the worthiness of his slave, does not however make him his sponsor, but as a matter of fact the case often occurs, that slaves offer (*offerre*, *vid.* Aug. Ep. 98 ad Bonif.) their masters as sponsors. Augustine maintains, that it is properly the whole Church which in the persons of the sponsors brings forward the candidate. In the case of children the need of testimony to the fact of baptism (witnesses to baptism) comes into consideration alongside of the need of liturgical representatives. With this is connected the obligation of imparting the elements of the Christian faith to the child and of influencing it by example and education.[1] Augustine further presupposes that in most cases, the parents,

[1] The sermons 116 and 163 *De Temp.* (in Ml. 39 app. 267 and 268) in the works of Augustine, ascribed to Cæsarius.

or in the case of orphans, the guardians, themselves bring forward and answer for the children (Ep. 98). Other points of view, however, suppress this one, and from the conception of baptism as the foundation of a new life there is formed the notion of a spiritual father- or motherhood, out of which, since the fourth century, there is developed the idea of spiritual relationship (*cognatio spiritualis*), which is now regarded as a hindrance to marriage between the persons concerned (Cod. Just. 5, tit. 4, *De nupt.* l. 26).

2. The Good Works of the Church.

Literature: Zöckler, *Gesch. der Askese*, 1863. H. Richter, *Gesch. des weström. Reichs* (p. 321). Uhlhorn, *Die Liebesthätigkeit der alten Kirche*, p. 213 sqq. Bestmann, *Gesch. der christl. Sitte*, II. 1885, p. 483 sqq. Luthardt, *Gesch. der christl. Ethik*, I. 1888, p. 139 sqq.

The Church's estimate of the moral life is ruled by the same points of view which make monasticism appear as Christian perfection, and the priesthood as in itself a holy order. Holiness of life consists in the utmost possible emancipation of the soul from the natural foundations of this life, and, in contrast, all civic and political life, the province of worldly morality, is regarded as in itself profane. Eusebius (*Demonstr. ev.* 1, 8. p. 29) distinguishes two ways of life in the Church of God. The one goes beyond our nature and common life, desires neither goods nor children and takes no part in the usual business of men, but is solely consecrated to the service of God. Its love belongs entirely to heaven, inasmuch as by correct doctrines of Divine salvation, by assembling of purified souls, and by virtuous words and works it reconciles God, and both for itself and those belonging to it administers the priestly office. The other way of life is more human and less exacting, does not withdraw itself from usual work and business, and instead devotes certain days to contemplative exercises. As here the priesthood appears as representative of the higher religious morality, so elsewhere does the monastic life. Gregory of Nyssa (*De virginitate*) and innumerable others, found the only thorough way of getting free from sin in entire departure from the earthly human life, and regarded the virgin life as the only perfect way. As according to Gregory of Nazianzen property arises out of sin, so also Ambrose (*De off.* 1, 28) declares all earthly possession, earthly power, earthly goods in general, to be evil, all private property to be really usurpation. If Augustine, in apparent contradiction with this, asserts that by right believers alone are the rightful possessors of this world's goods, and if Jerome can ask, if Christians are obliged to pay taxes to the state, the points of view which are here in play, are essentially related. The existing order of civil affairs, as worldly, does not essentially affect Christians. Yet Chrysostom can set up universal community of goods before

Christians as the ideal, of course not in the sense of legal abolition of private property and instigation of the poor against the rich, but with the purpose of sharpening the feeling of obligation in the rich. The Church's prohibition of the taking of interest too, although determined from other motives, is explicable from this point of view. Going to law, and especially going to war are unworthy of Christians, and properly, all self-defence is to be rejected. All refinement of culture, all æsthetic decoration of life, apart from what immediately serves the sanctuary, involves something sinful. Marriage is not regarded as a positive moral good, but as a necessary evil, which for Christians involves an inevitable moral pollution, and besides, retains souls in subordinate worldly affairs. It is suited only for the great multitude which cannot soar to higher perfection. The duties of marriage are human, the tasks of virginity belong to the angelic life. So much the more is the **repetition of marriage** regarded with hesitation. In the fourth century legally divorced spouses were still allowed to remarry, though, as in all cases of second marriage, they were advised against it. But in the fifth century in the Latin Church the second marriage of the divorced, so long as the second party lived, began to be forbidden. Even the one positively active Christian virtue, the in every way inculcated **benevolence,** which actually yielded so much, is especially recommended from its merit as a means of emancipation from the earthly.

In the midst of the swollen stream of asceticism, such as was especially promoted in the West by Jerome, two individuals arise with a most significant protest against it. JOVINIAN, although himself a monk, combated those notions of a double morality in which the work-holiness of the Church culminated, in his well-known propositions which are only known through the counter treatise of Jerome (*Advers. Jov. libri* II., written about 393 in Bethlehem). **The life of celibacy, as also fastings and martyrdom affords the foundation of no higher merit and no higher reward in the kingdom of heaven, in the case of those whom Christ has purified, who by full faith are born again by baptism.** There is only one distinction between righteous and unrighteous, between the sheep and the goats. The conviction that the salvation of Christians in all cases rests solely on the grace of regeneration grasped in faith, leads him however to the extreme proposition, that he who has truly been born again cannot be overthrown by the devil. He found some following, and JEROME'S excessively hateful and passionate opposition raised scruples even among his friends, and compelled him to write a vindication of himself (Ep. 48 *Ad Pammachium*, cf. Ep. 50 *Ad Domnionem*). But SIRICIUS of Rome condemned Jovinian and his adherents, as also did Ambrose of Milan. Jovinian's fundamental propositions were too much opposed to the victorious tendency of the age, to have enduring influence.—In the case of the presbyter AËRIUS, the former friend and subsequent opponent of Bishop Eustathius of Sebaste (p. 359, 362), opposition to ecclesiastical fasts is connected, not with an anti-ascetic tendency (he himself denounced his bishops for not adhering to monastic poverty), but with

an esctatic opposition to fixed ecclesiastical order (the bishop was nothing but a presbyter) and with a polemic against the Church's celebration of the Passover, which he regarded as Jewish. With his wandering bands, living roofless in field and forest, he fasted on Sunday out of pure opposition, while on Wednesday and Friday he disregarded the Church's commands to fast. He also rejected the Church's prayer for the dead (Epiph. *Hær.* 75).—On the other hand HELVIDIUS, who was opposed with similar passion by Jerome, directed himself against the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary, and this polemic was, as a matter of fact, carried on to combat the one-sided ascetic tendency of the age, the over-estimate of celibacy and of monastic abstinence, and also against the cult of the martyrs (Jerome, *Advers. Helv. de perpetua virginitate b. Mariæ*). Also in the case of the opponent of the cult of the martyrs, the Aquitanian VIGILANTIUS, this was combined with a sober rational estimate of the worth of earthly goods, which are to be used and not rejected, and with war against the celibacy of the clergy (Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium*). If all shut themselves up and go into solitude, who is then to provide military service, who is to win souls for heaven, who to exhort sinners to virtue? Better to support the poor at home, than to send money for the ascetics to the Holy Land; it is better to make use of one's own and support the poor with the fruits of one's industry, than to sell and give it away all at once.

The disposition to forsake the world which comes to light in this negative conception of morality, is of course strongly nourished by the social misery and convulsing storms of the time, which do not allow of the survival of any joy in public circumstances, and the thought of their inward renewal by the spirit of Christianity. The public circumstances of the Empire, especially its social disorder and decomposition, the growing misery of the provinces, sucked dry by the bureaucracy of the despotic state, the increasing pressure of taxation, the growing oppression by the barbarians, all work in this direction (cf. Bishop EUCHERIUS' *Epis. parænetica de contemptu mundi*, Ml. 50). The old distinction of a higher morality of ascetic abstinence and a lower of permitted enjoyment of the world gains increasing importance; and the more the social oppressions in the life of the world promote the spirit of selfishness and snatching at the fleeting moment, so much the more does Christian perfection appear to be possible only within the domain of the Church and the renunciation of the world which the Church requires. The consequence was the repression of the claims to be made on the moral conduct of the ordinary Christian, who of course had to renounce the special reward of perfect Christians. His defects were to be supplemented in a twofold way. At one time the merit of the perfect seemed to be able to stand also for that of the imperfect,[1] especially when they interested

[1] Cæsarius Arel. *Homil.* 18. Taliter vos exhibere debetis, fratres, tam sancte et tam iuste, tam pie, ut meritu vestra non solum vobis sufficere sed etiam peccantibus aliis in hoc sæculo possint veniam impetrare.

themselves in the promotion of the monastic life by endowments. But again the other point of view obtained the decisive predominance. **Churchliness decided the moral worth of men**; *i.e.* chiefly adherence to the correct faith, formulated by the Church, which appears as the foremost duty towards God. "Piety consists of pious dogmas and good works; neither is well pleasing to God without the other" (Cyr. *Catech.* 4, 2). The extraordinary passion with which, far beyond the circle of those properly capable of judgment, sides were taken in the dogmatic controversies, is rooted on the one hand in the Greek mobility of spirit, which turns to these dogmatic refinements as to a higher kind of sport. Pagans, like Ammianus Marcellinus, look with astonishment on the fanatical hatred of Christians against one another, the unscrupulosity of the means used in this conflict, and the inability, in judging an opponent, to transfer oneself to his point of view. But the peculiar force of these party passions rests, above all, on the **conviction of the merit of orthodoxy**. Then again the importance of churchliness for the moral worth of man is shown in the fact, that the moral requirements made on men assume above all the character of **churchly service, obedience to the commands and requirements of the Church.** Under this point of view fall already all the duties of worship (*vid. infra*) of Christians, and especially all those requirements of the Church, in which by preference the wortli of Christian moral actions is seen, namely, **prayer, fasting** and **alms.** Augustine calls fasting and alms the two wings of prayer, which must fly up to God. Leo the Great sees in them the essence of all the virtues, because in prayer the true faith finds its support, while innocence of life is nourished by fasting and a gentle disposition by alms-giving. But also: the grace of God is sought by prayer, by fasting the desire of the flesh is extinguished; sins are redeemed by alms. In the conception of **prayer** very spiritual notions proceed alongside of some that are very coarse, the notion of the perpetual prayers of believers alongside of the mechanical effect of the practice of the Church in its prescriptions as to the times of prayer (*horæ canonicæ*) for the clergy and monks. In regard to the power of blotting out sin, Augustine (*Enchiridion ad Laurentium*) places alms and prayer immediately together. For daily short and light sins, without which this life cannot be lived, the daily prayer of believers affords satisfaction, and also for grosser sins, in so far as the life of believers has freed itself from them by improvement.

As ordained by the Church and occurring at special seasons (*vid. inf.*), **fasting** encompassed the life of all members of the Church and thereby in itself obtained the character of a legal performance.

But the Church made itself master in a quite special manner of **benevolence**[1] as the chief Christian virtue, and although it was corrupted in its motives by the asserted merit and sin-erasing power of almsgiving, care for the poor and miserable of all kinds afforded a morally sustaining force, permeated by the spirit of Christian philanthropy, which was of immeasurable importance amid the advancing distress of the time. Accordingly, in the first place, the **Church itself**, *i.e.* the **bishops**, come forward on a noble scale in the exercise of benevolence, being indeed specially capacitated therefor, and from the age of Constantine equipped with wealth and privileges. In the ages of growing impoverishment the Church belongs in the highest degree to the privileged classes; it becomes a wealthy landowner (*vid. sup.*), but is also now confronted with an increasing flood of poverty of the masses. The bishops, as administrators of the Church's property, recognise their vocation in a high degree. The **care of the poor** does indeed lose its original character of care of the Christian community. The masses of those who are assigned to them for support become too great; in great cities especially the list of the poor which is kept shows thousands, who are to be supported by the alms of the Church. For this purpose the larger cities are divided into districts, which were assigned to the individual deacons, and in these districts special houses (Deaconries) arise for the feeding of the poor. Distressed persons of all sorts, widows, orphans, foundlings, the sick, cripples, infirm persons, are objects of the Church's care. In the list at Antioch there stood in Chrysostom's time alone 3,000 widows and virgins, and in Constantinople Chrysostom daily provided for over 7,000 necessitous persons. In the time of Joannes Eleemosynarius, the list of Alexandria included 7,500 names, and at the time of Gregory the Great in Rome it formed a whole host. To those who were regularly cared for there were added the mass of tramps, beggars who thronged to the great cities, who besieged the churches, and exhibited their wounds to passengers in the lanes. If under these circumstances the care for the individual poor of former times was no longer practicable, at the same time the disadvantage was felt of the circumstance, that, from the hierarchical point of view, the unity of the great episcopal community was maintained, without carrying out proper parochial divisions. Especially were the rural communities kept in distinct dependence on the bishop in regard to rights of property. It is only towards the end of the fifth century that the first traces of independent right to property begin to be traced in the individual

[1] *Vid.* UHLHORN, l.c. p. 266 sq.

churches, and only in Gaul and on German soil is the formation of parishes attained under the altered circumstances from the beginning of the sixth century. The benevolence of the Church was also so far compelled to enter upon new paths, inasmuch as it had to create **establishments**[1] for the care of the sick, of widows and orphans. Julian already recognised a power of the Christian religion in the Xenodochies, Nosokomies, etc. The first of these admitted all who stood in need of sustenance: strangers, the poor, widows, orphans, the sick. Gradually different institutions for different classes of distressed persons appeared, but still mostly without entire carrying out of separation. Of course this benevolent care by ecclesiastical institutions involved the falling back of personal benevolence in the communities. But they were necessitated by the greatness of the need in the churches of the masses. The hospital of Basil in Cæsarea (founded about 370) became the type of numerous institutions of the kind. But they spread quickly in the East and soon found imitators in the West also. Here the first hospitals were founded by the friends of Jerome, Fabiola in Rome, and Pammachius in the neighbouring Portus, in Nola by the well-known Paulinus; at the time of Gregory there seems to have been a large number of such institutions, at least in Italy. The means to support them flowed partly from the income of the Church, partly from foundations by private persons, who equipped them with property in land and other means. As a rule the state confined itself to equipping with privileges those institutions standing entirely under the administration of the Church.

Eminent bishops sought in every way to instigate believers to zeal in benevolence. Under the earlier simple circumstances the chief source had consisted in the offerings of the church. Now, however, in presence of the other means of the church these come ever less and less into consideration. The fact that the Christianity of the masses as it had now become, soon showed itself sluggish in attendance upon church and sacrament, contributed to this state of affairs; even so celebrated an orator as Chrysostom has to bewail this fact. He on one occasion compares the Christians to the Jews, who only came three times a year to the Temple; he frequently also censures the leaving of church after sermon, and therefore before the Lord's Supper. It was only on the high festivals, the martyrs' days and the commemorations of the dead that rich offerings were still brought. From about 500 they generally lose their special destination for the poor and become the emoluments of the bishop and the priest who

[1] *Vid.* Uhlhorn, l.c. p. 316 sq.

reads mass. On the other hand wealthy sources now flow from presents, foundations, and bequests to the Church. In this, private persons emulate the emperors. Apart from the other ecclesiastical sources of money (*vid. sup.*), the right, bestowed upon the Church by Constantine, of receiving testamentary endowments, becomes of the very highest importance for the Church. Here it is just the point of view of the **religious merit of alms,** on which the most decisive weight is laid. Noble bishops, such as Chrysostom and Augustine, now protest indeed against the misunderstanding, as though the gift without the disposition obtained the reward; Augustine also protested against such assignation of inheritance to the Church, as robbed necessitous relations. But on the whole, readiness to bequeath property to the Church is incited and nourished in every way. The clergy, virgins, monks and nuns are expected to present their means, or at least to bequeath them to the Church. All the great bishops of the age show the example and afford besides the worthy spectacle of men, who, while they deal with the great wealth of the Church for the good of the poor, themselves live quite plainly, simply and without needs, even though Ammianus Marcellinus has become aquainted with others who coped with the richest in pomp and luxury. But the exhortation is now addressed to all, to consider the Church and the poor in their wills, and the motive of spiritual venality is here shamelessly applied, most strongly perhaps by Salvian (p. 461). He who has done few good works, says he, has all the more need, at least in the hour of death, to make up for his neglect for the sake of the heavenly reward; he who has already done good works, is to do this also, for of good deeds there are never enough; but even he who to the end has done evil, is at least at the end to seek his salvation by giving away all his property. He will not admit regard to children and relations; one must first love oneself, by caring for the salvation of one's soul. What good has a rich man of the fact that he makes his son rich, if he himself falls into hell? He blames the case of a rich man adopting children to leave them his property. It is better that the children should be poor in this life, than their parents in the other. The frequently practised bequests to the Church and the poor had besides a certain precedent in the ancient Roman custom of remembering friends or persons of merit, and especially the emperor, in wills, but it now obtained quite a different colour.

But also apart from bequests, almsgiving of all sorts is ceaselessly and forcibly inculcated by all the eminent teachers of the Church, and, if also under certain cautions, is without hesitation set down as a means of obtaining forgiveness of sins and merit with God. It

is indeed inculcated (Augustine), that alms do not avail without a better life, but the manner of this repeated and forcible inculcation of the duty of almsgiving could not pass without strengthening the fleshly trust of many on these performances. Ambrose calls almsgiving to a certain extent a second bath of the soul (alongside of baptism). In the case of gross, so-called deadly sins, which separate from the Church, alms of course do not avail, but only ecclesiastical penance. But in the satisfactions which were requisite for the latter, alms again played a great part. According to Gregory the Great, God does indeed remit the guilt of the penitent, but not the punishment; this the man must suffer and to this end he must impose the satisfaction on himself as punishment. He who has done what is not allowed must, in order to give satisfaction, abstain from the allowable, whether by fasting or giving of alms. The conception that **the power of alms to blot out sins extends beyond death,** now becomes of special power in recommending benevolence. And here the exercise of benevolence links itself on to the custom of making offerings for the dead. Augustine already says: "It is not to be doubted, that the dead are assisted by the prayers of the Church, by the saving sacrifice and by alms, which are offered for their souls, and that the Lord deals more mercifully with them than their sins have deserved" (*Enchir. ad Laur.* 26, 110). This does not, indeed, help all; many do not require it—here it is a sacrifice of thanksgiving; others were not entirely evil—here it is an atoning sacrifice; others still were entirely evil—here it is at least a consolation for the survivors, and perhaps even a mitigation of their condemnation. Here, therefore, the exercise of beneficence is interconnected with the Church's performances for the dead, and receives its special accentuation through the rising doctrine of **Purgatory,** as especially developed by Gregory the Great after previous beginnings. Wood, hay, stubble (1 Cor. iii. 12 sq.) are, according to him, the smaller, light sins, which must be destroyed by fire; they burden souls and bring them into the fire of purification, presupposing namely that the man has merited this purification by good works. But it is also works of mercy, which, as noted above, blot out the daily small sins, for which the man would otherwise have to do penance in purgatory. But the man can never know whether he has fulfilled the required measure of good works, and therefore can never be sure of salvation. He ought therefore to give as much alms as possible. In all this there is carried out the strong trait of work-righteousness, which has already become powerful in the Church, and at the same time the estimate of works of mercy less according to the standard of the

inner impulse of the life, than according to the exhibition of renunciation of the good things of this world. Hence as regards possessions, renunciation of them is preferentially regarded as moral duty, and here again we have a glimpse of the thought that, properly speaking, all private property is an evil.

3. Ecclesiastical Discipline.

Sources: Gregory of Nyssa, *Epist. ad Letojum* (Opp. 2, 114). Basil of Cæsarea, *Epist.* 53, 54, 55, 160 and others, and the *Epistolæ Canonicæ* ascribed to Basil (Opp. 3, 268). Chrysost. *De pœnitentia hom.* IX. (Mgr. 49, 343). Augustine, Sermons 351, 352 (Ml. 39, 1535). Leo I. *Epist. ad episc. Campan.* 168 (Ml. 54, p. 1199). Socr. H.E. 5, 19. Soz. 7, 16. The Book of Penitence ascribed to Joannes Jejunator and his *Sermo de confessione et pœnitentia* (Mgr. 88, p. 1889).—*Literature: vid.* p. 258 and Kober, *Der Kirchenbann*, 1857. O. F. Cambier, *Diss. de divina institutione confessionis sacram.* Louvain 1884. Loening, l.c. I., 262 sqq.

The discipline of the Church was originally intended to expel all public scandals, but afterwards to reconcile the causers of such scandal by means of the satisfaction to be offered by them to it (p. 258 sqq.). So now also the disciplinary power exercised by the bishop is directed, in the decree of the **ban** (*excommunicatio*), against notorious sins. The **ban** is **exclusion from the society of the Church,** and by it all religious fellowship with the sinner is to be broken off. The clergy, especially of higher rank, may hold no intercourse with the excommunicated person; in the contrary case they themselves fell under the ban (Conc. Ant. of 341. Can. 2). Later it was attempted to extend the prohibition of all intercourse in civil life to laymen also. On account of slighter ecclesiastical offences, exclusion from Holy Communion and the general church prayer (the so-called smaller ban, ἀφορισμός in distinction from cutting off, the ἀποκοπή) began to be applied, and indeed essentially according to the will of the bishop. For reconciliation with the Church the excommunicated person now required the acceptance of the exercises of penance, for which the stages of penance (p. 265) come into use. In the ancient Church the notoriety of those sins, which involved excommunication as a consequence, had in many cases made ecclesiastical procedure against them easy, although it is certain that, even then, many sins, which according to the principles of the Church abolished communion, actually remained hidden and unnoticed (cf. Tertull. *De pœnit.* 10). In the new world-church, with its confines more and more including the whole population, the carrying out of this ordinance encountered considerable difficulties. The ban is indeed frequently applied in ecclesiastical controversies, in cases of violence of all kinds, and

in case of public offences or scandals. Otherwise, the Church, except in the case of voluntary confession of sin, had no other means of support in its judicial procedure, than either the occurrence of a condemnation by a secular court on account of crime and gross sins, or complaint by witnesses before the spiritual court of the **bishop**. Augustine (sermon 351) exhorts Christians, who were conscious of a transgression which involved excommunication (or exclusion from the Lord's Supper), to seek the saving, though painful penance, and not to allow themselves to be restrained from it by observing that many who were guilty of such sins yet went to the sacrament of the altar: "many improved like Peter, many were suffered like Judas, many remained unknown till the Lord should come." The majority would not accuse others, because they wished to excuse themselves by their example. Many good Christians are silent and bear the sins of others, of which they are well aware, because they have no means of proof and could not establish what they know before the ecclesiastical judge.

It is now indeed regarded as the duty of believers, to bring to notice such a sin requiring ecclesiastical censure, in order that steps against it may be taken; but Augustine and others show how seldom that might happen. On the other hand many also who were conscious of secret sins sought the advice of the clergy, with a view to submitting themselves to the ecclesiastical exercises of penance according to their advice. Under these circumstances the original point of view, preservation of the community against public scandal, is ever increasingly pushed into the background by the pædagogical point of view of the **improvement of members of the Church by the punishment of the transgression of the Church's commands.** Ecclesiastical penance becomes a healing medicinal act. But, for this very reason, the necessity emerges of fixing a graduated standard of ecclesiastical penalties for various individual cases, namely, exclusion from the Holy Supper and transposition for a longer or shorter time into one of the different classes of penitents, and finally complete exclusion from communion with the Church for a definite series of years, or even until the occurrence of a mortal illness. In estimating offences, the sins which directly offend God stand first: denial of Christ, apostasy from the faith and Christianity, sins of magic and the like, and violent heresy; but further, adultery and whoredom, murder, mortal violence and theft. With the dominant conception of pædagogical influence there also grows the need of increased casuistical definitions, partly with regard to the various degrees of relative culpability, partly with respect to

the inclusion of offences for which the earlier Church had required no satisfaction.[1] Naturally the decision in many cases remained in the hands of the individual bishops. On the one hand many individuals continuously withdrew themselves from the observation of the Church, not desiring to see themselves exposed by ecclesiastical punishment; on the other hand, the proper ecclesiastical penalty (especially temporary exclusion from the Lord's Supper) was quietly accepted as a formality, which was submitted to, but not allowed to give further vexation, and the abolition of the sin by the acceptance of penance was avoided. "We indeed promise penance with words, but the fact exhibits no effort, we live entirely as we did before the commission of the sin, just as gaily, carelessly and luxuriously. We allow ourselves to be shut out from the mysteries, without troubling ourselves about re-obtaining entrance, as though that were a trifle" (Gregory of Nyssa). This way of regarding the matter on the part of worldly Christians, was promoted by much in the legislation of the Church, as when a second marriage or a third—civilly a perfectly legal relationship—according to the laws of the Church involved a penance of a year, in the case of *trigamis* a penance of from two to five years. There was also an inclination, though it was hardly carried out, to exclude soldiers for three whole years from the Holy Supper, because their hands were possibly stained with blood.

In the procedure mentioned there was always a question of offences either notorious in themselves, or which had become known to the Church either by accusation or by self-accusation, and of public procedure against them on the part of the Church. But as the original point of view begins to be replaced by that of ecclesiastical pedagogy, important changes begin to exhibit themselves. 1) The ancient fundamental principle, that only **one** repentance was allowed, *i.e.* that after a lapse into gross sin, reconciliation on the basis of public penance might only take place once, cannot be logically maintained under the new relationships; attempts had even been made to break through this principle during the severe controversies since the beginning of the third century. The ancient principle of the Church was indeed maintained by Ambrose and Augustine, but the ever increasing number of chief sins, for which reconciliation

[1] Thus *e.g.* Gregory of Nyssa finds it lamentable that there is a want of ecclesiastical penal ordinances against covetousness, and would like to know of procedure against usury, *i.e.* against the taking of interest in general, and against every acquisition by any sort of violence, which might cover itself under the appearance of a bargain; but he restrains himself, as he has not enough authority to establish such laws.

is requisite, and likewise the gradation of the ecclesiastical penalties according to the different degree of transgression, gradually enforced the admission of repeated application of church-discipline even to the same individual.[1] This change, which the nature of the case rendered obvious, seems to have permeated the Greek Church as early as the fourth century, and is quite frankly presupposed by Sozomen (7, 16) in the middle of the fifth. The reproach made against Chrysostom,[2] that he had promoted wantonness by the words: "If thou sin again, do penance again, and as often as thou sinnest, come to me and I will heal thee," seems also to allude to this change. 2) Connected therewith was the fact that the **publicity of the penitential procedure,** necessarily founded on the original nature of the penitential discipline, appeared under the altered circumstances and views as a grievous hardship, which was fitted to frighten people away from repentance. We learn, on occasion of a particular incident at Constantinople, of the existence of a special **priest of repentance** (*πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ μετανοίας*), an institution, which Socrates (5, 19) regards as universal and as having existed in the Greek Church for a long time, and which he derives from the conflict of the Church with the Novatians, *i.e.* from the recognition by the Church, in opposition to the Novatians, of the justification of reconciliation of the lapsed; but Sozomen derives it from the occurrence of repeated falls into sin, to which forgiveness was to be extended. The institution of a special priest of repentance seems, as a matter of fact, to have occurred pretty early in the fourth century; it was intended not only to disburden the bishops in large communities, but also, the state being now Christian, so that the making known of gross sins might in certain circumstances result in civil injury, it was meant to open to those who were conscious of guilt the possibility of making confession, in a non-public manner, to the discreet priest appointed for the purpose, of submitting in secret to the satisfaction imposed by him, and of being by him reconciled to the Church. There was here **no question of a universal obligation of believers to private confession of their sins in general before the priest of repentance,** but of the treatment of such sins, as according to the ecclesiastical canons destroyed communion with the Church and required reconciliation).[3] In Con-

[1] *Vid.* Steitz l.c. p. 109 note.

[2] Synodus ad Querc., *vid.* Phot. Bibl. Cod. 59 ed. Bekk. p. 19 a.

[3] The thirty-fourth canon of Basil, according to which the confession of an adulteress made to the priest is to be kept secret, and for that purpose during the whole period of her penance she is to be admitted to the class of the *consistentes*, points to a similar need.

stantinople a woman of rank had confessed her sin to the presbyter and in doing so had also revealed that she had been seduced by a deacon of the church. In consequence the deacon was deposed, and the case excited great notice and scandal. A certain presbyter, Eudemon, then advised Bishop Nectarius (p. 401), to abolish the post of the priest of repentance altogether, and to leave participation in the mysteries to the conscience of every individual, that the Church might be spared evil reports. This took place, and Socrates, who himself heard the case from that presbyter Eudemon, expressed to him his hesitation as to its evil consequences, namely the promotion of wantonness and the decrease of seriousness in the Church. As a matter of fact this regulation of Nectarius seems to have been widely imitated and to have led to gradual loosening of the discipline of repentance.

Naturally, believers were not thereby prevented from applying to the bishop as to repentance in cases of evil conscience, and the bishop did not thereby renounce the right of excluding notorious transgressors from the communion of the Church, till they agreed to public repentance. But for laymen the necessity of confessing and doing public penance for secret sins fell away; it was now a matter for their own private conscience whether they would submit themselves to it. From these movements light also falls on the utterances of Chrysostom. He indeed (*De sacerdotio* 2, 5) magnified in the strongest rhetorical manner the power of the priesthood to transmit to men the saving gifts of God, because the sacraments of the Church are in his hands, and in this he included the power of the priest to remit sins, but not at all in the sense that every forgiveness of sin was attached to confession before the priest. While he (*vid.* STEITZ, p. 88) expressly emphasises the saving nature of self-condemnation of the sinner by repentance and by confession before God, he also glories in the fact, that God not only forgives us our sins, but also that He does not bring them to light and make them public, or compel us to come forward on the stage and gather many witnesses round about us; but He commands us to reveal our sins to Him alone, in order that He may heal our sore and free us from pain.

In the **West,** SIRICIUS of Rome[1] shows a trace of the weakening of the old principle of allowing only one repentance, when, in the case of relapse, he permits the offender at least to be present during the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the Eucharist, and grants him participation in the sacrament itself at least in the hour of death. As regards the second point however, the **publicity** of the penitential procedure, the North African Church gives the first examples of **private repentance** and **reconciliation,**[2] and AUGUSTINE's acts were likewise in favour of it. Also, the appointment by Pope Simplicius (468–483) of baptismal and penitential priests acting

[1] *Ep.* 1. *ad Himerium*, ch. 5, Const. p. 628.

[2] Syn. Hipp. of 393. can. 30=Carthag. IV. of 397, can. 32.

weekly in different Roman churches, may be connected with the rise of private repentance and reconciliation. (*Lib. Pontif.* ed. Duch. p. 249.)

Augustine, in his instructions to catechumens,[1] apart from the forgiveness of the sins of the past life in baptism, distinguishes the daily repentance of believers, which obtains the forgiveness of the lighter sins, without which we cannot be, by prayer (fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer), and the **public repentance** for those graver sins which involve separation from the body of Christ. By them are meant the **actual sins** of the Decalogue (sins against God, apostasy, idolatry, heresy, magic, and actual sins against our neighbour); in relation to them a stricter and a more lenient conception are noticeable, but there is always in view a much narrower circle of actual sins than in the later Catholic conception of mortal sins. Hatred and enmity are only treated of in so far as they issue in open discord and vexations (Conc. Arel. II. 452. Can. 50). According to Augustine repentance before baptism corresponds with the position of catechumens, the daily repentance of prayer to that of believers, the more serious repentance to that of the fallen. Only in the case of the latter and in that of the catechumens is public confession involved, to which invitation is given; in the case of the second it is only a question of what passes between the believing soul and its God. Augustine *e.g.* now exhorts to the undertaking of ecclesiastical repentance, those who are conscious of anti-nuptial intercourse with their wives; in this case no one should rest satisfied with a secret confession before God; but he also laments that the vice has become so openly in vogue, that the Church does not dare on its account either to excommunicate the laity or to degrade the clergy.[2] In the state of affairs kept in view by Augustine there are seen the beginnings of the distinction of a private procedure from the essentially public procedure of ecclesiastical repentance. The degree of publicity of the ecclesiastical repentance is to be determined according to the degree of publicity of the offence and the degree of scandal caused by it. The fundamental principle: *Corripienda secretius, quæ peccantur secretius* (Augustine) naturally suggested itself to the bishops. Censure and remonstrance were to be administered secretly, so that persons who were subjected to public censure, should not be revealed by it. Thereby *e.g.* an enemy might take occasion to pursue a man at law. Augustine spoke *e.g.* of men who had in secret become guilty of adultery, and on account of it had been pointed to the clergy by their wives (either from jealousy, or from care for their souls, Augustine, Sermon 82, 7, 11). Augustine exhorts the man who in secret has committed gross sin to put himself in the hands of the presiding priest for the determination of the measure of satisfaction, but if his sin has been the cause of great scandal to others, he is not to hesitate to make public confession and repentance on demand of the bishop, to the pious of the Church, before many or even before the assembled community. In the time of Leo, bishops of Southern Italy desired upon occasion of the public exercise of repentance, to compel the fallen to read publicly a complete confession of their

[1] *De symbolo ad Catech.* Sermon I. 15 sq.

[2] In this connection the original view of ecclesiastical repentance, *i.e.* expiation of the scandal, emerges in the circumstance that the clergy are not permitted *pœnitentiam agere*, because a second reconciliation is not to be allowed; for this reason the degradation of the clergy corresponds to the excommunication of the laity. *Vid.* Siric. Epist. I. 14.

individual sins, which hitherto had never been the general practice; it was only in the investigation which preceded excommunication that the details were mentioned. Leo declared against it, because it was sufficient that the transgressions should be secretly revealed to the bishop in confession, in order that many might not thereby be restrained from desiring the saving means of repentance, whether from a feeling of shame or from fear of judicial prosecution. It was sufficient that the confession should be made first to God, and then to the bishop, who was to mediate as intercessor for the sins of the penitent. In this decision of Leo there is not involved the demand of the later Roman aural confession, but only a direction how to proceed in cases of voluntary confession to the bishop. But, of course, the thought that divine forgiveness for grave sins can only be attained through the intercession of the bishop, already emerges here in pretty strong emphasis.

Finally, connected with these changes is the gradual recession of the outward treatment of penitents at public worship. The dismissal of penitents at the beginning of the *missa fidelium* is still mentioned at the Synod of Epaon (517) in Burgundy, Can. 29, but subsequently it is no longer thought of.

4. Influence of the Church on the Morality and Customs of Roman Society.

Literature: A. NEANDER, *Denkwurdigkeiten aus der Gesch. des christl. Lebens.* 3rd ed. I. 139; II. 1–116. STÄUDLIN, *Gesch. der Sittenlehre Jesu*, vol. 3. GIESELER, K.G. I. 2, 303 sqq. UHLHORN, *Die christl. Liebesthatigkeit d. a. K.*, p. 213 sqq. W. E. HARTPOLE LECKY, *Hist. of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. 1877. BESTMANN, *vid.* p. 283.

With its transcendental faith the Christian Church gave comfort and hope to a decaying world; with its ascetic tendency, in an age of social decomposition, selfishness, and moral dissolution, it was able to produce individual heroic personalities moved by inexhaustible ardour of love, who mitigated the sufferings of the time; but it was never able to regenerate ancient society. Impulses to an energetic conservative activity in the practical affairs of the world could not proceed from her with her world-alien ideal, indeed she withdrew forces from public life. But she did rescue and transmit ideal forces from the decaying world to one which was now germinating. — The clergy, having attained power and authority, show, alongside of lofty forms full of generous disposition and enduring self-sacrificing benevolence, many tradesman-like representatives, who enjoy their privileges, snatch at show and wealth, or, under the appearance of ascetic sanctity give free play to the lowest passions and ordinary sentiments; many examples of want of sentiment on the one hand and of passionate hatred on the other.

In accordance with the outstanding aspects of ancient Christian

ethical conceptions, the **humane** point of view gains prevalence in the general moral consciousness of the time and accordingly in **legislation** also, in provision for the poor, wretched and necessitous, care for widows and orphans, the mitigation of the lot of slaves and prisoners; finally the sanctity of **life** is upheld in conflict with **gladiatorial fights,** which Constantine had already forbidden, but which were not abolished at Rome until Honorius; further, the condemnation of **sexual** offences became keener, and accordingly legal measures were taken against fornication and rape; proceedings against immoral spectacles and the like.

In its estimate of **marriage,** the Church, which did not allow itself to be led astray by its exaggerated regard for virginity, so as to ignore the fundamental moral importance of the former, could support itself in essentials on the view of Roman legislation and its high estimate of married life. But it went beyond the Roman point of view, inasmuch as it made the same demand of chastity on the man as on the woman, and thereby gave expression to the equality of woman which accords with Christianity. It further emphasised the indissolubility of matrimony (unless in cases of adultery) and began to go even further and forbid even the remarriage of a divorced spouse, and not merely of the guilty party. On this point the Church came into decided opposition with legislation, which during the time of the Empire had greatly facilitated divorce, but was only able to advance its views by means ecclesiastical discipline, for even now the freedom of divorce was limited by the state legislation in a much less degree than corresponded with the requirements of the Church.[1] With regard to **obstacles to marriage** the influence of the Mosaic law was felt and led to increasing limitations; *e.g.* to the prohibition of marriage with the sister of the first wife, and further, of the marriage of cousins and the like, which Augustine had still allowed, but Gregory the Great already rejects. On this point, civil legislation also follows in the train of the Church, especially from the time of Justinian. The Church further widens this domain in a remarkable manner by the adoption of the so-called *cognatio spiritualis* as an obstacle to marriage. Further, the Church turns against so-called **mixed marriages,** inasmuch as with growing decision it forbids Christians to enter into wedlock with heathens and Jews, and even with heretics, and here also state legislation follows with reference to marriage between Christians and Jews. At the same time the Church is inclined to make an exception when there is a

[1] Gieseler, I. 2, 333.

prospect, that by the conclusion of marriage the non-Christian or heterodox party may be won for the Church.

The custom of **priestly benediction** on the conclusion of a marriage does not alter the civil character of the contract of marriage itself (consent of both parties before witnesses), but is regarded as a requirement of the Church, and develops into a special celebration of worship. A proper *officium benedictionis* is found in the Sacramentary of Gelasius, but not in that of Gregory the Great, and may, like the Greek offices (in Goar), belong to a later time.—To a very large extent the Roman world, become Christian, retained the traditional marriage customs, symbolical customs such as the marriage feast and *epithalamia*, though also amid continual protests on the part of serious Christians against worldly luxury and indecent songs.

As in regard to this matter, so also in regard to **burial customs**, the Church of the world from the time of Constantine attached itself to the traditional with much less hesitation than the ancient Church of the martyrs had done. At the same time it protested against the passionate attestations of grief with their mourning women and the like, and broke with the notion that contact with the corpse brought pollution and that the sight of the funeral procession brought ill luck.[1] Hence also burial by night had been replaced by ceremonious burial by day, and the **funeral celebrations** and **commemorative ceremonies** for the dead had been drawn in a special measure into the sphere of the celebration of divine worship.

[1] Julian Imp.: quod oculos hominum *infaustis* infestat adspectibus, Cod. Theod. IX. 17, 5.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

The Christian Cultus.

1. Art in the service of the Sanctuary.

Literature: The numerous works on the history of art by C. Schnaase, F. Kugler, W. Lübke, R. Garucci (*Storia della arte crist. nei primi otto secoli*, 6 vols.). Especially W. Lübke, *Vorschule zum Studium der kirchlichen Kunst*, 1873. G. Dehio and G. v. Bezold, *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes m. Bilderatlas*, I., Stuttgart 1885. H. Otte, *Hdb. d. kirchl. Kunstarchäol.*, 5th ed. by E. Wernicke, 2 vols. 1883.

The persecution under Diocletian had begun with the destruction of the church at Nicomedia. Under Constantine imperial munificence applies itself to church-building. He encouraged it, and supplied copious means for restoration, extension and new buildings (Euseb. *Vita Constantini*, 2, 46), especially at the Holy Places, where the Church of the Resurrection, solemnly dedicated at Constantine's Tricennalia, and the Martyrium Salvatoris (Church of the Holy Sepulchre) were raised. So likewise Helena built the church at Bethlehem, and a basilica was also raised at Mamre. Splendid buildings arose in Constantinople (Church of the Apostles), in Nicomedia and in Antioch.

But just as the intellectual edifice of the Church was carried out under the influence of the Roman spirit, as the development of ecclesiastical dogma was the result of a blending of Christian ideas with Hellenic philosophy, and as the Christian cultus itself was formed under the influence of the ideas of the antique mysteries, so also Christian church architecture exhibits itself as an application and expansion of existing forms of art, conditioned by the aims of Christian worship and determined by the spirit of Christianity, in dependence also on existing local peculiarities (Eastern and Western); and indeed the utilization of existing heathen edifices, on the foundations and according to the plans of which Christian edifices arose, was not disdained. At the beginning of the Constantinian period stands the Christian basilica built by Bishop Paulinus of Tyre (Euseb. H.E. 10, 4), with great colonnades, surrounded by which was the fountain under the open heaven, the symbol of holy

purification, and from which access was had to the sanctuary through several porches. Inside, opposite the entrance, arose the throne and subsellia for the bishop and clergy, and the altar and rails shut this sacred space off from the nave.

The **basilica**, the most usual name for Christian churches, according to the prevailing type is an oblong, which, on the narrow side opposite the entrance, has a semicircular annex (*apse*). The longitudinal space is divided by parallel rows of pillars into three (or also into five) naves, of which the middle nave, about equals the breadth of the side naves taken together. The pillars are connected with each other partly by horizontal beams, but mostly by round arches, which carry the side walls of the middle nave, which are provided with round-arched windows, the roof being a flat framework, except indeed where the roof remains quite open. The lower side naves (*aisles*) are without windows, where, as in Rome, the church is shut in among houses, but otherwise, as in Ravenna, are lighted by windows of their own. The entrance, opposite the apse, is through a small fore-hall (*narthex*), which is either placed inside the church or outside at the side of entrance. In front of it lies an outer court with a well. The ground plan was enriched by the **transept,** which soon appears, immediately in front of the arch of the apse, and likewise separated from the nave by an arch. Another enrichment of Graeco-oriental origin, but also occuring in the West, was formed by the **emporia,** which arose from the side naves being made two-storeyed (galleries). The pillars were frequently taken from destroyed heathen temples; they are however sometimes replaced by piers, or piers and pillars alternate (*San Clemente*). As a rule the apse forms a special annex, but elsewhere it is merely inserted just at the end of the nave so as to form a rectangular close to the body of the building; in Rome it is usually windowless; in the Arian churches of North Italy and in the Byzantine churches it has mostly windows.

The imposing Church of S. Peter, which arose in Rome in the fourth century, was a large five-naved basilica with a transept and a fore-court surrounded by colonnades; so likewise the Church of *S. Paolo fuori le mura*, which arose under Valentinian II., one of the greatest of covered spaces (destroyed by fire in 1823 and rebuilt). S. Clemente is indeed a building of the eleventh century (after the destruction of the ancient church by Robert Guiscard, in 1084); only the ancient crypt, which was filled with rubbish and has again been cleared out, is preserved; but it sheds light on the arrangement of the ancient type from the fact that many movable objects were

transferred from the old building to the new. In it, as frequently elsewhere also, the rails (*cancelli*), intended to shut off the sanctuary from the people, jut out from the altar-house into the nave; they form seats for the singers, the lower clergy, in the middle nave, and are connected with the **Ambones** (reading desks).

Basilica was the name for all larger spaces surrounded by colonnades, such as the public halls of justice, which were intended to serve at the same time as market places and were called *basilicæ forenses;* but in private houses also there were such basilicas. The arrangement of the forensic basilicas, affording many points of comparison with the ecclesiastical basilica, was long regarded as having supplied the pattern on which the latter was formed. In recent times there is more inclination to seek the pattern in the *basilica domestica*, or in general to derive it from the arrangement of the ancient house in various manners. In any case ZESTERMANN's controversion of the former derivation from the forensic basilica follows one-sided points of view, when it seeks to derive the forms of the Christian basilica entirely from the internal necessities of the Christian cultus, without paying regard to natural attachment to existing forms of building.[1]

Alongside of the form of the basilica, however, are the forms of **building round a centre** (circular or polygonal buildings). These are found not only for baptisteries and martyr-churches (cemetery churches, *Memoriæ*, Gr. *μαρτύριον*), but in the Greek Church they are also sought to be retained for congregational churches. For them the pattern is set by the round buildings and chief-halls of the Roman thermæ and the circular building of the ancient sepulchral monument. The **mausoleum** of CONSTANTIA (sister or daughter of Constantine), probably originally a baptism chapel, outside Rome on the Via Nomentana, is a circular building of this kind. Inside the surrounding wall stand in concentric circles twenty-four pillars coupled in pairs and united by round arches, upon which the cylindrical wall of the central building is raised, pierced by twelve round-arched windows and roofed by a globe-shaped cupola, and which is surrounded by a barrel-vaulted passage. But also the Church of **S. Stefano Rotondo** in Rome, built under Pope Simplicius, exhibits the round form and cupola structure; so **S. Lorenzo** in Milan (fourth–fifth century), if this is really a Christian

[1] Numerous monographs on the ancient basilica by QUAST, ZESTERMANN, WEINGARTEN, HÜBSCH, MOTHES, MESSMER, J. P. RICHTER *vid.* in A. BROCKHAUS, in RE.[2] II. 135 sqq. and in addition, G. DEHIO l.c., also K. LANGE *Haus und Halle*, Leipsic 1885.

church and not an ancient Roman work. The church of **Antioch,** celebrated by Eusebius (*Vita Const.*, 3, 50), surrounded by wide-spreading colonnades, had the ground form of an octagon, with numerous chapels built on. Constantine caused the erection of a cupola supported by twelve pillars over the **Holy Sepulchre,** which was connected with a basilica.

When Athanasius lived in exile at Trèves, the believers there assembled in temples, in which building was still going on (*Apol.* Opp. I. 682). In Cologne the quondam Chapel of S. Michael (burnt down in 1389, and after the restoration, pulled down) is said to have been transformed out of a temple of Mars Gradivus. S. Gereon (Ad aureos martyres, Gregory of Tours) and S. Severin (formerly SS. Cornelius and Cyprian) point back to Roman times for their origin. The cathedral at Mayence is said to have afforded refuge to thousands of people on occasion of the Vandal invasions (406). In Ratisbon, Lorch and Passau Christian churches arose. The storms of the barbarian invasions destroyed these churches. But the oldest portion of the cathedral at Trèves proceeds from the time of the Romans, and the present Evangelical church is conjectured to be the Constantinian court of justice celebrated by the rhetorician Eumenius.

While the development of the **Roman style** of architecture followed the form of the basilica of the Roman West, the **Byzantine style** proceeded from the building round a centre, which is now crossed by two naves of equal length. The reign of Justinian I. formed its most brilliant epoch, its most famous example the Church of S. Sophia in Constantinople.[1] In this church, the original state of which is concealed by its subsequent transformation into a mosque, the mighty cupola, 179 feet in height, reposes on four strong piers, half-cupolas being attached east and west, by means of which the central space is notably extended.

The beginnings of this church reach back to Constantine. After being burnt in 532 it was built again by Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus, and when in 558 an earthquake destroyed the cupola, Justinian caused it to be restored in a specially light brick. Each of these bricks was stamped with the inscription: "God is in her and she shall not be shaken; God will protect her from one morning to the other." After every twelfth layer public prayers were offered for its solidity (whilst the mortar dried) and relics were enclosed in one stone of every twelfth layer.

A certain inconsequence arose from the fact that the cupola seemed the main point of the edifice from the artistic point of view, but the ecclesiastical requirements transferred the main interest of the cultus to the apse, which was added on to the west side, and the

[1] Vid. Procopius Cæsariensis, *De ædificiis Justiniani libri* VI., and Paulus Silentiarius, *Descriptio S. Sophiæ* rec. Imm. Bekker, 1837. (With commentaries by Ducange and Bandurini). Germ. by Kortüm, 1854.

entrance opposite it on the east side, and hence tended to form the nave after the style of the basilica.

Alongside of **Rome** and **Byzantium**, a peculiarly prominent position is occupied by **Ravenna.** As the residence of the Emperor Honorius and his sister Galla Placidia (till 450), again as the seat of Theodoric the Ostro-Goth (from 493), Ravenna was adorned with a palace and numerous ecclesiastical buildings. Here Roman and Byzantine elements come into close contact. Here arose the basilicas of S. Apollinare Nuovo (time of Theodoric) and S. Appollinare in Classe (the port of Ravenna). The latter was built by Julius Argentarius (534–549) and the Catholic clergy, without the assistance of the Ostro-Goths. The outer wall surface is here enlivened with flat arches and brick cornices, the altar space raised several steps above the nave. The church of S. Vitale by the same Argentarius exhibits an eight-sided middle cupola resting on eight piers connected by semi-circular arches, and surrounded by seven half-cupolas, while on the eighth side the tribune projects, which goes out into a low apse.

Along with architecture, the other formative arts, **sculpture** and especially **painting,** now enter openly into the service of the Church. They, so to speak, emerged from the catacombs and private houses and entered into the church. Plastic art in general only now, from the time of Constantine, obtained more frequent employment, and more especially in the form of carving in relief on **sarcophagi,** but also in church furniture and ornamental objects in ivory, silver and gold. The sarcophagi were still partly placed in the subterranean cemeteries, for the catacombs were still used as burial places till towards the middle of the fifth century, but partly also in burial places on the surface and in the churches themselves. There was here developed a relatively rich plastic technique. The reliefs were carved on the side walls of the sarcophagi, often in two rows, one above the other, and often placed in such a way that the individual groups of figures were separated from one another by pillars or trees. They exhibit Biblical scenes, Christ and the Apostles, very often the raising of Lazarus, Moses striking water out of the rock, Daniel in the den of lions, and more of the like. Among the oldest Christian sarcophagi known is that of the Prefect Junius Bassus († 359) in the Vatican grottoes under S. Peter's. Such sarcophagi are found in Southern Gaul as well as in Italy, especially beautiful specimens in Arles, others in Trèves (fifth century), such as the one with the relief of Noah's Ark. In this respect Ravenna seems also to represent a tendency of its own, in which the Biblical circle of figures, especially groups with numerous figures, comparatively disappear, and the figures *e.g.* of Christ and the Apostles appear in more isolated fashion, for which purpose decorative ornament assumes the predominance: the vine, the monogram of Christ, the cross bird

(doves and peacocks) and the cantharus. From the middle of the fifth century the plastic technique of course becomes visibly degraded and coarser, but good schools survive in Ravenna and especially in Southern Gaul on into the sixth century. To judge by the small remains, Christian plastic art did not throw itself much into the form of **statues.** The well-known statue of Hippolytus (p. 201), a few statues of the Shepherd with the lamb on his shoulder, among them especially the marble statue in the Lateran Museum (*vid.* SCHULTZE, p. 183) and the well-known bronze statue of Peter in S. Peter's (represented seated), are the scanty known remains. And besides, the Christian origin both of the shepherd statue and of the Peter, which some think to be a heathen statue of Jupiter, is drawn into doubt. On the other hand painting begins to obtain far greater importance. The Christian basilicas were now entered, along with all the rest of the ornamentation in the service of the cultus, the sacred vessels, robes, golden crosses and lamps, also many-coloured carpets, by the rich ornamentation of **mosaic-work** in particular.

While the floor and, in part, the walls were covered with patterns composed of little tablets of marble (*opus tesselatum*), the upper walls, arches and niches were covered with pictures (both ornaments and figures), which were composed of coloured cubes of stone and bits of glass, which stuck in the mortar; the gold background, on which the figures are raised, is mostly created by placing small plates of metal between two sheets of glass and then melting them together. This mosaic painting, the limitations of which consist in the hindrance to free drawing of the lines, the difficulty of slighter changes of colour and lively expression of feeling, has not only a great advantage in its durability, but also was adapted for representations which were less calculated for the expression of lively individual feelings than for a great general impression, majestic exaltation and religious transcendentalism. A famous example is the mosaic picture on the triumphal arch of the Basilica S. Paolo fuori le mura; the bust of Christ, over Him the symbolic representation of the Evangelists, beneath, on both sides angels and the twenty-four elders of the Apocalypse, beneath, in the two angles the princes of the Apostles, give an imposing impression, such as this style of painting is fitted to give. Antique forms of ornamentation, garments and types of head are here taken into the service of the Christian sanctuary, but the new content is no longer able to permeate the ageing and disjointed world with new artistic power. Memories of antiquity are still living in the ancient Christian mosaics of Rome in the fourth century (*Santa Pudentia*), as also in the rich mosaic pictures of Ravenna of the age of Honorius and Galla Placidia (Baptistery of S. Giovanni in fonte and burial chapel of Galla Placidia). But the ancient traditions show themselves strange and unserviceable for the new content of Christian feelings and characteristics. At the price of the loss of antique beauty of form, Christian feeling, in these times of growing impoverishment and barbarism in the West and increasing ceremonial stiffness in the East, seeks to give its forms a definite stamp. A decrepit art is replaced by one which is not yet fully master of itself.

2. The Significance of Images for the Cultus.

Literature: J. Molanus, *Hist. imagg.* Antwerp 1617. J. Dallaeus, *Liber de imaginibus*, Leyden 1642. F. Spanhemius, *Hist. imag. restit.* Leyden 1686.

In contradiction with the spirit which had found expression in the 36th canon of the Council of Elvira against pictures in churches,[1] they had obtained entrance there since the time of Constantine, while plastic representations of a religious significance are so far known only in the catacombs. Here they had, in part, not gone beyond the symbolical, in part like the figure of the Good Shepherd, they had not aimed at portraiture, in part they were only meant to represent Biblical narratives; in all these cases the thought of religious worship directed to the image was remote. The Council of Elvira ventured only to give expression to a local sentiment, hostile to images, perhaps in conscious opposition to an already beginning intrusion of art from the cemeteries into the churches. In spite of the beginning of artistic decoration of churches in the fourth century, the inclination is still exhibited in it, to treat the prohibition of images in the Old Testament as applying to Christians.

Eusebius (H.E. 7, 18) tells of a statue in Paneas which is said to have represented Jesus and the woman with an issue of blood (according to later tradition, Veronica). He believes that heathens, to whom the Saviour had rendered kindnesses, had made the image. He seems also to have seen painted images of the Apostles and the Lord Himself, but regards this as an indiscreet, if well-meant, undertaking. The ancients had in this way, without foresight (ἀπαραφυλάκτος), wished to honour them in heathen fashion as bringers of blessings. When Constantia begged him for an image of Christ, he referred her to the Biblical prohibition, and asked whether she had ever seen such a thing in church, or heard of it at all. Images of two men, alleged to be Paul and the Saviour Himself, he even took into his own possession, so as to avoid objection, in order that "we may not come into report as carrying our God about in an image like the idolaters."[2] Epiphanius of Salamis also, in the church of a village in Palestine, tore up a curtain bearing the picture of Christ or some other sacred person, having in mind the scriptural pro-

[1] *Ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur.* That by this canon pictures in churches were really forbidden, ought not to be denied, as De Rossi and Kraus, and Hefele also (Hist. of the Councils, I. 170) attempt to do.

[2] The Epistle of Eusebius in Conc. Nic. II. Act. VI. (more complete in the notes of Joannes Boavinus to Nicephor. Gregor. Hist. Byz. ed. Bon. II. 1301, and in Pitra, *Spicil. Solesm.* I. 363–386) is declared to be spurious by Petavius, *De theologicis dogmatibus*, but certainly in error.

hibition (Epiph. Opp. II. 317, and *Epist. ad Theodosium imper.* in Conc. Nic. II. Act VI.).

But opinions like these were in conflict with a powerful tendency of the age, which became victorious in the Church. Representations of the histories of martyrs in the churches erected in their honour, and Biblical representations with allegorical reference to the Christian mystery, such as the sacrifice of Isaac,[1] occurred early.

Paulinus of Nola (p. 367) in his descriptions of his own church-building is here a classical witness, both for the fact that we have here to do with a relatively new beginning, and for the fact that the aim was to teach and edify the rude populace through the eyes. Men were to be retained for Christ through the senses, by looking upon the works of Christ's saints, so that, streaming together to the dedication of a church, they might be longer enchained by the painted histories provided with explanatory inscriptions, might hasten less to feastings, and on the contrary might grasp deeper in their hearts the holy examples of a chaste life. Besides the histories of the martyrs, Biblical stories of the Old and New Testament are taken up as a *brevis historia*. Severus, a friend of Paulinus, was not afraid however, in the baptistery of the church at Bourges, to depict the quite modern, perhaps still living, Saint Martin of Tours, as an example of a champion of the faith, and Paulinus himself, giving away his money for the sake of the salvation of his soul. Images of miraculous persons already began to be objects of superstition. In Rome little statuettes of the still living Simeon Stylites were offered for sale, and were in request as means of protection (Theodoret, *Hist. rel.* 26).

At the same time, there is still a fear of setting up an **image of Christ** Himself in the church. Nilus (Epp. 4, 61) advised the use of the cross only for the adornment of a martyr-church east of the altar, but from thence on either side pictures painted, of stories from the Old and New Testaments as a layman's Bible. His contemporary Severianus (about 400) sees in the cross the proper image of the immortal King. In the churches of Paulinus of Nola also, Christ only appears under the symbol of the Lamb at the foot of the cross. In the oldest mosaic picture in S. Maria Maggiore, Christ is, it is true, depicted as a child in the historical presentation of the history of the infancy on the neighbouring panels, but in the centre stands a throne with a book-roll, and behind it, a cross. Accordingly the bust of the Saviour on the triumphal arch of S. Paolo fuori le mura (completed about 440) is the oldest image of Christ demonstrably consecrated to adoration at divine service.

In distinction from earlier conceptions (p. 283 sq.) another **type of Christ** had already been established. Christ appears as a bearded man; He who sojourns among men has become the heavenly King, full of majesty, not without realistic severity in the presentation.

[1] The passages in Gieseler I. 2, 283.

Contemporaneously began the use of the **nimbus**, which originated in antiquity and was used in the case of images of the Emperors, to indicate the shimmer of light by which the divine forms were conceived as surrounded. At first it is found in the case of representations of Christ, afterwards in those of the saints.

The decisive turning point for the victorious progress of the **adoration of images** seems, as regards the East, to have been the time of Bishop Cyril of Alexandria, whom the Nestorians, who were hostile to images, abhorred as the originator of iconolatry; and accordingly it is so also for the multiplication of images of Christ and the saints in churches, houses, books and diptychs. So-called **authentic pictures** occur, such as the picture of the mother of our Lord ascribed to Luke, which Eudocia sent from Jerusalem to the Empress Pulcheria (Theodorus Lector I., p. 551). Under the Patriarch Gennadius of Constantinople (458 ff.) a painter is said to have attempted to depict Christ under the form of Zeus, whereupon his hand withered up, but again became whole on the prayer of Gennadius. Theodorus Lector remarks that the second type of Christ-portraits with thick (curly) hair is the more genuine. Attached to the legend of Abgarus is the tradition of a picture not made by human hands, which Christ had sent to Abgarus, and which gave miraculous assistance to the Edessenes during the seige by Chosroës of Persia (Evagrius, 4, 20).

The sensuous tendency of devotion, especially in the Greek Church, already goes far beyond the point of view of making the sacred history present to the senses, to that of **adoration**,[1] while in the West a more sober estimate prevailed. A bishop of Massilia (Serenus) scattered the images in the church on account of adoration he had observed paid to them, and Gregory the Great recognised his zeal, although he blamed his method of procedure, being desirous of retaining the images as means of edification; he held it praiseworthy to enkindle devotion by looking upon the image of Christ, a judgment, which practically could only result in the sense of the adoration of images.[2]

[1] Defence of *προσκύνησις* (prostration before an image) by Leontius of Neapolis in Cyprus (ob. 620) *vid.* in the Acts of Conc. Nic. II., Act 4, Mansi XIII. 43.

[2] Gieseler, I. 2, 431.

3. Adoration of Saints and Relics.

Literature: Jac. a LADERCHIO, *SS. Patriarch. et Proph. Confessor, etc. cultus perp. in Cath. eccl.*, Rome 1730. S. G. KEUFFEL, *De memoria Sanct. inter Christianos*, Helmst. 1745.—F. A. v. LEHNER, *Die Marienverehrung in d. ersten Jahrh.*, 2nd ed. 1886. BENRATH in StKr. 1886.

The fact that alongside of Christ as God become flesh and the exalted heavenly King a whole pantheon of saints is now opened, is of special importance for the introduction of a new heathenism into the world-church. The roots of the **adoration of saints** lay in the high reverence paid to the **martyrs** (p. 288). What the heroes, the *animæ sanctiores*, those who had sacrified themselves for the fatherland and were now honoured as tutelary deities, the founders of cities at whose graves sacrifices were offered and games celebrated, were to heathenism, the martyrs became for Christendom, and Eusebius[1] draws this very parallel. And so quickly does this way of regarding the question advance that a century later Theodoret[2] calls to the heathen: "The Lord has introduced His dead into the temples instead of your gods. They are in truth the leaders, champions and helpers against the demons." The custom of assembling for purposes of divine worship at the graves of martyrs, was followed by the erection of martyr-chapels or churches over them. Constantine erected magnificent examples of these in Constantinople; in Rome the basilicas of S. Paul and S. Peter arose over their graves. The bodies or relics of martyrs are now transferred with ceremony to the places where churches are to be built, *e.g.* those of Andrew, Luke and Timothy[3] by Constantine, and indeed to them is assigned the place under the altar, so that the sacrifice may be offered over their ashes. Ambrose, who assigns to Christ, who died for all, the position **upon the altar**, but to the bones of the saints who were redeemed by His sufferings, the position **under** it, had really destined this position for himself, in order that the priest might rest in the place where he was accustomed to offer, but he resigned the right side to the martyrs.[4] This was in accordance with the usage hitherto maintained of praying for dead saints, which is also represented by Epiphanius (*Hær.* 75, 7), also by Cyril of Jerusalem, but already with the peculiar change that prayer is made for the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, in order that through their prayers and intercessions God may receive our

[1] *Præp. evang.* 13, 11.
[2] *De curandis Græcorum affectibus*, Opp. IV. 922, 911.
[3] Jerome, *Contra Vigil.* 5; *De vir. ill.* 7.
[4] Ep. 22 (al. 85 or 54) *Ad Marcellam sororem*, 13.

prayers ; next, however, for the holy fathers, bishops and believers, in the conviction that it tends to the greatest assistance to their souls. This intercession for the saints, and for the purpose of securing the forgiveness of their failings with God, is most decidedly retained in the liturgies of the Nestorians. AUGUSTINE, however (Sermon 17), already designated it an insult to pray for the martyrs, since we have much need of their intercessions. Various attempts were made to explain how they were accessible to the prayers of believers, which attempts advanced from rhetorical realization of their persons and merits to the conception of an invisible spiritual communion with them, and even further to that of a kind of omnipresence of the saints, which latter was based on their immediate union with the Lord, or on their looking down from heaven on earthly things, and a conceded participation in the divine guidance of them. Thus, the three CAPPADOCIANS already celebrate the saints in lively rhetoric, as heavenly powers, who protect the human race from above and hear the prayers of believers; not less AMBROSE and JEROME ; and even if Augustine is more hesitating on the question, he never casts doubt on the fact that they afford assistance to believers. Sacred rhetoric is emulated by Christian poetry, in celebrating the saints as the patrons of the world, who are not called upon in vain.[1]

In particular there is a belief in a miraculous power which attaches to the graves of martyrs and the **relics of saints,** concerning the miraculous works of which numerous stories are told. In this way real and alleged remains of martyrs became a desired article. Wandering monks sell them[2] and a law of Theodosius (Cod. Theod. X. 17, 7) had to forbid them to be dug up and removed, but sanctioned the erection of martyries at the places of burial.

The idea of relics is moreover farther extended to all objects (clothes, utensils, instruments of torture, etc.) which were connected with the martyrs. To them belonged above all the **Cross** on which Christ had hung. According to the Edessene legend of Abgarus, the wife of the Roman Claudius, who was converted by Peter, had already discovered Christ's cross. But from the close of the fourth century the legend transferred this honour to HELENA, the mother of Constantine, of which Eusebius, who describes the discovery of the sepulchre and Constantine's buildings, and likewise the visit of Helena to Palestine and her building of churches there at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives, still

[1] Prudentius, *Peristephanon* in many passages, Paulinus Nol. in the 10 *natales S. Felicis ;* in the Syrian East S. Ephraem. Cf. also the intercessory hymn of Cyrillonas on the feast of the saints *ap.* BICKELL, *Ausgew. Gedichte der syr. K.-V.*, Kempten 1872.

[2] August. *De op. monach*, 28.

knows nothing; as little does the itinerary of the Gaul who visited the Holy Places in 330. Christian fancy busied itself much with the circumstances of the discovery of the cross by Helena and the distinction of Christ's cross from those of the malefactors, which was followed by miracles.[1]

Cyril of Jerusalem, apart from his alleged letter to Constantius (Mgr. 33, 1168), of which Sozomen is the first to betray knowledge, does not yet refer to the discovery by Helena, but is a witness to the fact, that fragments of the wood of the cross go over the whole world,[2] and leads us to the conclusion, that in Jerusalem the possession of the cross had long been believed in; so also the story that Constantine used nails of the holy cross in his crown and for the bit of his horse, may be independent of the legend of Helena. The Acts of Cyriac also (*Acta sanct.*, Mai I.) show traces that the legend had originally a much earlier time in view (ZAHN, *Forschungen*, I. 371 sqq.). In the time of Paulinus particles of the cross could only be had from the Bishop of Jerusalem; they were scattered in such large numbers, that he declared it a miracle that the cross could still exist in Jerusalem. There was soon established a regular **feast of the discovery of the cross**, which was celebrated in the West from the time of Gregory the Great on the 31st of May as *festum inventionis s. crucis.*

Moreover the **adoration of the martyrs** expanded into the **adoration of the saints** in general, by the addition of persons who had deserved well of the Church, whose names were inscribed on the **Diptychs** and for whom oblations were offered, particularly the therein mentioned pious of the old covenant, the patriarchs and prophets, and further, meritorious bishops and especially monks. The bones of anchorites slain by the Saracens in the deserts of Southern Syria and Arabia gave rise to quarrels among the inhabitants which went the length of bloodshed (Cassian, *Coll.* VI. 1). Pious fancy was everywhere ready to discover the bones of martyrs, and not only the people, but men like Ambrose, took the lead in it; the place where the bodies of Protasius and Gervasius lay was revealed to him in a dream, and the articles found vindicated their character at once by the healing of a blind man (Aug., *De civ. Dei* 22, 8). On the other hand, it is true, St. Martin compelled an alleged martyr, over whose grave an altar had been erected, to denounce himself as a buried robber (Sulpic. Sev., *Vita S. Martini* 11).

The **feasts of martyrs** (*Natalitia*) now became very favourite popular feast days, especially where they took place at the grave of the martyr himself. Hither the people streamed from the whole surrounding neighbourhood to real popular festivals, on occasion of

[1] Ambrose, *De obitu Theodosii*; Chrysostom, *Hom.* 85 (al. 84): Paulinus Nol. *Epist.* 31; Rufinus, *Hist. eccles.* X. 7, 8; Socrates I. 17; Sozomen II. 1; Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II. 34.

[2] At the close of the century an adoration of the cross was held at Jerusalem on Good Friday, *i.e.* of the fragments of the cross preserved in a golden case (Peregr. Silviæ; *vid.* the list of literature at p. 512).

which banquets were established besides the religious celebration.[1] But elsewhere also martyrs' days find willing celebration.[2] The Eucharistic sacrifice with communion forms the central point, but Acts and Legends of the martyrs are also read in public (Africa, Gaul, Spain) and declamations on them held. The *Decretum Gelasii* (*De libris recipiendis*) only repels untrustworthy "apocryphal" histories of martyrs. Greek rhetoric is willingly ready to orate upon the emergence of new saints or martyrs, often upon only very indefinite knowledge, as is shown by Gregory of Nazianzen in his oration upon the fabulous Cyprian (Th. Zahn, *Cyprian von Antiochien*, p. 86). At many martyr-feasts the celebration begins with solemn worship by night (vigil). The need of bringing all the numerous saints together in adoration, led in the next place, to a feast of All Saints, which in the Greek Church was celebrated on the octave of Whitsunday.[3] To it was attached in the West, in the beginning of the following period, the dedication of the Pantheon as the basilica of *S. Mariæ ad martyres* (13 May, 607), whence arose the later Western feast of All Saints, which was transferred by Gregory III. (731) to the 1st Nov.

The adoration of the **Virgin Mary** had a special point of attachment in the predominant ascetic view of the preferability of the virgin life. Her relationship to our Lord caused religious fancy to begin to surround her image with special splendour. Basil still held the logical conclusion from Matthew i. 25, that Mary, after the birth of Christ, had born other children in legitimate wedlock, as was also taught by the Arians Eudoxius and Eunomius (Philost. VI. 21) to be in itself dogmatically indubitable, but already objectionable to Christian feeling. But Epiphanius combated the representatives of this view in Arabia, whom he named the **Antidikomarianites,** as heretics led astray by the old serpent, and the otherwise unknown Helvidius (p. 480) was very scornfully repulsed by Jerome on its account. Bishop Bonosus of Sardica was deposed

[1] Basil (*Or. de S. Gordio*), Chrysostom (*Hom. de martyr.* 65, and *In Drosidem* 87), Paulinus of Nola (*vid. supra*) and other glimpses.

[2] The lists of martyrs of the individual episcopal churches (*calendaria*), which note the names of martyrs in their days of celebration, begin to be interchanged. Hence arise comprehensive **martyrologies.** One of the oldest is the Syriac (Arian), still of the fourth century, in Wright, *Ancient Syriac Martyrolog.* in the *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*, Oct. 1865, an English transl. *ibid.*, Jan. 1866. German in Egli, *Altchristliche Studien*, Zürich 1887, p. 5 sqq. Cf. the article *Acta Sanctorum*, RE.[2] 1, 121 sqq.

[3] Chrysostom, *Homil.* 74 *De martyr. totius orbis.* The intercessory hymn of Cyrillonas in Bickell, l.c.

for similar views by the Illyrian bishops (after 391). The religious conception however advanced higher still, to the point of the notion of the miracle of the perpetual virginity of the Virgin Mary, *i.e.* of the virginal integrity which was not even destroyed by the act of the birth of Christ, the idea of the closed door (Ezekiel iii.).

At the same time the adoration of Mary does not appear to any great extent in the fourth century; the adoration of saints was at first predominantly the adoration of martyrs. There was as yet no fear either of speaking of Mary's faults, with all acknowledgment of her moral advantages. Of course with Ephraem, Gregory of Nazianzen and Ambrose, Mary begins to be regarded as without stain and entirely purified by the Holy Spirit, and Augustine too, out of the conviction that no one else of the saints could ascribe sinlessness to himself, will have no knowledge of the application of it to the Virgin, in whose case, from reverence for our Lord, these questions in general ought not to be discussed. If in the Church at large Mary is regarded as the highest ideal of virgin purity, the conjecture is also obvious, that it is just upon the adoration of the Virgin that favourite heathen mythological ideas gained influence. To this, and not to mere intensification and exaggeration of Christian adoration of saints, would the phenomena of the so-called **Collyridian women** have to be referred. Under this name, coined by himself, Epiphanius[1] depicts a sect of Arab women, who celebrated Mary at a certain season of the year by offering cakes and holding a sort of sacrificial meal. One thinks of the cakes offered by women to the queen of heaven (Astarte, Jerem. xliv. 19) and other mythological analogies.[2]

Against this actual or supposed deification of the Virgin Mary, Epiphanius decidedly emphasises the doctrine, that the Holy Virgin is to be **honoured** but not to be **worshipped,** sacrifices especially were not to be offered to her; and the latter is, as a matter of fact, the

[1] *Hær.* 78, 23. 79. *Anaceph.* 79.

[2] Cf. Rösch, *Astarte und Maria* in StKr. 1888, 265 sqq.—We might think that in Epiphanius there is only a misunderstanding of a Christmas custom, which had worked Eastward at this time of its origin in the West. The custom seems to have come first out of **Thrace** and Upper Scythia to Arabia. Now, Chrysostom, where he comes forward for the Christmas feast as something so far novel in the Greek East, designates it as long since naturalized in the West, from Thrace to Gadara (Hom. 31 *De natali Christi*). Thrace is here mentioned as lying next the Greek countries. Should this therefore be the custom of presenting *strenæ* (which included cakes), belonging to the heathen December celebrations, and to which a reference to the childbed of the Holy Virgin was notoriously early given, in honour of whom presents were exchanged (Conc. Quinisextum Can. 72)?

point of view generally maintained by the ancient Church in regard to the adoration of martyrs and saints.[1] **Even in the highest enhancement of the adoration of saints, the holy sacrifice is regarded as offered to God alone.** This does not exclude an **invocation** of the Holy Virgin in the general sense of the invocation of the saints, such as is found in Gregory of Nazianzen in the legend of SS. Cyprian and Justina. The right to be invoked for help is shown to have been solemnly assigned to her by Christ Himself in the apocryphal book *De transitu Mariæ* (*εἰς τὴν κοίμησιν τῆς ὑπεραγίας δεσποίνης κτλ.*) which goes under the name of John. While Epiphanius postpones the question whether the Virgin died a natural death and was buried, or suffered some sort of martyrdom (to which Luke ii. 35 might allude), or finally "remained," *i.e.* was snatched away from death, since for God nothing is impossible, we already find in this apocryphal book the legend of Mary's resurrection and snatching up into heaven.[2]

A decided enhancement of the adoration of Mary now came in with the mystical view of the incarnation as the deification of the human, which was victoriously maintained in the Nestorian controversy. Even from the time of Athanasius Mary had been designated the mother of God (*θεοτόκος*). In the Nestorian controversy this was the really popular[3] name for her. The rhetorical parallel of Eve, who brought death upon the human race, and Mary by whom salvation had come to it, had already been a favourite one for a long time. In the hymns of the Syrian Church on Mary since Ephraem, one and another wonderful interfusion of the human and the divine in the life of the Virgin had played a great part. Hence was naturally developed the notion of a sort of **saving importance** of Mary herself, to whom *e.g.* by Ambrose, Gen. iii. 5 is referred (the treading on the serpent). Finally the adoration of Mary also leads to the dedication of churches to her as to the other saints, although in this case the burial place did not give the first occasion as it did in the case of martyrs. The first known example is the great church at Ephesus, which bore her name and in which the synod against Nestorius was held.

It was also the adoration of martyrs which led to the giving of a position as saints in the Christian Church to the Maccabæan brothers (Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 22). Their feast was maintained in the Church at least till the twelfth or thirteenth century.

[1] Gieseler, I. 2, 274.

[2] Cf. also Dionys. Areop. *De divin. homin.* 3.

[3] *Vid.* the *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν θεοτόκον* of Proclus of Constantinople (Mgr. 65).

This whole turn of Christianity towards the adoration of human beings contrasts most remarkably with the protest which ancient Christianity had raised against idolatry, just as conceived as the deification of men (Euhemerism). Heathens, Julian at their head, did not fail to hold out to Christians the reproach: "Ye have added many more to the one dead man (Christ), ye have filled everything with graves." To the grammarian Maximus of Madaura it seemed intolerable that the martyrs, who in conscience of their guilt had found a deserved end under the appearance of a glorious death, should be set up against the gods of the Roman world, who in the last resort appeared only as the potencies of the one highest God; it was a new battle of Actium, in which the Egyptian monsters sought to launch their arrows against the Roman gods. But the attempt to set themselves in opposition to this powerful tendency of the time did not fail entirely even among Christians. Not only the Manichean Faustus combated the Christianity of the Church in this respect, but the later **Novatians** also seem to have rejected the adoration of martyrs and relics,[1] if the utterances of the Patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria (about 580) do not merely refer to the rejection of the non-Novatian martyrs of the great church. The neglect of divine worship in the martyr-churches on the part of the **Eustathians** (Conc. Gangr. *Can.* 20) is probably connected only with sectarian withdrawal from the churches of the married and their priests (*Can.* 5, 6). The radical opposition of AËRIUS and his followers (p. 476) was directed, not so much against the adoration of martyrs, as against sacrifice and intercession for the dead, which if they were effective, would make some exertions of piety superfluous. **On the other hand Vigilantius of Calagurræ** (Cazères) **in Aquitaine declared himself consciously against the adoration of martyrs and relics.** With recommendations from Paulinus of Nola, he had come about 394 to Jerome in Palestine, and had afterwards accused Jerome in Rome of Origenism, which violently displeased the latter. Subsequently he became priest in Barcelona, and afterwards worked, as it seems, in Gaul. He called the adorers of martyrs, invokers of ashes and idolaters, and found almost heathen customs to have penetrated under the name of the worship of God; prayer was everywhere offered to the dust which was carried in golden vessels, wrapped up in linen: "Great honour forsooth did such people show to the blessed martyrs, whom they honour with the gleam of their little candles, while the Lamb that sits upon the throne lights them with the whole glory of His majesty." The souls of the Apostles and martyrs were either in Abraham's bosom or in the place of refreshment, or else under the altar of God (Rev. vi. 9), and could not be present at their graves. During life one might pray for another, but when we are dead, no prayer by one for another would be granted. Combined with this, of course, as mentioned above, was censure of exaggerated estimation of monasticism and ascetic holiness.

As against such attacks the representatives of ecclesiastical piety did indeed always protest, against the deification of the martyrs with which they were reproached, against any **invocation** of them; Jerome also in his angry treatise against Vigilantius, and likewise Augustine, who appeals to the fact that altars were erected to none of the martyrs; no priest sacrificed with the words: *offerimus tibi, Petre* or *Paule* or the like, but always only to the God who crowned the martyrs. He distinguishes the cult of love and communion, which is devoted to the martyrs (somewhat as it is to pious men, whom we see ready to suffer for the truth), and the cult of invocation proper (λατρεία), which is due

[1] PHOTIUS, cod. 280, p. 543[b] and c. 182, p. 127[b].

to God alone (*De vera religione*, 55). Nor are involuntary utterances wanting as to the right and duty of Christians, of applying directly to God with their prayers,[1] nor is accentuation of the ethical moment, that the main question is that of emulation of the virtues of the martyrs. But all this does not limit the powerful tendency of the piety of the age, which turns to the martyrs as the *intercessores nostræ infirmitatis* (Ambrose) and beseeches and adjures them to intercede for our sins. "Those can intercede for our sins, who have washed out their own sins, if they had any, in their blood." It is not otherwise with the invocation of the help of the Virgin already mentioned above, which received specially strong expression in the Syrian Church (Rabulas in BICKELL, *Ausgew. Schr. d. syr. KV.* 1874, p. 258 sqq.).

Finally, with the adoration of the saints there is associated a certain **adoration of angels**, if at first in a rather timid manner. In spite of the ancient conception of the guardian angels of whole peoples, as well as of the protecting spirits of individuals, there was long exhibited a certain timidity in this matter, not only on the ground of passages of Scripture, such as Col. ii. 8; Rev. xix. 20; xxii. 8, 9, but also because the angels more immediately stood on the same level with the supra-mundane cosmic powers (gods and demons), and in that way heathen deification of creatures was more obvious to the conscience, while the adoration of saints arose, not on this cosmic ground, but on that of religious merit, which always presupposed the divine saving institutions.

The Synod of Laodicea still declared in the fourth century against invocation of angels, such as occurred in Phrygia and Pisidia (Can. 35 and Theodoret, *Ad Coloss.* 2, 18). To this refers most probably, what Epiphanius (*Hær.* 60) seems to have heard of a sect of **Angelici**. Eusebius also (*Præp. evangel.* 7, 15) emphasises, exactly in opposition to all Hellenic polytheism and adoration of demons, that the divine and ministering powers of the All-King are to be duly honoured, but God alone is to be confessed and invoked. AMBROSE is not afraid to name, among those who should entreat the heavenly Physician for sick men, the angels who are given us for our protection, and whom we ought to invoke for assistance (*De viduis*, 9). AUGUSTINE, on the other hand, is much more cautious (*Confess.* 10, 43) in taking the help of the angels on the way to God, since then one would fall into danger of deception by all sorts of visions. According to GREGORY THE GREAT (*In canticum canticorum*, 8) the angels indeed received adoration in the times of the old covenant, but not from the believers of the new.

Nevertheless the angels also, like the martyrs and saints, are, as a matter of fact, gradually included in the necessities of worship. A church near Constantinople, said to have been built by Constantine, subsequently bore the name of *Μιχαήλιον* (Sozomen, 2, 3), because the archangel Michael was said to have appeared and worked miracles at the spot. Justinian alone caused six churches of S. Michael to be built.

GIESELER, I. 2, 372.

The religious custom of **pilgrimages** stands in the closest connection with the adoration of martyrs and relics. In this respect the Holy Land of course stands chiefly prominent, in connection with its relation to the Saviour and sacred history. The custom which was already in use received great encouragement from the visit of Helena to the Holy Places.

We have already mentioned the visit of a certain Gaul in the year 333 (*Vetera Rom. itineraria*, ed. Wesseling, p. 593.) It was regarded as an object worthy of effort to gain baptism in Jordan, such as Constantine had aimed at. Later, the **wood of the cross** was publicly exhibited at Easter, and to individuals at other times by special favour, if they had made the pilgrimage to the Holy Land with this sole object. The footsteps which the ascending Saviour had left on the Mount of Olives were devoutly regarded. The fact that their impression still remained, however much of the sanctified earth pilgrims appropriated, was regarded as a miracle by Sulpicius Severus, as was the inexhaustibility of the cross by S. Paulinus. In this connection faith was always ready to see miracles. Augustine ascribed the healing of a paralytic (*De civitate Dei*, 22, 8) to the earth from the Holy Land on which a house of prayer was built. **It was just those who concerned themselves with ascetic perfection, who regarded it as a part of divine blessedness to see the Holy Places.** It was to them that Gregory of Nyssa pointed out, in his famous letter (*De euntibus Hierosol.*), that this act did not belong to the Lord's commands of perfection, and therefore ought to be omitted, even if it were harmless, but that it was also positively harmful and ill-suited to the chosen monastic calling on account of the necessary contact with all sorts of people. Besides, the sins which were prevalent in the Holy Land (unchastity and murder), showed that the grace of God was not nearer there than elsewhere. Jerome also on one occasion exclaims that heaven is as near in Britain as in Jerusalem. But it was just he, with his pious Roman ladies, who greatly promoted the custom, while he designates prayer at the places where the Lord's feet had stood as an exercise of faith (*Pars fidei*, *Epist.* 47 *ad Desiderium*). Alongside of the Holy Places of Palestine there come also other places made sacred by Biblical memories, such as **Mount Sinai** and the alleged place of **Job's** sufferings in **Arabia**. But not less also the graves of martyrs and saints, such as those of the Apostles Paul and Peter in Rome (*Limina apostolorum*), the grave of the martyr Felix at Nola, that of S. Martin at Tours, and many others.

4. The Celebration of the Feasts of the Church.

Literature: p. 268, and Ullmann, comparative collection in F. Creuzer, *Symbolik u. Mythol. der alten Völker*, Part IV., 2nd ed. Leipsic and Darmstadt 1821, pp. 577-614.—H. Usener, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. I. *The Christmas Feast* (Chap. 1-3), Bonn 1889.—A valuable new *source: S. Silviæ Aquitanæ Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, published by Gamurrini in the *Biblioteca dell' Academia storico-giuridica*, 4th vol. Rome 1887. Sep. A. as 2nd ed., novis curis emend. R., 1888 (without the Proll.). Cf. A. de Waal in the *Röm. Quartalschrift für christl. Alterthumsk. u. f. Kirchengesch.* I., Rome 1887, pp. 297-315.

An important counterpoise to this polytheistic tendency of ecclesiastical piety is afforded by the forms of divine worship proper, which

were becoming firmly fixed, and by the regular encompassing of life with its returning festivals, which are based on the history of redemption. The saint's days however are at least given their places in the system, while their celebration takes place on the same basis of the ordinance of divine worship.

With the recognition of the Christian Church by Constantine, **Sunday** acquires a broad basis in social and civic life. The law of Constantine mentioned above (p. 297), which caused administrative, judicial, and, to a certain extent, civil business to rest, forms the beginning of a state Sunday-legislation, which was subsequently expanded, and which soon forbade public spectacles, military exercises and the like, on Sunday. Strict extension of the Sunday rest to field labour is as yet, however, only found under the essentially altered circumstances of the Germans (Second Synod of Maçon in the year 585). There is no idea of basing the Sunday rest on the Old Testament law of the Sabbath; beginnings of it show themselves in the fact that the seventh day of the old covenant is regarded as a type of the true Christian day of rest (Augustine, *Ep.* 119, 13; *Serm.* 154 *De Temp.* and the Council mentioned). On the contrary, the East in many places (though scarcely universally, Epiphanius, *Expos. fidei*, 24), held fast to the last day of the week, alongside of the first, as a day of assembly for worship, which was not to be held as a fast. The Apostolic Constitutions (7, 33) required, as for Sunday, so also for Saturday, that slaves should be allowed leisure to attend the assemblies for worship; the Synod of Laodicea (can. 16, 49) also presupposes a religious celebration of the Sabbath, while it censures (can. 29) the cessation of **work** on Saturday as Judaism. In the West the custom was not uniform at first. Augustine mentions gatherings for worship on Saturday for such as hunger after the word of God. But the custom of making Saturday a fast-day seems to have originated in intentional opposition to the Jewish celebration of the Sabbath (Victorinus in Routh, *Rel. Sac.*[2] III. 457). Rome steadily maintained this custom, while it had not yet been naturalised in Milan in the time of Ambrose.[1]

While the Greek East even now still maintains fasting on the *dies stationum*, in the Latin West fasting on Wednesday was dropped, while on the other hand fasting on Saturday now made its appearance.

For the **Paschal Feast**, the proper starting point of the year's cycle of feasts, the Council of Arles (314) required unanimous celebration on the same day, which, in accordance with existing tradi-

[1] As to weekday services in general, *vid. infra*, No. 5.

tion in the West, was to be announced to the different churches by the Bishop of Rome. The Synod of Nicæa went the length of general rejection of the Quartodeciman celebration, which had long been combated in Rome, Alexandria, and elsewhere (p. 275), and with decided accentuation of opposition to the Jews.[1]

The date of the Paschal Feast, *i.e.* now predominantly of Easter Day, is determined by the 14th Nisan, *i.e.* the first full moon after the vernal equinox, in such a way, that, at least according to Greek custom, even if the spring full-moon should fall on a Saturday, the Sunday immediately following is regarded as Easter. The calendar reckoning (p. 278) for this purpose, however, was to proceed from Alexandria, regarded as the authority on this matter, and accordingly the day of Passover was to be made known by the Bishop of Alexandria, and for the Western Church intermediately through the Bishop of Rome. The Alexandrian bishops were accustomed to attach theological addresses to these Easter letters. Existing variations were however by no means abolished by the Synod of Nicæa. They depended partly on various determinations of the equinox (Alexandria, March 21; Rome, March 18), partly on the cycles of the moon which underlay the computation of Easter, that of Anatolius of nineteen years in Alexandria, in Rome one of eighty-four years (by which not only the day of the month, but also the day of the week should recur in this period). Also, according to the Roman acceptation, when the spring full-moon fell on the Saturday, Easter was to be held only on Sunday week. The differences between Greek and Roman custom, which again arose soon after the Synod of Nicæa, caused the Synod of Sardica (343) to hit upon an agreement for the next fifty years, which however was not maintained either. In the year 387 Easter was celebrated in Rome on the 21st March, the spring equinox being already fixed there at the 18th March; in Alexandria it was fully five weeks later. At that time Ambrose decided for the Alexandrian reckoning. Subsequently Leo the Great likewise frequently conformed to the Alexandrian method, and about the same time the Easter canon of Victorius sought an adjustment, by founding on the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years; but this was only completed by the reckoning of Dionysius Exiguus (about 535), which starting from Rome found increasingly general recognition in the West.

Custom still varied also as to the extension of the **Quadragesimal period** (p. 277) as a time of fasting (Socr. 5, 22. Sozom. 7, 19). A forty days' fast is already pre-supposed in Eusebius (*De paschate*, 5), John Cassian (*Coll.* 21, 25) already alludes to its fixation to six weeks. As the Sundays were exempt from fasting, there remained only thirty-six days of fast; accordingly, Cassian designates them the tithe of the days of the year due to God. To make the forty complete, the custom was subsequently begun in the West (but probably only after Gregory the Great) of beginning to fast on the previous Wednesday (Ash Wednesday, *Dies cinerum;* name and

[1] Socrates, 1, 9. Eusebius, *Vita Const.* 3, 17. Theodoret, H.E. 1, 10.—The Quartodeciman celebration was regarded as heretical from this time onwards (Conc. Antioch. 1), the name τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατῖται becomes a heretical name (Conc. Laodic. 7, Epiph. *Hær.* 50)

custom unknown in the Greek Church, in the Latin only demonstrable in the Middle Ages). On the other hand, in the Church of Jerusalem,[1] as early as the close of the fourth century a fast of eight weeks was held, in order, seeing that not only Sundays but also Saturdays, with exception of the one Sabbath before Easter, were freed from fasting, to gain the full forty days. This usage gradually pervaded the Greek Church.

All amusements were to be discontinued during the Quadragesimal period (Lent), but all criminal investigations were also to be postponed; feasts of martyrs were not to be attended, but the commemoration of the martyrs only to be brought into prominence on the Saturdays and Sundays. Marriages also, and the celebration of birthdays, were to be discontinued (Can. Laodic. can. 52). The state opposed such requirements of a *tempus clausum* (Leo and Antonius in the year 469). The previous time of amusement, which developed in contrast to the seriousness of the period of fasting (Carnival, probably hardly to be derived from *carno vale*), received its specific colouring under heathen influences (*lupercalia*), probably at first in Italy.

In the ecclesiastical celebration **Palm Sunday** (ἑορτὴ τῶν βαΐων, so already in the Greek Church of the fourth century) indicates the beginning of the great or Passion- (torture-) week, of quiet (ἕβδ. ἄπρακτος). It is distinguished by divine service, morning and evening daily, and exercises in works of mercy. In it and Easter week, as a rule, executions were not to take place and judicial procedure was to cease, but the emancipation of slaves might legally take place (Cod. Theod. IX. 35. 5. Cod. Justin. III. 12. 8). Prominent in the great week are 1) the **Thursday** (ἡ ἁγία πεμπτάς, *feria quintæ paschæ*, also *dies Jovis sancta*; the name of Green Thursday, *dies viridium*, of very uncertain meaning, only appears in the late Middle Ages); it is the day of the foundation of the Lord's Supper, and although the performance of the Eucharist on this day seemed contrary to the original character of the feast of Easter on account of the fasting involved in the latter, it nevertheless now became a day of solemn celebration of communion, as is attested by Chrysostom for the Greek, and Augustine for the North African Church. Here, communion was held morning and evening on this day, the latter for those who extended their fast till evening, the former for those who were incapable of this; the Supper was only to be received fasting (Augustine, *Epist. ad Januar.* 118). As Passion-week was in general the the time preferred for the reconciliation of penitents, so especially was Green Thursday (*dies absolutionis sive indulgentiæ*). 2) The **Saturday** was the favourite day for baptism, with a view to which the recital of the confession which had been learned (*redditio symboli*) frequently took place on the Thursday (*dies competentium*), after the previous communication of the creed (*traditio symboli*), p. 475 sq.). The **foot-washing** according to John xiii. likewise took place in many places on Green Thursday (*dies pedilavii*), and in the Greek Church a strong inclination prevailed to ascribe a sacramental character to this rite.

[1] *Vid.* the *Peregrinatio S. Silviæ*, p. 60.

Elsewhere the foot-washing was performed on the catechumens, just as they were baptized, and by the bishop or the priests, *e.g.* in Milan (Ambrose, *De sacram.* 3, 1) and Gaul (Hefele, *Konz. Gesch.* I. 177), which formerly the Council of Elvira (can. 48) had forbidden and Augustine disapproved later, lest it should seem that this rite belonged to the sacrament. 3) The Friday (παρασκευή, *dies crucis*, *dominæ passionis*, also σωτηρία, only in the Middle Ages, Care-Friday, *i.e. dies lamentationum*). It was celebrated as a strict fast without any solemnities or any Eucharist, in Syria, however with evening communion in the martyr churches or in the cemeteries outside the cities, in commemoration of the *descensus Christi* to the dead. In the night after the great Sabbath,[1] follows the solemn **Easter vigil**, with which the Passover Feast closed, a festal divine service of a joyfully exalted character, which lasted till cock-crow of resurrection morning, which was immediately followed by the festal communion of Easter morning. The thought of the victory of the Saviour in the kingdom of death, and the expectation that on this day the Lord would once more come again (Lactantius, *Instit.* 7, 19. and Jerome on Matt. xxv. 5) still gave their special disposition to men's minds. Outward signs of joy, especially torches and lamps were not wanting. Constantine passed the night awake and praying with the congregation. Naturally, extravagances, wantonness, and worse (Jerome, *Adv. Vigil.* 9),were not absent from these nocturnal celebrations. The whole week after Easter formed an unbroken series of feast-days, during which the newly baptized wore their baptismal garments till the octave of Easter (*dominica in albis*, sc. *de depositis* or *post albas*, White Sunday). During the fifteen days from Palm Sunday to the octave of Easter, business, judicial affairs and the theatres were closed; even slaves enjoyed rest. The heathen might institute no processions, the Jews, according to the regulations of Gallic synods, might not show themselves in the streets from Green Thursday till the second day of Easter.

With the feast of Easter the **Quinquagesimal period** (πεντηκοστή, cf. p. 278) was entered upon. Traces are not wanting in the ancient Church of an inclination to limit this festal season attached to Easter, to the forty days' season of the intercourse of the risen Lord with His disciples (Acts i. 3), and accordingly to close it with the feast of the Ascension, of which a fading reminiscence is found in the seventh century (Conc. Tolet. X. can. 1). But the celebration of the fiftieth day as that of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit was already emphasised by the Council of Elvira (Can. 43), and from the time of Eusebius and Constantine was reckoned one of the high feasts, which like Ascension Day was introduced by a solemn vigil and ceased on the octave of the feast (ἀπόλυσις). The latter was dedicated in the Greek Church to the memory of all holy martyrs. The feast of the Trinity is only celebrated in the Latin Church from the fourteenth century.

Besides this great feast-time before and after Easter, there already existed (p. 278) the **Feast of Epiphany** (τὰ Ἐπιφάνια) on the 6th of January, which originally celebrated the appearance and revelation of divine salvation in the world in the **baptism of Christ.** But the development of the belief in the divinity of Christ into the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Logos had begun to push the birth

[1] The Aquitanian pilgrim makes it begin already on the afternoon of the Saturday.

of Jesus itself and its revelation by the star of the Magi into the light of this feast, corresponding to the solemn expression for the Incarnation ἡ ἔνσαρκος τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἐπιφάνεια.[1]

With the fathers of the fourth century the feast not only becomes at once that of the baptism and the birth of Christ, but the reference to the latter gains the predominance.[2] Also the three Cappadocians and Chrysostom at first refer the Epiphany to the γενέτλια of Christ, and Basil would rather that the feast had been called Θεοφάνια on that account.[3]

Another tendency, however, proceeded from the Latin West, from **Rome.**

In the West the feast of Epiphany had gained acceptance, perhaps at first in the beginning of the fourth century. Julian celebrated it in Vienne with the Christians (Amm. Marc. 21, 2). The Roman bishop, Liberius (from 352), quite in the beginning of his pontificate performed the dedication of a Christian virgin, the sister of Ambrose, "on the birthday of Jesus," with express reference to the ecclesiastical significance of this day.[4] This is regarded as the oldest date for the feast of Christmas on the 25th December; but is, however, probably to be understood as referring to the celebration of Epiphany as the feast of the birth of Christ, as is also confirmed by the reference made to the miracle at Cana and the miraculous feeding, and the fact, that Epiphany further appears also as the regular time for the consecration of nuns (*vid.* Usener, p. 268 sqq.).

The **establishment of the 25th December** (VIII. Cal. Jan.) as the birthday of Christ likewise takes place during this period in the chronicler of 354,[5] and accordingly the introduction of the ecclesiastical celebration of the feast of Christmas without doubt by the same Liberius. It is to be regarded as the **severing of a part of the ecclesiastical celebration of the feast of Epiphany and its independent establishment on the shortly preceding** *dies invicti solis*,[6] and spread pretty quickly in the Church. Under the influence of the bishops of Rome this celebration became naturalized in Thrace

[1] Eusebius, H.E. I. 5. *Dem. Ev.* 8, p. 227 and frequently.

[2] Epiph. *Hær.* 51, 22, according to the Codex Venetus, and *Exp. fid.* 21; so also Ephraem and others.

[3] Homily on the birth of Christ. Opp. 2, 595. Mgr. 31, 1457.

[4] Ambrose, *De virgin.* 3, 1.

[5] Th. Mommsen in the *Abh. d. sachsischen Gesch.* Works I. 631.

[6] Ephraem already finds it significant that the feast of the birth of Christ should fall **thirteen days after the solstice** (ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς τοῦ φωτὸς αὐξήσεως), and regards the thirteen as an allusion to Christ and His twelve apostles. *Vid.* the passage in Usener, 194 sqq.

before the separation of Eastern Illyria (379, *vid.* p. 338) from the West. With the victory of the orthodoxy of Athanasius and Rome, Gregory of Nazianzen, its representative, introduced Christmas (as the Theophany—feast of the birth, distinguished from Epiphany as the feast of lights) into Constantinople in 379 (Greg. Naz. *Or.* 38).

Soon thereafter (302) it was celebrated by Gregory of Nyssa (*Homil.* 1, *De Stephano*, Mgr. 40, 701), and in 388 by Chrysostom as a feast not yet ten years known in the East. In Egypt it is first demonstrable under Bishop Cyril, in **Palestine** it was accepted under Bishop Juvenal at the time of the Council of Chalcedon. The **Armenian** Church alone maintained the double significance and exclusive celebration of Epiphany. With Epiphany was associated, along with the reference to the baptism of Christ, that to the Magi and their star, the **primitiæ gentium,** as well as to the first revelation of Christ's glory by the miracle at Cana, to which again was added that to the miraculous feeding. The different references are gathered together by Maximus Taurin. (*Hom.* 23).

The need of a special **feast of the birth of Christ** developed out of the whole disposition of the Constantinian age, the desire after a solemnization of worship approximating to traditional heathen views and seeking points of attachment to the life of nature. A historical remembrance of the day of the birth of Christ is nowhere demonstrable, a motive in Jewish festal celebration can only be artificially invented (P. Cassel, *Weihnachten*, 1861) and is excluded by the late Roman origin of the festival. On the contrary, in Rome the heathen festal season of the December feasts, viz. the **Saturnalia,** occurring at the same time, with their remembrances of the Golden Age and their amusements which abolished in festal joy all distinctions between master and servant, rich and poor, involuntarily suggested themselves. The close of these Saturnalia (17th to 24th December) formed the feast of the Sigillaria, on which children were presented with *sigillaria*, little images or dolls of clay, wax, paste and the like. Added to these were the **Brumalia,** the day of the unconquered sun (25th December, regarded as the winter solstice according to the Julian Calendar; thirdly and finally there was the Roman New Year's Feast, the *Calendæ Januariæ*, on which congratulations and the so-called *strenæ* were exchanged (confectionery, fruits, but also presents of other kinds). A rich symbolism was thus afforded on the basis of the natural phenomenon: the victory of the ascending light of the new life, the introduction at the same time of a new golden age by Christ, the Sun of Righteousness. The loftier Christian content involuntarily infused itself into the deeply rooted popular conception, and so it appeared probable on internal grounds, that Christ would be born about this time. This origin explains on the one hand the interpretation and Christian utilization of the traditional festival (Prudentius, *Cathemer.* 7, Paulinus Nol. and many Christian preachers), but on the other hand also the tenacious and powerful continuance of heathen views and customs, even under the new Christian etiquette. In order that the Christian kernel of belief might not be forgotten, the Church was subsequently obliged to forbid expressly the celebration of the Brumalia and the calends of January. For the subsequent

period, however, it was of special importance, that the same religious significance of the natural year prepared the soil for the Christian festival of Christmas among the German peoples, and promoted the intimate blending of popular with ecclesiastical customs.

Corresponding to the Quadragesimal season, a similar time of preparation preceded the feast of Christmas; in the Greek Church a period of forty days (beginning on the 14th November), although a less strict time of fasting; in the West after at first likewise extending to greater length it became a period of four weeks, the season of **Advent,** which here also, as at least partially a time of fasting, bore the character of repentant preparation, hence was also free from amusement and was intended to be a *tempus clausum.*

In the Church of Jerusalem towards the end of the fourth century the *Quadragesima de epiphania, i.e.* forty days after Epiphany (14th Feb.), which was regarded as the birthday of Jesus, was celebrated with great ceremony as the **Feast of the presentation of Jesus in the Temple** and the **meeting with Simeon and Anna.** After the victory of the feast of Christmas there corresponded to it the emergence of the 2nd February as the *festum purificationis Mariæ* (Candlemas), *fest. candelarum, luminum*), the introduction of which into Rome is ascribed to Bishop Gelasius. It is, however, highly probable that it first attached itself in Rome to the Christian substitute for the February lustrations, especially the *Amburvalia,* the city expiatory progress with its procession of candles, and, in connection therewith, the **consecration of tapers** pointed to its evangelical purport. The introduction of the feast (as *ὑπαντή* or *ὑπαπαντή,* viz. meeting with Simeon and Anna) into Constantinople by Justinian in 542, and indeed on occasion of a plague, is a taking over of the Roman feast with unmistakable strains of the expiatory significance attaching to it.

As in this feast and that of Christmas, the appropriation and Christian colouring of originally heathen celebrations are evident in the Christian **litanies,** in the **rogations** (for ascent to heaven), a transformation of the Amburvalia, which was set forth by Claudius Mamertus of Vienne about 470, and introduced at the first Synod of Orleans (511), and the so-called **Litania Major** on S. Mark's Day (25th April), a transformation of the ancient *robigalia,* the procession for the standing crops to protect them from fire, which was not first introduced by Gregory the Great, but regulated in its ritual. *Vid.* USENER, *Religionsgesch. Untersuchungen,* I. 293 sqq.

5. The Order of Divine Worship and its essential elements.

Sources and *Literature:* p. 21, No. 4 and p. 268. The numerous passages from Chrysostom *vid.* BINGHAM, *Orig.* XIII. 6 (V. 133 sqq.) and especially C. E. HAMMOND, *The Ancient Liturgy of Antioch*, etc., Oxford 1879. In addition, PROCLUS Const. *De traditione divinæ missæ* in Gallandi, IX. 680 (Mgr. 65). DIONYS. AREOP., *De eccles. hierarchia*, Mgr. 3, 369 sqq. PSEUDO-AMBROSIUS, *De sacramentis libb.* 6, Ml. 16, 409. INNOCENTII I. *Ep.* 25 *Ad Decentrum*, Constant. p. 855 (Ml. 20, 551). F. G. MONE, *Latein. u. griech Messen aus dem 2. bis 6. Jahrh.*, Frankfort 1850. L. A. MURATORI, *Liturgia Romana vetus*, 1747 (Naples 1776, 2 vols.), in which the **Sacramentarium Leonianum** (also Ml. 55, 2, col. 21 sqq.), the **Sacr. Gelasianum** (Ml. 74, 2, col. 1049 sqq.), the **S. Gregorianum** with *Antiphonarium et liber responsalis* (Ml. 78). ISIDORUS HISP., *De officiis ecclesiasticis libb.* 2, Ml. 83, 449 sqq.

The essential foundations of Catholic worship, the Λειτουργία, were already laid, and had received their distinctive form from the dominant idea of sacrifice and the *disciplina arcani* and the distinction of the *missa catechumenorum* from the *missia fidelium*, when the changes of the time of Constantine brought new and richer resources to the cultus also, and forced it to stronger and more powerful developments. On the one hand there was exhibited along with splendour of endowment the growing inclination to greater fulness of liturgical equipment, on the other hand the inclination to the introduction of great agreement between the different provinces of the Church as against a still obviously great amount of indefiniteness and freedom. The Council of Laodicea (*Can.* 19) is still obliged to emphasize the general procedure in divine service, the separation of the prayers for catechumens and penitents following the homily of the bishop, from the three prayers of believers (silent prayer, general church-prayer, and the collect of the bishop, cf. Const. Apost. VIII. 11) to which were attached the kiss of peace and the sacrificial act. The synods begin to give regulations as to individual points of divine service; liturgical materials of prayers and the like are collected, but their use is not to be left to the subjective preference of individuals. The great ecclesiastical centres such as Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople and Rome gain importance as leaders. The liturgical usages which here take form, hitherto as a rule not propagated in writing,[1] later on are fixed in writing and in this written form ascribed to celebrated authorities; thus the liturgy of **Alexandria**, the type of which is again to be recognised in the liturgy of the Monophysite Copts and Ethiopians, is ascribed to ST. MARK, that of **Palestine**, with which Cyril of Jerusalem shows many points of contact, to S. JAMES. In the province of Syria the so-called *Liturgia Apostolorum* (Lit. of Adaios and Maris) and that of Theodore (of Mopsuestia) and of Nestorius, grew up, and came into use among the Nestorians. On Greek soil, however, the liturgy of Constantinople, supported by the authority of CHRYSOSTOM and further back by that of BASIL, gained the predominance. The expression, ascribed to PROCLUS of Constantinople (the follower of Nestorius about 440), as to the liturgies of Clement and James and their relation to that of Basil and Chrysostom,[2] is spurious; the latter was not completed in its extant form be-

[1] Cf. BASIL, *De spir. sancto*, c. 27. The non-official composition of the Apostolic Constitutions is to be disregarded in this reference (*cf. sup.* p. 100).

[2] When the author indicates the work of Basil and Chrysostom, on whose

fore the seventh or eighth century. In the domain of the Latin Church various provincial forms are noticeable, for the North African Church in expressions of Augustine and others, for **Gaul** in ancient masses, published by MONE but attributed by him to a much too early time, further in the so-called *Missale Gothicum*, the *Missa Gallicana vetus* (both in MURATORI) and in the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* (in MABILLON, Museum italicum I., 1724), for **Spain** in ISIDORE'S narratives and in the so-called Mozarabic Liturgy, for Upper Italy in the Milanese, so-called Ambrosian, Liturgy. But here as in other spheres the **Church of Rome** finally gained the mastery, though not until a later time.

While liturgical acts according to their proper nature were intended to be the expression and presentation of the religious devotion of believers to God and the means for the renewed fulfilment of their faith with the gifts of divine grace, they more and more, under the essential influence of pre-Christian stages of religion, assumed the character of an ecclesiastical performance, a sacred service, the worth of which consists in its ritual completion as such, and which became a sacred **hierurgy,** which was itself to create the saving blessing in the sacrifice completed by the priest. At the same time of course, in the **Greek Church** the conception wavers between that of a *hierurgic* process proper and that of one mediated by a mystico-intellectual act. The sacred service becomes a symbolico-allegorical, so to speak, dramatic presentation of the divine work of salvation by the priests, as the mystagogues whose vocation it is so to do. On the other hand the bald conception of the Latin Church, disposed to the practical and real, is more inclined to regard the cult of the mass as a real act addressed to God.

The **course of the entire divine service** in the fourth century is evident from the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, the delineation of the *missa fidelium* in Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. myst.* V.), the 19th canon of the Council of Laodicea and numerous utterances of the Fathers, especially of Chrysostom. The order of divine worship is determined by the distinction of the catechumens' mass and the believers' mass and survives even after this distinction gradually loses its practical significance from the fifth century onwards. The substance of the catechumens' mass receives the character of the introductory or first part of divine service. It consists in readings from Scripture accompanied and interrupted by singing of psalms, of the sermon attached to these lessons and the prayers with and for those who were to be dismissed, namely the catechumens, energumens and penitents. Invitation to these prayers is given by the deacons, and the community appropriates

title of honour of golden mouth play is here already made, as one of abbreviation, it becomes hard to understand how this can correspond to the facts.

them by its *Kyrie eleïson*, and the bishop each time collects the intercessions in a solemn prayer of blessing. After the dismissal of these uninitiated persons or those temporarily excluded from the mysteries, the general prayer of the believers forms the **first part** or introduction of the *missa fidelium*. After silent prayer the deacon names the various objects of prayer, which the community appropriates by its repeated Kyrie eleïson, and on which the bishop offers a collective prayer (collect). The **second part is formed by the act of offering**, consisting in the offering of gifts by the members of the congregation and their collection by the deacon, whereupon the kiss of peace is exchanged by the presbyters and the bishop, by the men with each other and so likewise by the women with each other (according to another custom *e.g.* in the Latin Church, the kiss of peace is not given till after the consecration, immediately before communion). **The third part is formed by the Eucharistic act proper,** introduced by the ancient solemn preface: *Sursum corda* and the *Vere dignum est et iustum*, etc. In unison with the whole creation and all the heavenly powers, the congregation, by the mouth of the priests offers solemn thanksgiving, adopts the song of the seraphim (Isaiah vi.), the *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus;* the grace of the incarnation and redemption is then extolled and "**remembering it**" transition is immediately made to the words of institution, and grounding on it prayer is made for gracious acceptance of the gifts offered, and in the **Epiklesis** prayer is made for the Holy Spirit from God, that by it He may transform the gifts into the body and blood of Christ. Thereby the offering of the community is supported by the power of Christ's atoning offering. On this ground prayer is now made for the common peace of the Church, for the salvation of the world, for all ranks of men and all who suffer need, in like manner also for all departed believers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, fathers, bishops, etc., and for all who have fallen asleep in Christ, closing with the Lord's Prayer.

The **fourth part** consists of the **dispensation** or *communio*. After the exclamation of the bishop: *Sancta sanctis*, the congregation responds: One is holy, etc., on which follow the Doxology (Glory be to God, etc.) and the Hosannah. The bishop then passes the bread to those who come forward, in the regular succession of their rank (with precedence to the different degrees of the clergy), with the words: the body of Christ; the deacon the cup with the words: the blood of Christ, the cup of life; both times the recipients respond: Amen. Psalms are sung during the dispensation (Ps. xxxiv.). The **fifth part** consists of the **closing ceremony** (*Post-communio*). The

deacon invites to thanksgiving and prayer for a blessing on participation, and the blessing of the bishop forms the close, whereupon the deacon dismisses the congregation with the words: Go in peace.

As to the individual parts of this celebration of divine worship the following remarks are to be made:

1. **The Scripture Lessons.** Only canonical books of the Old and New Testaments are to be read in church (Can. Laod. 59). According to the Apostolic Constitutions a threefold reading takes place, so likewise in the Spanish and Gallican Churches, here indeed there are four readings during the Quadragesimal season, as also occurs in the Syrian Church. In the later Greek Church the Old Testament Lesson is assigned to morning service (Matins). In general the reading extends to all services, Sunday and week-day. The Roman Church has only two lessons at Sunday service, namely, the first from the Apostle or the Prophets, the second from the Gospels. Till the end of the fourth century the ancient Church knows only the **lectio continua** or **course of reading,** by which the *pensum* of one Sunday attaches to that of the preceding. In this connection it is to be observed that in the Greek Church the Sunday reading, the Saturday reading and those for the other days of the week taken together proceed independently alongside one another. But in the Latin Church, regard to the individual feasts of the ecclesiastical year now began to result in breaking through such readings by courses with selected passages for reading, reading of **pericopes.** Thus we find in Augustine an essential assumption of such courses of reading, but interrupted by definite selected lessons for feast days and for others also according to special requirement. The Gallican Church exhibits a vigorous activity in regard to lessons, as it does in regard to things liturgical in general. The Massiliensian Musæus (Gennadius, *De vir illustr.* cap. 76), among other liturgical works, provided a selection of suitable passages for reading for all the feast-days of the year, and similarly the whole province of Gaul exhibits a method of reading by pericopes, under which reading by course is not yet entirely excluded, but only interrupted. A similar condition of things is presented in the Milanese or Ambrosian Liturgy. Also in the Roman lection of the epistolary and prophetical pericopes, the choice of which is in great part quite free, it may however be perceived that the preference for certain books of the Bible for certain seasons of the year has had its effect, and therefore that the original method of reading by course has still had its influence. This is connected with the fact, that for the Roman liturgy in general, **regard to the ecclesiastical festivals** produces a powerful change of other portions of the liturgy. *Vid.* E. Ranke, *Das kirchliche Perikopensystem*, Biel 1847, and in RE.² 11, 460 sqq. Caspari in ZWL. 1888.

2. The **general prayer for the Church** has still the position above indicated at the beginning of the *missa fidelium*, in Augustine and even in Cæsarius of Arles. But this is gradually altered, in so far as in the earlier Greek liturgy, the liturgical acts corresponding to this prayer extend throughout all parts of divine service (even through the preparatory service). Besides, the active participation of the congregation in it is more and more suppressed and replaced by the singing choir of clergy. But in the Roman Church this general church prayer more and more disappears and is drawn into the priestly sacrificial act of the mass.

3. In the **oblatio** also, there is now a question of the actual offering of

gifts by the congregation, from which bread and wine are then selected for the celebration of the Supper. It is emphasized, that gifts are not to be accepted from unworthy persons, criminals and such as have forfeited communion with the Church. In distinction from earlier usage, there is now a recognised desire, that only actual bread and wine (or rather grapes and corn), and not other natural products should be received for these eucharistic gifts (Can. Apost. 3–5, Conc. Carth. III. can. 24). As even Cyprian in his time, so also Augustine (*Hom.* 215, *De tempore*) censures the omission of these gifts by many, and exhorts to them: *erubescere debet homo idoneus si de aliena oblatione communicaverit.* In the time of Gregory the Great there were still gifts of the congregation, or rather of individual believers, from which the elements of the Supper were taken. During the presentation of the gifts psalms were sung, and after the offering the priest pronounced the **oratio super oblata** (the subsequently so-called *secreta*), a prayer which throughout maintains the point of view, that these gifts of believers or of the Church, in which devotion and resignation find expression, would procure the divine blessing for the offerers and those for whom they were offered, or rather would serve to procure the blessing of a Christian feast or the intercession of a saint, in honour of whom they were offered. Cf. Isid. Hisp. *De off. eccl.* I. 15, 3. *Tertia autem effunditur* (oratio) *pro offerentibus, sive pro defunctis fidelibus, ut per idem sacrificium veniam consequantur. Vid.* Innocent I. *Ep. ad Decent. ep.* 1, c. 2. *Prius ergo oblationes sunt commendandæ, ac tum eorum nomina, quorum sunt oblationes, edicendæ, ut inter sacra Mysteria nominentur.* In the later Roman liturgy also, which lies beyond our period, the influence of this original conception may still be recognised in the so-called *offertorium* and even in the canon of the mass.

4. Isid. Hisp., *De eccl. off.* I. 18, 4: *Hæc autem dum sunt visibilia, sanctificata tamen per spiritum sanctum in sacramentum divini corporis transeunt* still exhibits the dominance even in the West of the original conception (p. 268), that the **act of consecration and dedication proper** culminates in the **Epiklesis of the Holy Spirit,** by which the offered elements mystically become the body and blood of Christ. But alongside of it, on the Roman side there is a **beginning** of the disposition to regard **Christ's own words of institution** as what " constitutes the sacrament." The transition to this conception is already found in the Pseudo-Ambrose *De sacramentis*, IV. 4, in the allusion to the fact, that as soon as it comes to the actual consecration, the priest uses not his own words as in the prayers, but the words of Christ, Many reminiscences of the original place and significance of the *Epiklesis* were, however, maintained (*e.g.* in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Liturgies); it sounds through the Roman liturgy, but finds its place in this case before the consecration, in the *offertorium: veni* (*sancte spiritus*) *sanctificator omnipotens, æterne Deus et benedic hoc sacrificium tuo sancto nomini præparatum.*

5. The *commemoratio pro mortuis* mentioned by the Apostolic Constitutions, is also confirmed by Chrysostom in regard to the saints and martyrs mentioned, *for* whom prayer is made. Even in the Sacramentary of Gregory the prayer for all believers without limit is found (*vid.* Bingham *Origines*, l. XV. Cap. 3, tom. VI. p. 333 sq.). Meanwhile the significant alteration by which the intercession for the saints was turned into prayer to God that their merit should be put to the credit of the person praying, has been already mentioned above at p. 504. Connected with the *commemoratio* for the living and the dead is connected the reading aloud or also the mere laying open

of the so-called **Diptychs** at the celebration of the sacrament. These were double tables overlaid with wax, which contained the names of the bishops and other eminent persons with whom the Church was in communion, and also the names of the dead. The reading took place after the kiss of peace according to Dion. Areopag. (*De eccles. hier.* 3, 2; cf. Concil. Const. 536, Act V., Mansi, VIII. 1065 sqq., where the Nicene Creed still comes between), according to others not till the *commemoratio* after the consecration.

6. It was not till comparatively late that the **Creed** found a place in the mass. Peter the Fuller, Bishop of Antioch (about 471) is said to have introduced the practice of reading the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan creed at every divine service (Theodorus Lector, p. 566). It is said to have been ordered by Bishop Timothy of Constantinople about 509 (*ibid.* p. 563), while previously the symbol was only used once, during the fasts, at the instruction of catechumens. At the third council at Toledo (conversion of Reccared to the Catholic confession, about 589) it was ordained for the Spanish and Gallican Churches, that the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan symbol should be read before the Lord's Prayer, for the purpose of testifying to the faith and in order that the people should go forward in faith and with purified hearts to the reception of the body and blood of Christ. So also according to Isid. Hisp. *De off. eccl.* I. 16, confession was made by the people at the time of the offering (*Symbolum, quod tempore sacrificii a populo prædicatur.—In universis ecclesiis pari confessione a populo* **proclamatur**). It was only much later that the confession received an altogether different position in the Roman Liturgy, at the beginning of the *missa fidelium.*

7. Even now the use of ordinary **leavened bread** was maintained at the Supper, even among the Roman party; only the Syrians (Azymites) made an exception. Equally universally the wine was mixed with water and a symbolical reference to the human and divine nature of Christ, and the like, attributed to the custom. The communicants receive the bread in their hands (Cyril of Jerusalem). A Western synod only lays down, that women are not to receive the bread with uncovered hands (Conc. Antissiodor. *Can.* 36). An **elevation** of the consecrated elements for adoration is unknown to the ancient Church, but in the Greek Church it is to be assumed that they were lifted up *before* the consecration as an exhibition of the gifts about to be dedicated (*ἀνάδειξις*, Basil, *De spir. s.* cap. 27; cf. also *ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγει* in Dion. Areop. *Eccl. hier.* 3, 2). The custom of communicating in **both kinds** is also universal; abstinence from the cup is even forbidden as heretical, in opposition to Manicheism. On the other hand only the consecrated bread is used as "Eulogia," outside of church. The later Greek Church strews particles of the bread in the wine and passes them to the communicants with the help of a spoon, and the first traces of a custom of the kind are not found till a Spanish synod in the seventh century (Conc. III. Bracarense of the year 675, *Can.* 1). In distinction from the later Roman procedure, the words of consecration were still uttered in a plain and audible voice; at the same time Justinian (*Nov.* 237, 6) was obliged to emphasise this point expressly.

The ancient Church still maintains strictly the justification of **infant communion,** which Augustine grounds upon John vi. 53. Nor does this merely mean participation in the Supper immediately after baptism. With regard to the latter it is strictly maintained that the Supper is only to be received fasting; infants are not even to be suckled before they receive the communion. The Apostolic Constitutions (VIII. 13) give the children their place in the series of communicants immediately after the clergy and before

the rest of the people. The children are specially supervised by the deacons to prevent disturbances, and the smaller ones are to be held by the hand by their mothers. With this was connected the custom, when many pieces of consecrated bread remained over, of bringing in school boys, who were fed with the wine-sprinkled bread on the *dies stationum* of the week (Evagrius, IV. 36, Conc. Matisconense, II. 6). What superstitious notions attached themselves to this, is shown by the miraculous story in Evagrius, according to which a Jewish boy partook along with the rest, and being then thrown by his enraged father into an oven was miraculous preserved in it.

8. Although the celebration of Sunday gives to the Sunday service a distinguished and dominant position, this does not involve the surrender by the dominant Church of **daily celebration of divine service,** which is rooted in the Apostolic memories of the Church (Acts ii. 42; v. 46), although it is only approximately realized. The idea of constant prayer was at the foundation of the **hourly prayers** (the *hours*, cf. p. 369), which were specially incumbent on monks and clergy, and for which the **Psalter** supplied the chief material, to which, however, Bible Lessons, reading of homilies, prayers, hymns and antiphones, etc., were added. Hence arose the Greek **Horologium** and the Roman **Breviarium,** in the ordering of which Leo I., Gelasius and Gregory the Great co-operated. The ecclesiastical celebration of **Saturday** (p. 513) in the Greek Church, partly by a service of reading or rather preaching, partly also by attendance on the Eucharist, and that of the so-called *dies stationum* (Wednesday and Friday, *vid. sup.*), form with Sunday the four days on which, according to Basil, *Epist.* 289, the celebration of the Supper was open. Similarly Chrysostom reckons three or four days on which the New Testament Passover is celebrated weekly (*Hom.* 52, *in eos qui paschah ieiunant*, he adds however: at other times also as often as we wish). Eusebius had already spoken of **daily commemorative celebrations** of the sacrifice of Jesus (*Demonstr. evang.* I. 10, p. 37). Further on Augustine admits (*Epist.* 118 *ad Januarium* cap. 2) that there were different methods in different places: *alibi nullus dies intermittitur quo non offeratur, alibi sabbatho tantum et dominico, alibi tantum dominico.* The **Quadragesimal season** is universally distinguished by daily service with prayer, so indeed, that according to the Council of Laodicea, *Can.* 49, the offering and consecration of the elements of the Supper should only take place on Saturday and Sunday in that season, *i.e.* that on other days of the week, in this period of repentance and mourning, only the *liturgia præsanctificatorum* should take place, *i.e.* communion with the elements consecrated beforehand. On the other hand in the season of Quinquagesima there is full daily ecclesiastical celebration, of course including the Eucharist.

But, besides these, the **early** and **evening** celebrations (**Matins** and **Vespers**) provided daily devotions (Epiphanius, *Expos. fid.* 23. Const. Apost. 8, 33 sqq.). The former were frequently held before day-break (as **Vigils**). The morning psalm was the 63rd, the evening the 141st (on account of verse 2), besides prayers, for catechumens and penitents as well as for believers, and a special morning and evening prayer by the bishop. Besides these, copious use was made of psalm-singing, and at vespers the famous evening hymn of the Greek Church: *φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης.* In the Spanish and Gallican Churches the Lord's Prayer was inculcated as a daily prayer *post matutinam et vesperas.* These morning and evening prayers, especially the latter, have very various forms in the monkish communities. But in particular the early morning service on Saturday and Sunday, and the Sunday vespers received special ob-

servance.[1] For the great feasts and martyrs' days the **Feast-vigils** served to give the celebration special glory. Vigils were also solemnized at other times under special distress. The ecclesiastical writers frequently extol the glowing devotion of these night services. It is true that Chrysostom must also recall: "Ye have made the night into day by vigils, make not now the day into night by swilling, drunkenness and wanton songs" (Bingham, VI. 294).

9. The idea of the Christian cultus originally involved **daily participation in the Eucharist,** but at least there was required as a rule participation by every member of the community on Sunday (apart from other opportunities, such as feasts of martyrs and the like). But the Church as it became great, remained as a matter of fact far behind this ideal. The Council of Antioch (can. 2; cf. can. Ap. 9 sq.) already threatened to excommunicate till they should repent those who came to church and listened to the Holy Scriptures, but did not pray along with the believers and receive the Supper in common with them. Chrysostom repeatedly complains that the Supper is partaken of so very seldom by many, and especially laments that everyone only throngs to the Easter-communion, so that the daily sacrifice is neglected and prepared in vain. So likewise the Pseudo-Ambrose mentions this (*De sacramentis*, IV. 4 and 6) as an Oriental evil custom, and exhorts: *accipie quotidie, quod quotidie tibi prosit.* As to the legality of daily communion, Augustine, Jerome (Bingham, VI. 579), and Gennadius (*De eccles. dogmat.* Cap. 53) in the West give their judgment with some hesitation. The last however emphasises the Sunday communion so much the more. But obviously it also greatly fails in realization, and the multitude accustoms itself as a rule to being spectators of the Eucharist, with rare actual communion. Thus the first Council of Toledo, Can. 13, in reference to the negligent Priscillianists, takes disciplinary measures only against those, in whose case it is proved that they attend the churches, without at any time communicating. Cæsarius of Arles (*Homily* 12) blames those who leave church immediately after the reading (or rather, preaching) without waiting for the mass proper. They might read lessons or hear them at home, but they could only *hear* and *see* the consecration of the body and blood of Christ in church. Thus the way is prepared here for the later usage of the Roman Church; but proof is still wanting for the theory that in the ancient Church the mass could ever be performed by the priest alone without any other communicants, much less that it was generally performed without the presence of laymen and entirely by the administering clergy.

10. At the beginning of this period, the **community still participated actively,** not only in matins and vigils, but also in the Sunday service; and not only by their frequent **Kyrie eleïson**, by which the congregation appropriated the prayers, and in the numerous **responsoria**, but also in the *sanctus*, spoken together by priest and congregation; further after the bishop had said: Holy things for holy persons, in the answer of the congregation: One is holy, One is the Lord, Jesus Christ. Indeed, according to Gregory the Great, the Lord's Prayer was still said by the whole people, while in the Roman Church it was said by the priest alone. But besides, the congregation had further a great share in the **psalm-singing,** especially indeed at vigils and vespers and festal processions, which played a great part, *e.g.* in Jerusalem during the great week (*Peregrinatio Silviæ*). According to Can. 15 of the Council of

[1] In the later formation of the Greek liturgy Saturday vespers, Sunday matins and the main service appear as members of one organically related whole.

Laodicea, no others in the church were to sing besides the clerical singers appointed for the purpose, who ascended the ambo and sang from the book. This was not meant to prevent the congregation from taking part in the singing, but only that laymen were not to act as leaders. The participation of the congregation in the singing, apart from the chanting of the responses, consisted as regards psalm-singing, partly in the fact, that, after the leader had sung the psalm, *i.e.* had recited it as a chant, the congregation responded, singing recitatively the so-called *acroteleutia* or **Acrostichia** (*i.e.* not exactly the close of the same psalm, but as a rule other suitable verses from the psalms): ψάλλειν and τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψάλλειν. But alongside of this there had also been developed **symphonic** psalm-singing, and also **antiphonic**, *i.e.* alternate, singing by the divided choir of the congregation, which is said to have made its first appearance in the Church of Antioch in the fourth century (*vid.* RE.[2] 4, 569). With the effort to lend splendour and pomp to the cultus in general and to increase its attraction for the multitude, is connected the admission of **Hymns** sung by the congregation, alongside of the singing of psalms and the liturgical responses proper, to which Basil, Chrysostom and others testify in the Greek Church, and Ambrose in the Latin. Lively singing of psalms and hymns finds willing acceptance not only in processions and other festival occasions, but also in divine service, especially at vigils and vespers. When the Arians, excluded from the churches, held their vigils with singing of hymns in public places, Chrysostom met them with great effect with orthodox psalms and hymns, and so likewise it was slanderously reported of Ambrose himself, that by the introduction of hymns sung by the whole congregation, he had counteracted with special effect the exertions of the Arian court of the Empress Justina and had **bewitched** the people, and Ambrose did not deny it.[1] Augustine depicted the impression made by this new contrivance (*Confess.* IX. 6 sqq.); and here it was at night vigils also, that the alternate singing after the Oriental pattern was employed. For, it was not so much the Eucharistic service proper, as the other religious assemblies, matins, vespers and especially vigils, which were the proper places for this ecclesiastical congregational singing (*vid.* Paulini *Vita Ambrosii*, Cap. B). In the divine service proper of the Greek Church, however, the responses as well as psalm and hymn-singing are now exclusively transferred to the **ecclesiastical choir of singers**, which takes the place of the congregation, and which now procures a place also for freely composed songs in the Greek Liturgy which is always becoming more ample. Here emerge the so-called τρόποι or τροπάρια, single verses or measured strophes, which are inserted between the psalms, but afterwards, longer poems in exaltation of the history of the feast or of martyrs and saints; later also come the very widely spread **Canones**, consisting of a number (9) of **Odes** of several strophes each. Hence in the Greek as in the Latin domain the rhythmic law begins to be altered. The hymns to Christ, etc., appear to have availed themselves of antique metres to some extent, after the example of Clement of Alexandria. At the same time it is made a reproach in the fifth century to the Apollinarians (Sozomen, VI. 25) that alongside of the legal sacred odes they had also sung little metrical songs, *i.e.* in lyric forms which seemed too worldly for a sacred object. The church-song proper in subsequent times, the luxuriant development of which of course falls beyond our period, shows quite the same phenomena as the development of the Latin hymns (p. 440, 468). The poetical composition is no longer **metrical** (*i.e.* according to quantity, and

[1] *Grande* **carmen** (magic influence) *istud est, quo nihil potentius.*

so that the accent of the word gives place to the accent of the verse), but **rhythmical**, *i.e.* such that the syllables are counted and the accent of the verse coincides every time, or in the chief places at least, with the accent of a word. —The Greek church-singing of the choir was purely vocal without accompaniment of instruments, and in unison not harmony. The influence of antique music must have been continued in the lively hymn-singing of the people, such as Ambrose transplanted into the Latin Church. The hymns must have been attractive by their popular emotionality and richness of modulation, but must also have been exposed to the danger of secularisation and the theatrical. The **Roman Church** early devoted itself to the training of church singers, for which Bishop Sylvester I. is already said to have worked. Gregory the Great had in this direction also a certain definitive and at the same time initiative importance. In the West also church-singing essentially became the **singing of the priests**, the singing of the trained choir. In liturgical use, alongside of the **Accentus** (*modus choraliter legendi*) for the collects and lessons, the "musically graded recitation," the change of tone in which is guided entirely by the structure of the sentence without any proper form of melody, stands the **Concentus** for the liturgical passages which were sung in the narrower sense: antiphones, hymns, the Gloria, Hallelujah, Sanctus, etc. Gregory collected these church songs and gave them ecclesiastical style and brought back the singing of the Church (Ambrosian) to greater simplicity and severity. *Vid.* W. Christ et M. Paranikas, *Anthologia græca carminum christ.* Lips. 1871. J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra Spirit. Solesm. parata* I. Paris 1871. Buhl, *Der K.-Ges. in d. gr. K.* in ZhTh. 1848. J. L. Jacobi, *Zur Gesch. d. gr. Kirchenlieds*, ZKG. 5, 177 sqq. A. Daniel, *Thesaurus hymnol.* 2nd ed. 5 vols. 1863. Mone, *Lat. Hymnen des MA.* 3 vols. 1853 sqq. J. Kayser, *Beiträge z. G. u. Erkl. d. ä. Kirchenhymnen*, 2nd ed. 1881. M. Gerbert, *De cantu et musica a prima eccl. æt.* 2 vols. 1774. The more modern works on the history of music by Forkel, Ambros, Brendel; J. Köstlin, *Gesch. d. Musik*, 1884.

6. Sacrifice and Sacrament.

Literature: Vid. the histories of Dogma, and Steitz, *Die Abendmahlslehre der griechischen Kirche in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, JdTh. 1864–1868.

In the holy **Sacrifice** of the **Eucharist** the Church sees not only the fulfilment of the Old Testament typical sacrifice, but also the true spiritual sacrifice as against all heathen sacrifices. The combination of the offerings (*oblations*), in which is set forth the sacrifice of prayer, thankfulness and pious feeling, with the sacrificial death of Christ, as suggested by the words of institution and regarded as completed by the invocation of the Holy Spirit (p. 522), remained the foundation. Even when the regular oblations of the members of the congregation more and more began to lose importance, the idea of the oblation remained dominant. Prayer is offered, that God by the Holy Spirit will make the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, and so in the Greek Liturgy it is said: "We offer unto Thee this reasonable bloodless service and call upon Thee that

Thou mayest send down the Holy Spirit. Bless, O Lord, the holy bread and make it the dear body of Thy Christ; bless the cup, and make this, which is in the cup, the dear blood of Thy Christ, **and transform it by Thy Holy Spirit.**" This **transformation** (*μεταβολή*, *μεταποιεῖσθαι*, *transformatio*) is here in the first place a strong liturgical expression intended to present the idea dramatically to the senses, not in the sense of the later Roman doctrine of transformation, for the elements (bread and wine) remain types of the body and blood of Christ, but also not merely in the sense of a conscious symbolification, but in the sense of a mystical transmutation.[1] Just where, in the interest of the Antiochene theology and for the sake of keeping apart the human and divine natures of Christ, Theodoret emphasises the fact that the sacred symbols do not lose their former natural nature, it is expressly recognised that they are acknowledged, believed and worshipped as that which they have become by consecration (Epiklesis). Dogmatically the utterances are very various. Here we have an apparently purely **symbolical** conception, of remembrance and realization to the senses of the body and blood of Christ, there a **dynamical** conception, according to which the reception of them mediates the action of Christ, elsewhere a really **metabolic** conception, according to which the divine Word to a certain extent continues His incarnation in the elements. But universally the real liturgical meaning goes beyond the mere commemorative act to a mystical enjoyment of Christ. In the West also the expressions fluctuate between a symbolical realization and a mystical transformation. To Augustine also the Supper is a *sacrificium corporis Christi*, a *verissimum sacrificium*, although with him the purely symbolical conception shines strongly through; hence he designates the offering of the body of Christ, the *memoria peracti sacrificii Christi*, and elsewhere thinks on the offered body as the spiritual body of the Lord, the community of believers in Him. But the realistic conception comes out more decidedly *e.g.* in Leo the Great. His fellow communicants are not at all to doubt the truth of the body and blood of Christ, "*hoc enim ore sumitur, quod fide creditur.*" And this realistic conception gains ever more decided champions, and in connection with the sacrifice of the Supper. The expression: *conficere corpus et sanguinem Christi*, becomes universal. This development finds its culmination in

[1] Cf. Pseudo-Ambrose, *De sacram.* 5, 4: *ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur.* Isid. Hisp. *De eccl. off.* 1, 15, 3. *Conformatio sacramenti: oblatio, quæ Deo offertur, sanctificata per spiritum sanctum Christi corpori et sanguini conformatur.*

Gregory the Great in the notion of **the sacrifice of Christ ever repeating itself in the Supper** (*Quotidianum immolationis sacrificium*). "As often as we offer to Him the sacrifice of His suffering, we renew His passion for our absolution. Although Christ, being risen, dies no more, yet for us He is again sacrificed in this sacred mystery of the offering." Even in Gregory, indeed, the thought of a mere representation of the sacrifice of Christ, of an imitation of the sacrifice of the Passion, may always be perceived, and at the same time he is always striving after a spiritualisation of the notion of sacrifice, when he says: *tunc* (*Christus*) *pro nobis hostia erit Deo, cum nos ipsos hostiam fecerimus.*

The holy sacrifice is regarded as effecting the forgiveness of venial sins after baptism, but at the same time as mystico-physically implanting divine life. But the whole character of the sacrificial act involves the notion of seeking in the mass a **means of salvation and protection** in all the necessities of daily life. But of especially wide-spreading influence, finally, is the conception that **the offering of the sacred sacrifice, like intercessions in general, will be of benefit to the souls of departed believers.** This is already expressed by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech. myst.* 5), then by Augustine (*Enchir.* Cap. 30), who names the holy sacrifice, as also intercessions in general and alms, as the means of relieving the souls of the dead. While the Greek Church remains at this indefinite stage of thought, in the sense of Cyril,[1] it develops in the Latin Church into the more definite doctrine of **Purgatory** or the **condition of purification**, which assumes more definite form in **Cæsarius of Arles,** and in **Gregory the Great** becomes the universal property of the Latin Church. Believers who take unrepented venial sins beyond the grave with them, fall into the purifying fire, and they are helped by the holy sacrifice.

7. Preaching.

Collections of *Sources:* Pelt et Rheinwald, *Homiliarium patristicum*, I. 1829–33, German 1829 sqq. Augusti, *Predigten auf alle Sonn- und Festtage, aus den Schriften der K.-V. ausgew.* 1826 sqq. Ejsdm. *Casualreden*, 1840.

Literature: Bingham, *Origines*, ed. Grischovius XIV. c. 4, vol. VI. 105 sqq. Nickel u. Kehrein, *Die Beredsamkeit der Kirchenväter*, 4 vols. 1844 sqq. *The History of Preaching*, by R. Rothe, published by Trumpelmann, 1881, and especially Von Zezschwitz in *Zöckler's Handbuch d. theol. Wiss.*, vol. IV. Christlieb in RE.[2] 18, 466 sqq.

Although the main feature of the cultus consists in the mystical sacrifice of the Eucharist, so that, in theory, the service of preaching

[1] Cf. Eustratius presb. Const. (at the close of this period) *De vita functorum statu* (Leo Allat., *De orientalium et occidentalium perpetua in dogmate Pur-*

only appears preparatory to it, the latter, nevertheless, at first actually acquires an extraordinarily great importance for the Church which has now come into the light of publicity, an importance which practically puts the celebration of the Eucharist into the shade (p. 527), especially in large towns, where important men of rhetorical talent attract the great-city populace. Teaching and preaching are regarded as properly the function of the bishop, and men like Chrysostom, Ambrose and Augustine are well aware of the greatness of their task and responsibility. The Apostolic Constitutions, 2, 57, already lay down, that after the Lesson the presbyter (one or more in succession) and finally the bishop, shall exhort the people, and so likewise Chrysostom, in his Antiochene sermons, alludes to the fact that after him, the presbyter, the bishop will come forward as speaker.[1]

A layman, even a learned layman, is not to preach in church. In many places, not even the presbyters dared preach in the presence of the bishop, which however Jerome censures. But the duty of the bishops to preach before the people was also inculcated by secular legislation (Cod. Theodos. XVI. 2, 25). Eminent bishops were not satisfied with preaching on Sundays, but frequently, especially in the Quadragesimal season, preached daily, as did Chrysostom as presbyter in Antioch and in Constantinople as bishop. So likewise the sermons of Augustine frequently make reference to sermons on preceding days. So also eminent bishops preached twice on one day, especially on Sunday, morning and evening, as did Chrysostom, Basil and Augustine. The case also occurs of a sermon being delivered to the catechumens, and afterwards, after their dismissal, another for believers alone. The most important Western preacher of the sixth century, Cæsarius of Arles, often preached his homilies at matins and vespers: *ut nullus esset, qui se de ignorantia excusaret* (Cyprianus Tolos. Vita Cæsarii, Cap. 4). Sozomen (7, 19) narrates most remarkably, that in Rome neither the bishop nor any one else taught in church; a statement which for the time before the appearance of Leo the Great cannot be entirely groundless, though perhaps exaggerated. Leo himself indeed delivered sermons to the people at divine service; but he gives such motives for his sermons, that one can perceive, that he did not regard his preaching as obviously to be expected (Bingham, *Orig.* tom. VI. 118). Great bishops, such as those of Rome, had far too many avocations in ecclesiastical affairs,

gatorii consensione, Rome 1656, 319 sqq.), Lat. in Max. Bibl. Patr. Ludg. XXVII. 1362 sqq. Phot. Bibl. c. 171.

[1] The same thing is confirmed for Jerusalem by the Peregrinatio S. Silviæ.

to be able to fulfil the duty of preaching. On the other hand, indeed, as a rule, the episcopal churches in the towns were the only ones in which ecclesiastical eloquence was to be heard. Chrysostom already alludes to the fact, that the people in the country had seldom the opportunity of hearing sermons, unless when a local martyr festival afforded an occasion, on which Chrysostom himself was invited into the country and preached. Rural presbyters were indeed allowed to preach, but many of them must have lacked ability to do so. In the Gallican Church, the Council of Vaison (529) declared that not only in the towns, but in all parishes also, the presbyters had authority to preach; in case of their being prevented the deacons were to read aloud homilies of the Fathers.

From the fourth century Greek rhetorical art takes possession of the Christian pulpit and introduces a short period of splendour in Greek preaching. The artistic form of preaching which corresponds to the spirit of Greek rhetoric is especially developed by the three **Cappadocians.** On the one hand the older homily, of the nature of a theological exposition of the word of Scripture, is further continued: Cf. *e.g.* the Homilies of Basil on the so-called Six-Days' Work and on various Psalms, so also similar homilies by Gregory of Nyssa on books of the Bible and on the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer. Alongside of these, however, there now appear spiritual orations proper (Logos), often without any actual Biblical text, or only in reference to the Biblical Lessons. Such are most of the famous orations of Gregory of Nazianzen; orations also, in memory of ecclesiastical persons and on martyrs and saints, give occasion for the delivery of artistic and brilliant pieces. On the other hand the substance of such orations is supplied by the **doctrinal principles of the Church,** especially such as were the subjects of controversy at the time. John Chrysostom without doubt indicates the culmination of Greek pulpit oratory. The strong and weak points of artistic rhetoric are here combined with exposition of Scripture to meet practical needs and with the great power over men's minds, which was at the command of this admirable pastor of souls. The dogmatico-polemical spirit of the age finds expression in the sermons of Cyril of Alexandria, while the Antiochene Theodoret in his homilies on Providence rather enters on the general domain of religious-philosophical reflexion. More apart stand the monastic orators, who, like the monk Isaiah (contemporary of Athanasius) in his twenty-nine sermons (Mgr. 49), simply impart moral and ascetic truths, or like the elder Macarius, develop practical mystical ideas. Here also belongs the hermit Marcus (contemporary of Chrysostom, *vid.* p. 409, Mgr. 65).

But after the brilliant Greek orators mentioned, there occurs a strikingly speedy downfall of spiritual eloquence in the Greek Church. Proclus of Constantinople (middle of the fifth century) already exhibits greatly lowered taste; dogmatic watchwords are introduced with rhetorical decoration, and hence the practical-religious application becomes stiffened. Added to this is the rhetorical exaggeration of the demands of asceticism and the superabundance of more and more insipid legends of the saints. From the close of the fifth century preaching loses increasingly in importance, and the whole interest turns towards the liturgy with its dramatic realization of the history of redemption and its increasing estimate of the ritual.

In the West preaching took an essentially different course. Before Augustine

the influence of the Greeks was still predominant, such as was that of Origen on HILARY. But even Ambrose, although quite dependent on Greek theology, and especially on the Homilies of Basil, shows a much more decided tendency towards the practically edifying and awakening. But the sermons of AUGUSTINE in particular are of a perfectly different original power, which is essentially rooted in Augustine's peculiar standpoint. Entirely new problems, based on the experience of sin and grace, are opened up to the inner religious life. Not dazzling rhetoric, but practical and actual teaching, in comparatively brief and precise expression, sharply dialectical, but seizing the conscience. He is much less brilliant than Chrysostom, but goes far more into the depths of religion, the greatest Latin pulpit orator of the ancient Church, the pattern of many who came later. PETER, Bishop of Ravenna, called Chrysologus, is more attached to Greek rhetoric, and is esteemed for his polished diction. More important in substance is MAXIMUS of Turin, in the second half of the fifth century. Next to Augustine is the most important preacher LEO the Great of Rome, surpassing Augustine in elegance, pointed style and fluent speech, but lagging behind him in religious depth. Among the later preachers, FULGENTIUS of Ruspe (in North Africa) and CÆSARIUS of Arles stand pre-eminent. These men, but especially the last, show how much more fruitfully, but also more simply and in accordance with the popular intelligence, preaching here serves for the instruction of the young Western peoples.

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

Missions and Christianity on the Eastern Frontiers of the Empire.[1]

Christianity in the Persian Empire.

Literature: Malcolm, *Gesch. v. Persien, übers. v. Becker*, Leipsic 1830. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, London 1876. Th. Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, Leipsic 1887, p. 86 sqq. Assemani *Acta Martyrum Oriental. et Occident.*, Rome 1748. Uhlemann, *Die Verf. in Persien*, in ZhTh. 1861. G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus den syr. Akten Pers. Märtyrer: Abh. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.*, vol. 7, 1880.

Christians had already spread in Persia under the rule of the Parthian Arsacidæ (p. 186). They stood in manifold relationship with the Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia, also with those under Roman dominion. Yet Aphraates (p. 398) has vividly realized for us the peculiar position of this Oriental Christianity. The double city of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (Modain) below the present Bagdad, on both sides of the Tigris, appears as the Christian metropolis. Under the Parthian rule, which assumed a lukewarm attitude towards the ancient Zoroastrian religion of Persia, the Christians appear to have been little troubled. This was changed under the rule of the Sassanids in the neo-Persian Empire, who zealously revived the ancient fire-worship, decidedly suppressed the Greek cults which had penetrated into the country, and all sensuous cults in general, and also reacted against the foreign Babylonio-Medic Magism. At first Christianity seemed to be but little affected by the religious movements and parties connected with this action. Similarly the energetic persecution of the Manichees did not harm the Christian communities, who had distinctly rejected Mani as a heretic. Military contact with the Roman Empire, so long as the Christians in it were a persecuted sect, seems rather to have been favourable to them. It was only after the raising of Christianity to the position of the religion of the Empire, that the Persian Christians, who still maintained their attachment to Rome, came under the suspicion of the Sassanid rulers, and the circumstance, that on occasion of the conclusion of

[1] The beginnings of the Christianising of the German peoples follow in the second volume.

peace in 333 Constantine recommended the Christians to the young King Schapur II. (309–381), only served to strengthen the suspicion, especially on the renewed outbreak of hostilities with the Roman Empire. As a matter of fact the sympathy of the Christians who lived under Persian rule was on the side of Rome.[1] The Church, victorious in the Roman Empire, in the Persian Empire now passed into a period of severe persecution. The attempt to convert the Christians to Parseeism began with the imposition of a heavy poll-tax, to be levied by their metropolitan. When he, the aged Simeon of Seleucia, stubbornly refused to do so, he was executed, and with him one hundred other clergy; the churches were destroyed. The persecution was then extended to a multitude of other Christians also. Even the peace which seemed so dishonourable to the Roman Empire, and which, immediately after the death of Julian in 363, Jovian concluded with the Persians, and by which the districts of Mesopotamia with the fortress of Nisibis were given into their hands, brought no real help, although the Christians were permitted to emigrate. The persecution lasted till towards the close of the life of Schapur II. († 381). His next successor left the Christians in peace, as at first also did Jezdegerd I. (400–421), whom a bishop, Maruthas of Tagrit, served as negotiator with the Court of Constantinople, and under whom the Persian Church ventured to reorganize itself at the Synod of Seleucia (416). But the destruction of a fire-temple by the Christian fanaticism of Bishop Abdas of Susa again led to sharp measures against the Christians, and under his successor Bahram (Varanes) V. (from 421), matters again rose to the pitch of systematic persecution of the Christians. The escape of Christians to Roman soil, the surrender of whom Theodosius II. refused, kindled anew the war with the Roman Empire. Theodosius however, in the peace of 422, obtained toleration for the Persian Christians, by conceding the like for the religion of Zoroaster under Roman rule. The action of Bishop Acacius of Amida, who redeemed 7,000 Persian prisoners from the hands of the Romans by the surrender of all his church-vessels, also had a conciliatory effect.

The Persian Christians were assigned to connection with the Syrian Church (Antioch), and, in the Christological conflicts of the fifth century, attached themselves to the Antiochene dogmatic theology and the Nestorianism which sprang from it. In favour of it wrought Barsumas (p. 418) after his expulsion from Edessa (435), as Bishop of Nisibis. The dogmatic separation from the Church of the Empire which was thereby promoted, confirmed by the synod at Beth

[1] *Vid.* Aphraates, *Hom.* 5, in Bert, p. 69 sqq., also *Hom.* 19.

Lapat in 483 and 484, was of assistance to the Persian Christians with Peroz (Pheroces, 461–488) who favoured this separation from the Empire, and only persecuted those who were of Catholic sentiments. This Nestorian attitude was confirmed by the theological school at Nisibis, which arose out of the school at Edessa, destroyed on account of its Antiochene tendency (489). Chosrau (Chosroës) II. however, who was at first very favourable to the Christians, showed inclination towards the Monophysites.[1] The hostile attitude of the Persian power towards the Empire continued, and the hostile invasions, especially under Chosrau (Chosroës) II., who for a long time actually desolated Palestine, brought severe sufferings on the Christians of the Eastern provinces of the empire, until the Sassanid dominion suffered a decided defeat under the Emperor Heraclius (621–628), but finally succumbed to the power of the Arab Caliphs (651).

Nestorian Christianity in this period already spread from Persia deep into Asia, under the influence of the persecutions in the Persian kingdom, but also of vigorous trade relations. Thus Cosmos Indicopleustes (535) found Persian Christians at Taprobane (Ceylon), Male (Malabar) and Kalliane (Calicut), and indeed Christianity seems to have reached China at that time.

2. Christianity in Armenia.

Sources: Faustus of Byzantium, *Armenian History.* Of the Greek original only an Armenian translation is extant (Venice 1822. In French in V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anc. et mod. de l'Armenie*, I. Paris 1869). Agathangelos, *History of King Terdat and the conversion of Armenia by Gregorius Illum.* in the Armenian edition of the Mechitarists. Venice 1835 (and 1862, French transl. Venice 1843); the Greek revision in the Acta SS. Boll. Sept. VIII. The author's giving himself out to be a contemporary (secretary) of Terdat is a literary fiction. The compilation from sources of very various value first originated in the fifth century, but was used by Moses of Khoren. *Vid.* the article by Gutschmid, *Agathangelos* in ZDMG. XXXI. Moses Khorenensis, *Histor. Armen.* ed. W. and G. Whiston, London 1736, and in the collected editions of his Works. Venice 1842 and 1864, with French translation by Le Vaillant de Florival, Venice 1841. *Vid.* article by Gutschmid, *Ueber die Glaubwürdigkit der armen. Gesch. des Moses v. Choren.* in the Berichten ü. d. Verh. der Kgl. Sächs. G. W. XXVIII. (Leipsic 1876). Elisæus, *Gesch. des Glaubenkampfs gegen die Perser im 5. Jahrh.*, Venice 1838 and frequently. In English: *The History of Vartan* transl. by C. F. Neumann, London 1830.—*Literature:* J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires hist. et. géogr. de l'Armenie*, 2 vols. Paris 1819 sq. M. Samuelian, *Die Bekehrung Armeniens*, Vienna 1844 and ThQ. 1846 (very uncritical). Cf. further Neumann, *Gesch. der armen. Literatur*, Leipsic 1836, and Petermann in RE.[2] 1, 663.

[1] *Vid.* Nöldeke, p. 124 sq.

At the close of the first period (p. 186) the firm foundation of the Church in **Greater Armenia** had already been accomplished by Gregory the Illuminator (φωτιστής), who, himself alleged to have sprung from the Parthian royal race of the Arsacidæ, escaped as the child of his foster-mother, from the bath of blood which overtook his family, to Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and in any case there received a Christian education. Returning to Armenia about 286, he won over to Christianity, after initial opposition, the Arsacid Terdat (Tiridates) III., who had again gained rule by the help of the Romans. Christianity was now preached to his countrymen by Gregory in the Armenian language, and introduced by ordinance of the king, and founded ecclesiastically by the endowment of the churches with property in land. In many cases the property of the heathen temples in land and people was immediately transferred into the hands of the Church. The sons of the heathen priests were educated in their own schools for the Christian ministry. In this way, although Syrian and Greek clergy also came in, the Church received a distinctly national stamp. The Emperor Maximin made war on the already Christian Armenia (312) with the purpose of inducing it to fall away from Christianity (Euseb. H.E. 9, 6). The Armenian Church remained, under metropolitans of the race of Gregory, in ecclesiastical subordination to Cæsarea, till the time of Narses. From that time onwards this relationship was broken off in accordance with the decision of the synod at Valarschapad in 366; the patriarchs or **Catholici** were independently elected, among them again a descendant of Gregory, Sahak (Isaac the Great, 390–442). Meanwhile the conflicts of the parties of the Armenian nobility had undermined the independence of Armenia and made it an object of war between the Persians and Romans; in 390 one part fell to the share of the Greek Empire, the far larger part to Persia, but under kings of its own; in 430 Persian Armenia definitely lost its independence. Under Jezdegerd II. severe persecutions broke over the Church, led by Sahak, afterwards by Mesrob and Joseph (who died a martyr in 454), which was able to assert itself against them. Towards the end of the century the rebellious Armenians extorted from King Balasch (484–488) the exclusion of the Persian state religion from Armenia. But Armenia was only freed from the pressure of the Persian rule by the fall of the Sassanids, only however to exchange it for Mohammedan rule, in 651.

The Christian literature of Armenia owes its origin to the abovementioned Mesrob (ob. 441), who after the efforts of many years was the inventor of an Armenian alphabet, and by the help of Sahak

translated the Bible into Armenian. Until then the lessons in church had been read in Syriac, while at court Persian was dominant; Armenian scholars also wrote Armenian works with Syriac or Greek letters in a very imperfect manner. Mesrob now became the founder of a very noteworthy Armenian literature, which sought to replace the inthronging spirit of Parseeism by the help of Greek Christian culture. Greek and Syriac works were translated in great numbers by pupils of Sahak and Mesrob, the so-called interpreters. But works in national history and theology also appear; Moses Chorenensis (of Khoren in the province of Taron), **the nephew of Mesrob,** wrote the history of his people, and Elisæus the history of the wars between Armenia and Persia in the fifth century, Bishop Esnik the polemical work the "Destruction of the Heretics" and others. (As to Agathangelos *vid. sup.* the *sources.*)

The Catholicos Sahak had adhered to the decision of the Council of Ephesus **against Nestorius.** The opposition to Nestorius and mistrust of the Council of Chalcedon was further strengthened by the national opposition to the Syrian Nestorianism which was favoured in the Persian domain. Finally adherence to Zeno's Henotikon (Synod of Varalschapad in 491) provided the transition to the Monophysitism which definitively rejected the Synod of Chalcedon.

In the beginning of the fourth century, Christianity likewise came to **Iberia,** between Armenia and the Caucasus (the present Georgia and Grusia), according to the story, by means of a Christian prisoner, by whose prayer sick persons were cured. The king obtained by request a bishop from Constantine, but the influence of Armenia was probably predominant, with which the Iberian Church and that of the neighbouring Albania, appear in alliance later on. Its spiritual head, elected by the Georgians, received his consecration from the Armenian patriarch, the so-called Catholicos. In the end of the sixth century the Georgian Patriarch Cyrion submitted himself to the recognition of the Council of Chalcedon, of which the Nestorians, who interpreted it in their own favour, took advantage. Cyrion indeed repudiated the Nestorians, but adhered to the recognition of the Council, which led to a break with the Armenian Church; but the exertions of the Emperor Mauritius (about 600) did not make it permanent, although the latter was able to force a recognition of Greek orthodoxy from the portion of the Armenian Church which was left in the Greek Empire.

From the Iberians Christianity also forced its way farther towards the Caucasus; a king of the **Lazi** had himself baptized at Constan-

tinople in 520, when the Emperor Justin took the part of godfather. Justinian I. sent clergy to the Abasgi.

3. The Ethiopian Church.

Sources: Rufinus, H.E. 10, 9. Socrates, 1, 19. Sozomen, 2, 24. Theodoret, 1, 22.
Literature: H. LUDOLPH, *Hist. Æthiopica libb.* 4. Frankfort 1681. Ejdm. *Commentarius ad hist. Æth.* 1691 and *Appendix* 1694. DILLMANN in ZDMG. VII. (1852) and *Ueber die Anfänge des axumitischen Reichs* in Abh. Brl. Ak. 1878 and 1880.

In Ethiopia, the countries south of Egypt, the kernel of which is formed by **Habesch (Abyssinia)**, Christianity now penetrates into the Axumite kingdom (chief city Axum, or Axumana in the Abyssinian district of Tigre). This kingdom, which is historically perceptible from the first century after Christ, temporarily extended in the north as far as the Egyptian frontier, in the south as far as the Arabian Gulf (Somaliland), and also exercised suzerainty over Southern Arabia. The travels of discovery of the philosopher Metrodorus, after his return to Tyre, gave opportunity to the merchant Meropius for a commercial undertaking. His expedition suffered shipwreck on the coast, he himself met with his death, the youths FRUMENTIUS and ÆDESIUS, who accompanied him, came as slaves to the court at Axum. Set free by the king before his death, they gained influence with the queen and her son Aezianes. They attracted Christian traders and wrought for the Christian religion. While Ædesius returned to Tyre, Frumentius had himself ordained bishop in Alexandria by Athanasius. The king and his brothers adopted Christianity; after the expulsion of Athanasius the Arian patriarch tried to influence Frumentius, but to no purpose. The Emperor Constantius also exerted himself in vain to supplant him by Theophilus of Diu. After these first beginnings the monks of Upper Egypt subsequently (from about the close of the century) probably did most for the Christianising of the country. The Patriarch or *Abuna* remained under Alexandria. In connection with the patriarchate of Alexandria and the dominant disposition of the Egyptian Christians the Abyssinian Church also fell into Monophysitism. Under Justinian, a presbyter devoted to this way of thinking, JUSTIN, went, sent by Theodora, on mission to the Nobates (Nubians) in the neighbourhood of the Thebaid, and subsequently, after Theodora's death, LONGINUS went thither and to the more southern Alvadians.[1]

[1] John of Ephesus, History of the Church, 4, 6, cf. DILLMANN l.c. From that time onwards the Abyssinian Church maintained itself, but in great torpidity and ossification.

We find the Church of **Southern Arabia** in some contact with that of Abyssinia. Constantius sent an embassy in 350 to the Himjarites, with Theophilus of Diu (born on the island of Diu = Socotra at the outlet of the Red Sea). Educated as a Christian in Constantinople and consecrated Bishop of the Indies, he was to gain free worship among the Homerites for the Christians who traded there, and won over Abdul Calal the ruler. Churches arose in Taphar, the capital, in Portus Romanus = Aden and the Persian trading city of Hormuz. Even then the Christians suffered violent attacks on the part of the very numerous Jews, later, in the beginning of the sixth century violent persecution on the part of the ruler Dhunovas, himself a Jew, till the Abyssinian king Elesbaan again restored the Christian dominion. Chosroës II. of Persia overthrew the rule of the Abyssinians and brought Yemen under Persian authority, until it succumbed to the inrush of Islam.

INDEX.

Abdas of Susa, 536.
Abgar Uchomo, 104; bar Manu, 104.
Abrenuntiatio, 257, 476.
Abuna, 540.
Abyssinia, 540.
Acacians, 390.
Acacius of Cæsarea, 390, 425.
Acacius of Amida, 536.
Açedia, 370.
Acolytes, 240, 321.
Acta Andreæ, 155.
Acta Pilati, 117.
Acts of the Apostles, Apocr., 155.
Adam Kadmon, 134.
Addæus, doctrina, 104.
Adiaphorites, 431.
Adoration of images, 503.
Ædesius, 540.
Æizanes, 540.
Ælia Capitolina, 95.
Æneas of Gaza, 412.
Aërius, 476, 510.
Aëtius, 388.
Agapes, 268 sq.
Agapetus I., 352, 427.
Agnoëtai, 430.
Agrœcius, 187.
Agrippa Castor, 184.
Agrippinus of Carthage, 106, 186.
Akiba, 95.
Akoimetes, 364.
Aktistetes, 430.
Alcibiades of Apamea, 101.
Alexander of Alexandria, 336; of Jerusalem, 193; Severus, 191, 195.
Alexandria, 103.
Alms, 288, 484.
Alogi, 158, 223, 233.
Alypius, 455.
Ambo, 497, 528.
Ambrose, 399, 401, 433 sqq., 444.
Ambrosiast, 450.
Ammianus Marcellinus, 312.
Ammonius, 358; Saccas, 188, 207.
Amphilochius of Iconium, 362.
Anastasius, I., 343; II., 351, 425; Bibliothecarius, 8; Presbyter, 417; Sinaita, 432.
Anatolius of Constantinople, 347.
Anchorites, 355 sqq.
Andrew, Apostle, 82.
Angelici, 511.
Angels, adoration of, 511.
Anicetus, 276.
Anomœans, 388.
Anthimus of Trapezus, 427.
Anthropomorphism, 405.
Antidikomariomites, 507.
Antiochenes, 406 sqq., 416.
Antoninus, Pius, 163.
Antony, S., 355.
Apelles, Gnostic, 149
Aphraates, 356, 398.
Apthartodocetics, 430.
Apiarius, 343.
Apion, 42.
Apostolic Constitutions, 235.
Apostolic Decree, 57, 71.
Apostolici, 361.
Apuleius of Madaura, 168.
Arabia, 105, 186, 541.
Arator, 468.
Arcadius, 308.
Archelaüs, 33.
Archdeacon, 321.
Arch presbyter, 323.
Architecture, Roman, 498; Byzantine, 498.
Ardesianes, Gnostic, 147.
Arianism, 382 sqq., 414.
Aristeus, 43.
Aristides, 173.
Aristobulus, 33.
Arius, 382 sqq.
Armenia, 186, 537.
Arnobius, 206.
Arnobius Junior, 465.
Artemon, 224.
Art, Christian, 283, 499.
Ascetics, 286.
Asia Minor, 83, 91.
Ass, Worship of the, 160.
Asterius, 380, 385.
Asylum, Right of, 318.
Athanasians, 414.
Athanasius, 295, 384 sqq., 403.
Athenagoras, 165, 176.
Atticus, 406.
Audians, 361.
Audius, 361.
Augustine, 293, 325, 435 sqq., 473, 534.
Aurelian, 196.
Ausonius, Magn. Aurel., 312.
Autocephaly, 340.
Auxentius, 399.
Avitus of Vienne, 350, 466.
Axionicus, Gnostic, 147.
Axumite Kingdom, 540.

Babylas of Antioch, 192.
Ban, *v.* Excommunication.
Baptisteries, 476, 497.
Baptism, 52, 70, 121, 256, 471 sqq.
Baptism, terms of, 473.
Baptismal Creed, 121, 257, 475.
Baptismal Formula, 476.
Bastismal Sponsors, 477.
Barcochba, 95.
Bardesanes, 151
Barnabas, Epistle of, 112.
Barsumas, 536.
Bartholomew, Apostle, 82.
Basil the Great, 322, 325, 359 sqq., 394 sqq.
Basilicas, 279, 497.
Basilides, 141 sqq.
Bassianus (Heliogabalus), 191.
Benedict I., 354; of Nursia, 373.
Beryllus of Bostra, 228.
Bishops, *v.* ἐπίσκοποι.
Blastus, 276.
Boëtius, 470.
Boniface I., 344, 455; II., 352.
Bonosus, 507.
Βοσκοί, 361.
Breviarium, 526.
Britain, 186.

Bryennios, 89.
Burial, 279, 494.

Cæcilian, 332.
Cæsarius of Arles, 373, 466, 468, 534.
Cainites, 139.
Callistus, 201, 226, 244, 261.
Canon, Apostolic, 234.
Caracalla, 191.
Care-Friday (Good Friday), 516.
Carpocrates, 135.
Carpocratians, 135.
Cappadocians, 394.
Cassianus *v.* Johannes.
Cassiodorius, 8, 375, 470.
Catacombs, 280.
Catechumenate, 254, 471.
Celestine I., 344, 346, 417.
Celestius, 452.
Celibacy of the clergy, 286, 324.
Celsus, 169.
Cemeteries, 280.
Cerdon, 147 sqq.
Cerinthus, 134.
Charisms, 64.
Chasidim, 34.
Χριστιανοί, 54.
Christmas, 517 sqq.
Chrysostom, *v.* John.
Church Discipline, 486.
Church History, Division of, 4 sqq.; Literature and Sources of, 16 sqq.
Church-prayer, 271, 526.
Church-singing, 529.
Claudius I., 76; II., 196; Apollinaris, 157, 173, 276; Claudianus, 312.
Claudianus Mamertus, 461.
Clement of Rome, 87; II. Epistle of, 109, 123; of Alexandria, 207.
Collatio cum Donatistis, 447; cum Severianis, 427.
Commodian, 205, 439.
Commodus, 166.
Council, Œcumenical I. (Nicæa), 334, sqq.; II. (Constantin.), 401 sq.; III. (Ephesus), 417; IV. (Chalcedon), 421; V. (Constantin.), 429.
Concupiscentia, 456.
Confessors, 262.
Confirmatio, 258.
Constans, 301.
Constantine I. the Great, 296; II. 301.
Cloisters, in the East, *v.* Monasteries, 357.
Constantinople (foundation of), 299.
Constantius, 301; Chlorus, 198, 301.
Constitutum, 429.
Copiatae, 320.
Coracion, 233.
Cornelius, 263.
Corporate property, 244.
Crescens, 169.

Cross of Christ, 505, 512; Feast of discovery of, 506.
Cyprian, 194, 205 sqq., 237, 262, 266.
Cynegius, 307.
Cyrenaica, 105.
Cyril of Alexandria, 346, 409, 417, 503; of Jerusalem, 397, 473.
Cyrillonas, 412.
Cyrion, 539.

Damasus, 342, 399.
Damianus, 431.
Daniel, Bk. of, 35.
Danube, Lands on, 186.
Deacons, 67, 90, 125, 239, 321.
Deaconesses, 241.
Decius, 193.
Decretals, 343.
Delphidius, 441.
Demetrias, 451.
Diaspora of the Jews, 39 sqq., 62 sq.
Didache of the Twelve Apostles, 107, 111 sqq., 235.
Didymus, 397, 403.
Diocesan Bishops, 338.
Diocletian, 197.
Diodorus of Tarsus, 397, 416.
Diognetus, 176.
Dionysius, Bishop of Rome, 231; the Great of Alexandria, 186, 193, 214, 228, 231, 233; Areopagita, 411; Exiguus, 351; of Milan, 387.
Dhunovas, 541.
Dioscurus, 347, 419.
Diptychs, 506.
Discipline, ecclesiastical, 127, 317.
Disciplina arcani, 270.
Domitian, 86.
Domitilla, 87 sq.
Donatists, 332, 445.
Donatus of Casæ Nigræ, 332; Magnus, 332.
Dorotheus, 216.
Dositheus, 131.
Dove, the, as symbol, 282.
Dracontius, 467.

Easter Canon, 277, 514.
Ebionæans, *v.* Ebionites.
Ebionites, 99.
Edessa, 82, 104.
Egypt, 105.
Elesbaan, 541.
Eleutheros, 158.
Elevation, 525.
Elias of Jerusalem, 425.
Elissæus, 539.
Elkesaites, 100.
Elpidius, *v.* Helpidius.
Elxai, 101.
Encratites, 175, 235.
Endelechius, 440.
Ennius, 29.
Ennodius, 350, 467.
Enoch, Bk. of, 117.
Enthusiasts, 362.
Epigonus, 226.
Ephesus, 105.
Ephraëm, 398.
Ephraim of Antioch, 428.
Epiklesis, 274
Epiphanes, 135.
Epiphany, Feast of, 278, 516.
Epiphanius, 8, 324, 403.
Episcopate, development of, 235.
Ἐπίσκοποι, 63, 90, 125, 235, 323.
Essæans, *v.* Essenes.
Essenes, 36 sq., 100.
Ethiopia, 540.
Eucharist, 70, 122; 268 sqq., 522.
Eucherius, 461.
Euchites, 362.

Eudocia, 412, 423.
Eudoxius, 389, 399.
Eugenius, 308.
Euhemeros, 29.
Eulogius of Cæsarea, 453; of Alexandria, 510.
Eunapius, 312.
Eunomius, 402.
Eusebius, Bishop of Rome, 264; of Dorylæum, 420; of Emisa, 380, 397; of Nicomedia, 304, 380, 382; of Cæsarea, 6, 7, 81, 190, 379; of Vercelli, 325.
Eustathians, 324, 362.
Eustathius of Antioch, 336, 380, 384; of Sebaste, 362, 400.
Eutyches, 420.
Eutychian controversy, 420 sqq.
Euzoius, 391.
Evagrius Ponticus, 7, 409.
Exarchs, 340.
Excommunication, 258, 486.
Exomologesis, 260.
Exorcism, 474.
Exorcists, 240.
Exukontians, 388.

Fabius, 263.
Facundus of Herm., 429, 469.
Fasts, 277, 481.
Fathers, the Apostolic, 108 sqq.
Faustus of Mileve; of Reji, 461, 464.
Felicissimus, 262, 263.
Felicitas, 158, 190.
Felix II., 342; III., 349, 424; IV. 351.
Felix the Manichee, 293; of Aptunga, 332.
Firmicus Maternus, 313.
Firmilian, 229, 267.
Fish, the, as symbol, 282.
Flavian of Antioch, 362, 424; of Constantinople, 420.
Fortunatus, 263.
Foot-washing, 515.
Fossores, 320.
Fronto, 169.
Frumentius, 540.
Fulgentius of Ruspe, 465, 469.

Gajanus, 427.
Gaius, Presbyter, 201.
Galerius, 197.
Gallienus, 195.
Gaul, 109, 186.
Gelasius I., 349.
Gemara, 96.
Genesis, The Little, 117.
Gennadius Massil., 465; of Constant., 503.
Gnosticism, general, 129; fundamental principles, 152; signif. for the Ch., 153; systems of, 131.
Gospels, apocryphal, 117.
Gospels, gnostic, 155.
Gospel of Nicodemus, 117.
Gregory I. the Great, 354, 473; the Illuminator, 538; of Nazianzen, 395 sq.; of Nyssa, 396 sq., 403, 473; the Thaumaturge, 186, 214.
Greece, 105.
Green Thursday, 515.
Goods, community of, 51.

Hadrian, 95, 162.
Hands, laying on of, 257, 477.
Hebrews, Epistle to the, 89; Gospel of the, 154.
Hegesippus, 100, 116.
Helena, 296, 495, 505.
Heliodore of Trikka, 324.

Heliogabalus, *v.* Bassianus.
Hellenists, 44.
Helpidius, 441.
Helvidius, 480.
Hemerobaptists, 134.
Henotikon, 424.
Heracles, 210, 214.
Heracleon, Gnostic, 147.
Heraclius, 264.
Hermas, 108, 128.
Herod the Great, 33.
Herod Agrippa I., 33, 42, 55.
Herod Antipas, 33.
Heros of Arles, 453.
Hesychius, 216.
Hieracas, 287.
Hieracites, 355.
Hierocles, 189.
Hieronymus (Jerome), 325, 365 sqq., 404, 434, 453.
Hilarion, 356.
Hilarius of Arelate, 344, 372, 462; Bp. of Rome, 349, 420; of Poitiers, 387, 393, 439.
Hippolytus, 201 sq.
Honorius, 309.
Homily, 272; the first, 123.
Homoians, 390.
Homoiousians, 389.
Homousios, 383.
Honoratus, 372.
Hormisdas, 465.
Horologium, 526.
Hosius, 332, 387.
Hyacinthus, 167.
Hyginus of Corduba, 441.
Hymns, 271, 439, 468, 528.
Hypatia, 308, 313.

Iamblichus, 303.
Ibas, 418.
Iberia, 539.
Idacius, 441.
Ignatius of Antioch, 112 sqq., 162; Epistles of, 112 sqq., 126.
India, 82, 105, 186.
Infant communion, 525.
Innocent I., 309, 343.
Instantius, 443.
Intercession, 317.
Irenæus, 106, 158, 190 sqq.
Isaac of Antioch, 412.
Isaiah, monk, 533.
Isidore of Pelusium, 408.
Ithacius, 442.

Jacobus Baradæus, 431; of Nisibis, 323, 398; of Sarug, 412.
James, 55, 74.
Jason, 182.
Jerome, *v.* Hieronymus.
Jerusalem, Destr. of, 80.
Jews, Insurrection under Nero, 79; under Hadrian, 95; under Trajan, 94; expulsion of, under Claudius, 76.
Jewish Christians, 97.
John I., 351; II., 352, 427; III., 354; of Antioch, 418; the Apostle, 82, 91; Ascunaghes, 431; Cassian, 368 sqq., 462, 464; Chrysostom, 405 sqq., 533; of Ephesus, 7, 309, 431, of Gischala, 80.
Joannes Maxentius, 426, 465.
Joannes Philoponus, 413, 431.
John Talaja, 424.
John, Acts of, 155.
Jovian, 307.
Jovinian, 454, 479.
Jubilees, Bk. of, 117.
Judicatum, 429.
Julia Domna, 191; Mammæa, 192.

Julian the Apostate, 302 sqq.; of Eclanum, 455; of Halicarnassus, 426, 430.
Julianists, 430.
Julius I., 342, 385; Africanus, 214; Severus, 95.
Junilius, 469.
Jurisdiction, ecclesiastical, 317.
Justina, 402.
Justin I., 425; II., 432; Martyr, 164, 173 sq.
Justinian I., 426.
Justus, Gnostic, 140.
Juvenal of Jerusalem, 339, 423.
Juvencus, Aquilinus, 438.

Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, 118.
Keys, power of the, 260.
Kollyridian Women, 508.
Ktistolaters, 430.

Lactantius, 206.
Lapsi, 262.
Laurentius, Deacon, 195; Antipope, 350.
Lazarus of Aix, 453.
Lazi, 539.
Leo I., the Gt., 344 sqq., 421, 460.
Leonidas, 190.
Leontius of Byzant., 413.
Leucius, 155.
Libellatici, 194.
Libelli Pacis, 262.
Libanius, 304, 311.
Liberius, 342, 387 sq., 400.
Licinius, 198, 296, 298.
Litteræ formatæ, 235.
Liturgies, 521.
Longinus, 540.
Logos, Doct. of, 93, 179, 222.
Luke, 85 sq.
Lucian, 171; Presbyter and Martyr, 216, 231.
Lucidus, 464.
Lucifer of Cagliari, 387, 391.
Lucius of Alexandria, 399.

Macarius, the Elder, 358, 409; Magnes, 189, 313.
Maccabæans, 33.
Macedonians, 392.
Macedonius, 392.
Macrina, 394.
Macrobius, Theodosius, 312.
Majorinus, 332.
Malchion, 230.
Mamphamo, 167.
Mandæans, 293.
Mani, 290.
Manicheism, 289.
Marcellus, Bishop of Rome, 248, 264; of Ancyra, 385.
Marcia, 167.
Marcian, 421.
Marcion, 148 sqq., 155.
Marcosians, 147.
Marcus, the Gnost., 147.
Mar Jakub, 398.
Marius Mercator, 456, 459; Victor, 439.
Martin of Tours, 309, 364, 366.
Martyrs, Feasts of, 278, 507; Adoration of, 288, 504.
Martyrologies, 507.
Marutas of Tagrit, 536.
Mary, Worship of, 508.
Massa perditionis, 457.
Maternus, 187.
Matthew, 82, 85.
Matutine, 526.
Mauritius, Emperor, 432.
Maxentius, v. Joannes M.
Maximian, 198.
Maximilla, 156.
Maximinus Daza, 198 sq., 296; Thrax, 191.
Maximus of Madaura, 510; of Turin, 430; Tyrius, 168.
Melania, 365.
Melchiades, v. Miltiades.
Melchisedecians, 224.
Meletius of Antioch, 391, 401; of Lycopolis, 265.
Melito of Sardis, 165, 172, 276.
Memnon of Ephesus, 417.
Menander, 132.
Mennas, 427.
Mensurius of Carthage, 332.
Meropius, 540.
Meruzanes, 186.
Mesrob, 538.
Messalians, 362.
Methodius, 215.
Metropolitan constitution, 249 sq., 328 sqq.
Miltiades, Bishop of Rome, 333.
Miltiades, Rhetor, 157, 173, 182.
Minucius Felix, 177.
Mischna, 96.
Missa fidelium, 270, 521; catechumenorum, 270.
Monadistic Gnosticism, 135.
Monarchians, dynamistic, 223; modalistic, 225.
Monasticism, 355 sqq.; in the West, 364.
Monastic vow, 374.
Monophysite controversy, 422 sqq.
Monotheism, 30.
Montanism, 156.
Montanus, 156.
Mosaics, 500.
Monte Cassino, 374.
Mysteries, celebration of, 269.

Naassenes, 139.
Nectarius, 401.
Nemesius, 410.
Neo-Alexandrians, 408, 415.
Neo-Platonists.
Neophytes, 327.
Nepos, 233.
Nestorians, 346, 417 sqq.
Nestorius, 417.
Nilus, 410.
Nimbus, 503.
Noachic commandments, 41, 58.
Noëtus of Smyrna, 225.
Nonnus, 411.
Nuns, cloisters of, 377.
Noricum, 187.
North Africa, 106.
Novatian, 205, 263.
Novatianists, 263.
Novatus, 262.
Numenius, 169.

Oblations, 243.
Ophites, 136 sqq.
Orientius, 440.
Origen, 193, 209 sqq., 230.
Origenists, 403 sqq., 428.
Orosius, 7, 314, 440, 453, 459.

Pachomius, 358.
Palm Sunday, 515.
Pamphilus, 190, 379.
Pannonia, 187.
Pantænus, 105, 207.
Paphnutius, 324.
Papias, 115.
Papiscus, 182.
Parabolani, 320.
Parmenianus, 446.
Parochial division, 322.
Particularity of will in Grace, 458.
Paschal feast, 514.
Paschal controversies, 275 sqq.
Passio Quatuor Coronatorum, 187.
Patriarchate, 337.
Patripassians, 225.
Patroclus of Arelate, 344.
Patron, 64.
Paulinus of Antioch, 391; of Milan, 459; of Nola, 367, 440; of Perigueux, 463; of Trèves, 387.
Paul, St., 57 sqq., 75 sq., 76; of Antioch, 432; of Samosata, 228 sq.
Pelagian controversy, 448 sqq.
Pelagius, 451 sq.; I., 353; II., 354, 428.
Pella, 81.
Pentecost, 278, 516.
Peratæ, 139.
Peregrinus, 441.
Periodentai, 322.
Perpetua, 158, 190.
Persecutions under Nero, 77; Domitian, 87; Trajan and Hadrian, 161; the Antonines, 164; Septim. Sev., 190; Decius, 193; Diocletian, 196.
Persia, 186, 535.
Peter, 54, 82; of Alexandria, 265, 399; Chrysologus, 534; the Fuller, 423; of Jerusalem, 428; Mongus, 424.
Phantasiasts, 430.
Pharisees, 35 sqq.
Philip, 82; the Arabian, 192.
Philo of Alexandria, 45.
Philoponus, v. Joannes Ph.
Philostratus, 188.
Phocylides, 44.
Photinus of Sirmium, 387.
Phrygia, 82.
Phthartolatry, 430.
Pilgrimages, 512.
Pliny the younger, 118, 161.
Plotinus, 188.
Plutarch of Chæronea, 168.
Pneumatomachi, 393.
Polycarp, 114 sq., 164 sq., 276; Martyrium, 118.
Polycrates of Ephesus, 277.
Pontianus, 192, 201, 262.
Pontus, 186.
Porphyry, 188.
Possessor, 465.
Potamiæna, 190.
Pothinus, 200.
Prædestinatio, præscientia, 458.
Prædestinatus, 464.
Praxeas, 225.
Prayer, hours of, 368, 526.
Preaching, 272, 531.
Predestinationists, 464.
Presbyter, 55, 62, 90, 125, 238, 321.
Priesthood, Idea of, 270.
Primasius, 469.
Primacy, Roman, 340.
Prisca (Priscilla), 156.
Priscillianism, 440.
Priscillian, 440.
Privileges of the Church and the clergy, 328.
Proclus, 312; the Montanist, 158.
Probæresius, 305.
Prophets, 124.
Prosper Aquitanus, 460.
Protasius, 506.
Proterius, 423.
Protevangelium Jacobi Minoris, 117.
Protopaschites, 277.
Protopresbyter, 323.
Provincial synods, 249, 331.
Prudentius Clemens, 439.
Psalm-singing, 271, 527.
Ptolemæus, Gnostic, 146.

Pulcheria, 421.
Purgatory, 485, 531.

Quadragesimal season (Lent), 277, 514.
Quadratus, 172.
Quartodecimans, 275.
Quinquagesimal season (Pentecost), 278, 516.

Rabulas, 418.
Ravenna, buildings, 499.
Regula fidei, 217.
Relics, adoration of, 594, sqq.
Remoboth, 361.
Reparatus, 429.
Repentance, discipline of, 260 sqq., 489; public and secret, 490 sqq.; second, 260; priest of, 489; stages of, 265.
Reprobi, 458.
Revelation of John, 82.
Rhætia, 187.
Rhine Provinces 187.
Rhodo, 182.
Robber synod, 420.
Rome, 83, 105, 248.
Rufinus, 7, 8, 365, 404, 433.
Rutilius Namatianus, 312.

Sabellius, 227.
Sadducees, 36 sq.
Sahak, 539.
Salvianus, 314, 461.
Samaritans, 47.
Sarabaïtes, 361.
Sarcophagi, 499.
Saturday, 513.
Saturninus of Antioch, 135.
Saturus, 191.
Schism in the year 484, 424.
Schools of theology; at Alexandria, 325; at Antioch, 326; at Edessa, 326; at Cæsarea, 326; at Nisibis, 326, 537.
Scillitan Martyrs, 167.
Scrutinies, 474.
Secundus of Tigisis, 332.
Sedulius, Cœlius, 440.
Semiarians, 389.
Semipelagians, 460.
Semipelagian controversy, 462 sqq.
Seneca, 30, 41.
Septimius Severus, 188.
Serapeum, 308.
Serapion of Thmuis, 392.
Serenus of Mass., 503.
Servatius, 187.
Sethites, 140.
Severians, 430.
Severinus, 372.
Severus, Augustus, of Antioch, 412, 425.
Sidonius Apollinaris, 461.
Silverius, 352.
Simeon, 97, 162.
Simon Magus, 131 sq.
Simeon of Seleucia, 536; (Stylites), 363.
Simplicius, 349, 490.
Siricius, 324, 343, 479, 490.
Sixtus II., 195; III., 346.
Smyrna, 105.
Sophia, St., Church of, 498.
Soter, 158.
Spain, 106.
Station-days, 275, 526.
Stephen, 54; Bishop of Rome, 266; Niobes, 430.
Stylites, 363.
Subdeacons, 239, 321.
Sunday, Observance of, 69, 268, 298, 513.
Sylvester I., 342.
Symbolism, Christian, 282.
Symbolum Nicænum, 383; Nicæno Constantin., 401.
Symmachus, Bishop of Rome, 350; Aurelius, 311.
Symphosius (Symposius), 442.
Synagogue, 34.
Synesius of Cyrene, 324, 410.
Synods, 157, 250.
Synods of Alexandria, 210, 382, 390, 405; of Ancyra, 334, 389; of Antioch, 229, 386, 393, 401; of Aquileia, 401; of Ariminum, 389; of Arles, 267, 333, 465; of Beth Lapet, 537; of Carthage, 263, 267, 332, 447, 452, 453, 457; of Cilicia, 456; of Constantinople, 384, 390, 401 sq., 406, 421, 427, 428, 429; of Diospolis, 453; of Elvira, 264, 501; of Ephesus, 417, 420; of Gangra, 324, 362; of Jerusalem, 384, 453; of Iconium, 266; of Lampsacus, 400; of Laodicea, 520; of Lyons, 465; of Milan, 387 bis.; of Neocæsarea, 255; of Nicæa, 334; of Orange, 466; of Philippopolis, 386; of Rimini, *v.* Ariminum; of Rome, 263, 350 sqq., 385, 399, 417; of Sardica, 342, 386; of Saragossa, 442; of Seleucia, 389; of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, 535; of Sirmium, 387, 389; of Synnada, 266; of Toledo, 525; of Tyre, 384; of Valarschapad, 538, 539; of Valence, 467.
Synodus Palmaris, 350.
Syria, 82.

Tatian, 150, 175.
Teachers, 65, 124.
Telesphorus, 163.
Tempus clausum, 515.
Terebinthus, 290.
Tertullian, 106, 158, 202 sqq., 225, 261.
Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, 117.
Thaddeus, 82, 104.
Themistius, 303, 311, 430.
Theodoric, 350.
Theodoret, 6, 7, 313, 347, 408.
Theodorus Askidas, 428; of Heraclea, 380; Lector, 6, 503; of Mopsuestia, 407, 416.
Theodosius I., 307; II., 308; of Alexandria, 427: the monk, 422.
Theodotians, 223,
Theodotus, the money-changer, 224; the Gnostic, 147; σκυτεύς, 223.
Theopaschitism, 413, 426.
Theophilus of Alexandria, 308, 404; of Antioch, 176; of Diu, 540.
Thomas, 82; Acts of, 155.
Tithe, the, 244.
Tradux peccati, 454.
Tradition, 218.
Traditio Symboli, 475.
Trajan, 94, 161 sq.
Trinity, Doctrine of the, 402.
Trophimus, 263.
Two Natures, doctrine of, 414.
Tychonius, 447.

Ulpian, 190.
Urban I., 285.
Ursinus, 342.

Valens, 399.
Valentinus, Gnostic, 145 sq.
Valentinian I., 307; II., 307.
Valerian, 194.
Venantius Fortunatus, 468.
Vespers, 526.
Victor I., 167, 225, 277.
Victorinus of Petabium, 206; Victorinus Rhetor, 305.
Vigilantius, 325, 480, 510.
Vigilius, 352, 427, 429.
Vincentius Lerimensis, 460.
Vindelicia, 187.
Visitatores, 322.
Vitalian, 425.
Vulgate, 434.

Whitsunday, 516.
Works, good, 248 478.
Worship, societies for, 66.

Xenajas, 412.
Xerophagies, 277.

Zacharias Scholasticus, 412.
Zeno, 423.
Zenobia, 222.
Zephyrinus, 201, 226 sq., 244.
Zosimus, 312, 343, 454.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 7, line 15 from foot, *for* Theoderic *read* Theodoric.

Page 111, line 8 from foot, *for* discipline *read* Canon.

Page 177, line 21 from top, insert: According to A. HARNACK the Roman Bishop Victor (189 sqq.), as the author of the pseudo-Cyprian's tractate *De Aleatoribus* (Texte und Unters. by Gebhardt and A. Harnack V. 1. 1888), would be regarded as the first Latin Christian author. Cf. Bonwetsch in ThLB. 1889, 1. *Vid.*, however, on the contrary, E. Wölfflin in the *Archiv. f. lat. Lexikogr.* V. 487; and especially Hausleiter in ThLB. 1889, 5 and 6.

Page 234, line 9 from foot, *for* Church Ordinances *read* Canon.

THE LIBRARY OF PHILOSOPHY.

THE LIBRARY OF PHILOSOPHY is in the first instance a contribution to the History of Thought. While much has been done in England in tracing the course of evolution in nature, history, religion, and morality, comparatively little has been done in tracing the development of Thought upon these and kindred subjects, and yet "the evolution of opinion is part of the whole evolution."

This Library will deal mainly with Modern Philosophy, partly because Ancient Philosophy has already had a fair share of attention in this country through the labours of Grote, Ferrier, and others, and more recently through translations from Zeller; partly because the Library does not profess to give a complete history of thought.

By the co-operation of different writers in carrying out this plan, it is hoped that a completeness and thoroughness of treatment otherwise unattainable will be secured. It is believed, also, that from writers mainly English and American fuller consideration of English Philosophy than it has hitherto received from the great German Histories of Philosophy may be looked for. In the departments of Ethics, Economics, and Politics, for instance, the contributions of English writers to the common stock of theoretic discussion have been especially valuable, and these subjects will accordingly have special prominence in this undertaking.

Another feature in the plan of the Library is its arrangement according to subjects rather than authors and dates, enabling the writers to follow out and exhibit in a way hitherto unattempted the results of the logical development of particular lines of thought.

The historical portion of the Library is divided into two sections, of which the first contains works upon the development of particular schools of Philosophy, while the second exhibits the history of theory in particular departments. The third series contains original contributions to Philosophy, and the fourth translations of valuable foreign works.

To these have been added, by way of Introduction to the whole Library, (1) an English translation of Erdmann's "History of Philosophy," long since recognised in Germany as the best; (2) translations of standard foreign works upon Philosophy.

J. H. MUIRHEAD,
General Editor.

Date Due

Library Bureau Cat. no. 1137

MEADVILLE LOMBARD THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL
BR145 .M72 v.1 MAIN
Moller, Wilhelm Ern/History of the Chris
3 5701 00026 5266